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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1787.

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LONDON:
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1789.

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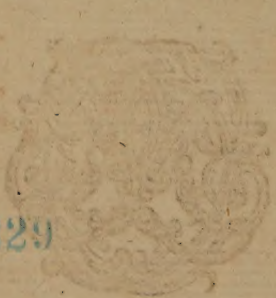
For the YEAR 1759.



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LONDON:

Printed for J. Dodsley, in Pall Mall. 1759.

PREFACE.

THE year 1787 has not only been productive of very important events, but of some in which the interests of this nation were deeply concerned. The happy revolution which has taken place in Holland, the restoration of the Stadtholder to his rights, and the recovery of that republic to its ancient system of policy, by detaching it from the new connections it had formed with France, were matters in which Great Britain had not a greater share than an immediate political interest, as well as a neighbourly and friendly concern; while the vigour and wisdom of her conduct in these transactions have effectually restored her to that high eminence among the nations of Europe from which she had suffered no small derogation through the loss of her colonies, and other ill consequences of the American war.

But these objects, important as they are, cannot in any degree rank, with respect to magnitude and general consideration, with those new prospects which have been opening upon us through the course of the present year. A singular revolution seems to be taking place in the minds of men; and the spirit of liberty appears to be reviving with great energy, in countries where it had long been deemed nearly extinct. It has already produced such effects in France, and indicates others so much greater, as to render that country (through causes very different from those which drew the attention of mankind upon it during the last two centuries) the grand theatre of political speculation. A similar spirit is dawning in other places; while our Belgic neighbours have afforded a notable instance that it never was totally extinct in them, by the struggle which they have manfully sustained against exuberant power, in the support of their ancient constitution, and the preservation of their civil and political rights.

These three principal objects, the affairs of Holland, of France, and of the Low Countries, have engrossed our utmost attention in treating the history of the present year: we have entered into the respective subjects with care and diligence, and trust the Public will not find themselves disappointed in the narrative of these affairs which we lay before them. The momentous war which has broken out

between

between the great powers in the North and East of Europe, was commenced too late in the year for the production of any considerable military operation; those immediate causes which accelerated that event will accordingly be the introduction to the narrative of their mutual hostilities in our next volume. Other matters have, for the present, necessarily given way to those of greater importance, and will form an article of future retrospect.

Our domestic affairs have not been less carefully attended to, as we hope the discussion of the commercial treaty with France, and other subjects of national importance, will sufficiently testify.

We have been informed by a gentleman not long arrived from Italy, of some misrepresentation and exaggeration of circumstances, in the account of the new cemetery near Florence, given in our last volume. We have ever embraced with pleasure every occasion that offered of bestowing due praise upon the excellent government of the Grand Duke; and are too deeply impressed with a regard for the humanity and beneficence of his character, to suffer any thing derogatory from it to appear without concern; and this we testified in the passage alluded to, although we could not refuse stating facts which seemed perfectly authenticated. We are not, however, ignorant that some of his reforms have, as well as the cemetery, been the cause of much dissatisfaction and complaint among his subjects; and that even his admirable code of penal law, notwithstanding the philanthropy and beneficence that breathe through every part of it, has not been received without dislike and censure, and has even been productive of much distress to individuals; a consequence perhaps which no system of general reform, hastily adopted, can ever be entirely free from.

With respect to the matter in question, if we have been imposed upon in the accounts which we received of the cemetery, we are not singular in the imposition; for an English gentleman, whose poetical and literary talents are well known, and who was immediately upon the spot, published a very severe satire upon the subject, from which it is evident, that it appeared to him in the same light that it was afterwards represented to us.

THE

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1787.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Mediation of France and Prussia in the affairs of Holland. Reasons for doubting the success of that mediation confirmed by the event. Negociations carried on at Nimeguen and the Hague. Conditions laid down by the States of Holland as the basis of an accommodation with the Stadtholder. Causes which rendered these propositions inadmissible. M. de Rayneval suddenly breaks off the negociation and returns to Paris. Count de Goertz receives a letter of recal, and returns to Berlin. Violent animosity and mutual recrimination of the contending parties on the failure of the negociation. The new form of government, established in the city of Utrecht, considered as a model of perfection by the democratical party in other places. Difficult situation and temporizing conduct of the States of Holland, with respect to the prevalent democratic spirit. Sudden and unaccountable changes in the political conduct and principles of the party in opposition to the Stadtholder displayed in various places. States of Friesland first waver, and then, from being among the foremost in opposition, appear decidedly in favour of the Prince. M. de Rendorp changes sides in Amsterdam, and carries over a majority of the senate along with him. Immediate consequences of this change; great alarm spread by it among the republican party. Means pursued by the leaders to remedy the defection of Amsterdam. Procure addresses from several towns, with a view of gaining thereby a decided majority of votes in the assembly of provincial states.

Failing in this attempt, they propose in the assembly a resolution to suspend the Prince of Orange from his remaining high offices of stadtholder and admiral-general. Foiled likewise in this, they endeavour to increase the number of votes in the provincial assembly, by affording a right of representation to several new towns; in which they are also defeated. Estimate of the comparative strength and numbers of the contending parties. Retrospect of the measures pursued by Holland, for supporting the city of Utrecht in its contumacious opposition to the states of the province. Unexpected revolution in the assembly of the states of Holland, who, following the example of Amsterdam, adopt measures evidently favourable to the Stadtholder's interests. General consternation and critical situation of the republican party. Defeated in all their late attempts; with now a great majority of the provinces, and a greater of the people decidedly against them. Bold and hazardous measures become acts of prudence. Obliged to throw themselves upon the democratical party for support, and to call in the armed burghers to new model and settle the state and constitution. These surround the senate-houses of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, purge them of those members who were adverse to their designs, place all power in the hands of their own party, and establish a determined majority in the states of Holland. These prepare to assist Utrecht by force of arms against the Provincial States. States general, who had hitherto preserved a strict neutrality, now take a decided part in opposing the design of Holland to support Utrecht by force of arms. Council of state issue an order strictly forbidding the officers in the service of Holland from marching their troops into the territories of any other province. Prohibition confirmed by the States general. Reply from the states of Holland. First blood drawn in a skirmish at Jutphaas, a village near Utrecht. States of Holland order troops to the succour of Utrecht. Propose a test to their officers. A great majority refuse the test; are suspended and new ones appointed. Suspended officers taken into the protection of the States general, and their pay continued. Manifesto published by the Stadtholder, amounting nearly to a declaration of war against the ruling party in the province of Holland. Riots at Amsterdam. States general issue an order to general Van Reyssel, to break up the cordon or line of troops formed on the frontiers of Holland. Counter orders from the states of Holland. Colonel Balneavis carries off the regiment which he lately commanded himself, with a battalion of another, from the fortress of Oudewater to the Stadtholder. This example causes a general revolt in the troops of Holland.

DURING the adverse tide of affairs which was setting in so strongly against the interests of the stadtholder, in the United Provinces, towards the close of the year 1786, his brother-in-law, the new king of Prussia, was unceasing in his endeavours to promote all such measures of conciliation as could in any degree tend to prevent those very irksome and dangerous consequences, which the present state of things and the violence of the republican party could not otherwise fail to produce. For the attainment of this purpose he shewed himself disposed to try any means however unpromising, and to coincide

cide with any intereſts however diſcordant, that afforded even a poſſibility of ſucceſs. Perhaps he thought it neceſſary, at the opening of a new reign, to hold out ſuch inſtances of moderation, juſtice, and a deſire of preſerving the general tranquillity, as might ſerve to ſecure the opinions of mankind in his favour, and to prepare them for that future deciſion which he foreſaw would be inevitable. Perhaps likewiſe the character of his predeceſſor, or the public impreſſion founded on it, might not have been without its effect in regulating his conduct upon this occaſion.

As the offer of his joint-mediation with Great Britain had been ſlighted by the adverſe faction (their mutual connections with the ſtadtholder, and avowed predilection for his intereſts, affording no ſmall room for objecting to their arbitration) he endeavoured to remove this impediment, by propoſing that France, the avowed friend and cloſe ally of the republic, ſhould, along with himſelf, undertake the kind office, but arduous taſk, of ſettling and compoſing the differences by which it was diſtracted. The ſeaſon of the year was favourable, as the near approach of winter muſt neceſſarily reſtrain the active violence of the contending parties, afford leiſure for mediation, and, as men's minds cooled by inaction, they would become more placable, and be the better diſpoſed to liſten to the voice of conciliation.

The propoſal being communicated by the Pruſſian miniſter to the court of Verſailles, was received in ſuch a manner, as ſeemed flattering to the king's diſcernment in adopting the project. That court embracing it with every mark of the greateſt cordiality, immediately appointed M. de Rayneval (who had already acquired ſome conſiderable credit in negociation, particularly in concluding the late treaty of commerce with England) to be the French king's repreſentative in the office of mediation; and ſo hearty did that court appear in the buſineſs, that the French miniſter arrived at the Hague before the end of November 1786, where he was to act in concert with the Baron de Goertz, the extraordinary, and M. Thulemeyer, the reſident miniſter of Pruſſia, in endeavouring to accompliſh the deſired ſettlement.

But fair as theſe appearances were, it was little hoped by thoſe who looked cloſely into the ſtate and nature of things, that this negociation ſhould produce the effect apparently ſought by one mediator, and eagerly wiſhed by the other. They could not bring themſelves to believe that France, who they knew to be not only the nurſe, protectreſs, and encourager of the adverſe faction, but to have been the prime fomenter and inſtigator of all their violences, ſhould now at once undo the effects of all her former craft and labour, by becoming the inſtrument of reſtoring the prince of Orange to any thing near that ſhare of weight and power which he before held in the republic. This would have been to ſacrifice her own immediate intereſts to the gratification of the king of Pruſſia, to abandon one of the longeſt and deareſt objects of her policy, to miſs the only opportunity that had ever offered of her eſtabliſhing a ſupreme and permanent controul in the affairs of the republic, and for ever to loſe, without benefit or effect, all that gold which ſhe had for

ſeveral years ſo unſparingly beſtowed in ſupporting her influence in Holland, and in feeding the contention. This was a ſource of expence ſo abundantly ſupplied, that a writer who appears to have poſſeſſed very unuſual ſources of information, and more than a common ſhare of political acumen, has ventured to aſſert, that one half of the money thus expended, if it had been properly applied in the ſtadtholder's court, would have produced an influence there, infinitely more beneficial in advancing and eſtabliſhing her purpoſes, than any thing ſhe derived or could derive from the ſervices of the republican leaders on whom it was beſtowed *.

It was argued, that ſuch a coincidence on the part of France, with the views of the king of Pruſſia, would not merely be a dereliction of the cauſe and party which ſhe had ſo long eſpouſed, but a ſcandalous act of treachery. She had led them into a courſe of violent and indefenſible meaſures, and conſequently involved them in circumſtances of great danger; and now to abandon them in the inſtant of their warmeſt hopes, when the object of their long and mutual purſuit ſeemed nearly within reach, would ſhock the feelings of all mankind, and appear as fooliſh as it would infamous. The crooked policy which ſhe had purſued for ſome ages, by which ſhe became conſidered as the common diſturber of the tranquillity of Europe, and as ſacrificing all faith and principle to her own advantage, had been the means of involving her in the greateſt difficulties, and moſt dangerous ſituations, ſo that her very exiſtence at one time ſeemed little leſs than truſted to the caſt of a die. She ſeemed of late to adopt a fairer policy, and to be ſtudious of eſtabliſhing a different character; but if ſhe relapſed now, it would have a worſe effect than merely overthrowing what ſhe had hitherto done for that purpoſe.

On the other hand, it could ſcarcely be ſuppoſed, that the king of Pruſſia would ſacrifice the intereſts of the ſtadtholder ſo far, as to admit of thoſe great conceſſions, which could alone anſwer the views of France, or afford any ſatisfaction to the high republicans. All conceſſions merely palliating would undoubtedly be agreed to: ſome limitations perhaps admitted, in order to prevent any encroachment of the executive power upon the other orders of the ſtate and government; and every thing that tended to a perfect oblivion of all that was paſt, to the conciliation of parties, to the ſecurity, and even gratification of the adverſe faction, would certainly have been granted with a good grace and a willing mind. But it was not to be conceived from any part of the king of Pruſſia's conduct which had yet appeared, much leſs from any due conſideration of the cloſe ties of affinity and policy which united the two families, that he would ever conſent to, or indeed ſuffer, except through inevitable neceſſity, the abridgement in any eſſential degree of thoſe rights, which, by the general voice of the nation, and the univerſal concurrence of all the parts and orders of the commonwealth, had, in the year 1749, been annexed to the office of ſtadtholder, and rendered hereditary in the family.

* See Introduction to the Hiſtory of the Dutch Republic, &c. p. 272.

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It may be added, that the experience of other countries had not warranted a very ſanguine expectation from the interference of rival and powerful ſtates. Happy is that nation which is able to maintain the balance of its internal political forces without recurring to foreign mediation. But when two great foreign powers acquire leading intereſts, and intermingle themſelves intimately in the diſſenſions of any ſtate, it is hardly poſſible that thoſe diſſenſions ſhould have a favourable iſſue. A ſincere diſpoſition to reſolve all partial and particular intereſts into the general maſs of the national intereſt, is to be expected only from a patriotiſm of no ordinary claſs, and yet is eſſential to the accommodation of national troubles. All that is to be hoped from foreign ſincerity is, to prevent things from running to extremes, and to keep the ſcale even between the parties for a time. The intereſt of the ſtate to be pacified is not the intereſt of the mediators, who moſtly endeavour to fight their own political battle on the ground which is neutral, but which each endeavours to appropriate. Whatever were the intentions of the powers now in queſtion, their negociation ended in a civil war.

Under ſuch doubtful, and indeed inauſpicious aſpects, was this negociation commenced.

The prince of Orange kept his court at Nimeguen, whither the Count de Goertz departed in the latter end of December; leaving M. de Thulemeyer to tranſact the buſineſs on the ſpot with the French miniſter, while he was himſelf the medium through which the correſpondence was conveyed. The Count carried with him a draught of the conditions, which the States of Holland laid down as the baſis of a final accommodation. By this arrangement the ſtadtholder was to renounce the influence which he poſſeſſed in the ſeveral town ſenates or regencies, by giving up his right of rejection or nomination in filling up the occaſional vacancies. Upon acceding to this propoſition, he was to be reſtored to the nominal office of captain-general; he being bound to receive it on the new and heavy condition of ſurrendering that right or prerogative, by which he was enabled to march the troops into or out of any province; whereas he was now to be reſtrained from any ſuch meaſure, without a previous communication with, and leave obtained for the purpoſe from, the reſpective ſtates of the provinces concerned. By the final propoſition, he was to be reſtored to the government and command of the garriſon of the Hague; but this was likewiſe clogged with another condition, which was that of compliance with a reſolution paſt ſome time before by the ſenate of Amſterdam, that the command ſhould at all times be revocable at the pleaſure of the ſtates of the province.

By the firſt of theſe propoſitions, that of the ſtadtholder's giving up the right of nomination, and conſequently all influence in the town ſenates, it was conceived the executive power would have become totally inefficient in the ſtate; as nothing leſs than a ſtrong preſiding influence, which otherwiſe could only be obtained by an expence in money, far beyond the revenues of the ſtadtholderate, could poſſibly produce unanimity or deciſion a-

mong ſuch a number of petty ſovereignties and diſcordant intereſts; it being one of the moſt apparent vices of that conſtitution, that though well enough calculated for the internal government of their towns individually, their public union can only be procured by the ſordid means of corruption. An opinion confirmed by the moſt indubitable authorities, through various parts and different periods of the hiſtory of the republic; and a circumſtance, which has heretofore, as well as now, afforded an opportunity to France to domineer in their interior as well as public councils.

The ſecond propoſition, with reſpect to the diſpoſal and movements of the troops, would, if acceded to, have been infinitely more dangerous to the ſtate, than in any other degree prejudicial to the ſtadtholder, as it would have diſabled him, in caſe of ſudden emergency and unforeſeen danger (things which they now had ſufficient cauſes to be apprehenſive of) from providing thoſe immediate means for the public defence on which the preſervation of the country might depend. The laſt condition would have expoſed him to continual degradation and inſult in the place of his reſidence, and in the view of all the world, and have rendered him contemptible even to his own guards, whenever his *maſters* (which was now the favourite language) ſhould chooſe to remind the public of their ſupreme power, and of his ſervile dependence on them.

Now as public opinion, and the reverence founded on it, are indiſpenſably neceſſary to the ſupport of all government, ſo theſe conditions, taken all together, would have proved ſuch a degradation of the ſtadtholder in the eyes both of natives and foreigners, as would render him totally incapable of diſcharging the duties, and incompetent to the filling, with propriety or effect, the various great offices which he ſtill retained, whether perfect or mutilated. They would beſides have eſtabliſhed a precedent the moſt ruinous to himſelf and his ſucceſſors that could be deviſed. For if it was once found that the eſtabliſhed conſtitution could thus eaſily be broken through, and that he ſubmitted in ſacrificing to the pretenſions of a faction or a province, thoſe rights and authorities which had been deemed inalienable, and inherent to his office, he ſurrendered the only principle on which he could defend the remainder; and every other faction, and every other province, might in its turn and proper ſeaſon follow the example.

Such, however, were the preliminaries laid down by the province of Holland, as the ground-work of an accommodation!

The event ſoon confirmed the opinion of thoſe who had placed no confidence in the ſucceſs of the preſent negociation. The princeſs of Orange, whoſe genius, ſpirit, and abilities, were well underſtood on all ſides, undertook to ſupply the place of the prince in the conduct of this buſineſs; and her management of it did not in any degree derogate from thoſe qualities. It would ſeem, however, that ſhe was by no means diſpoſed to give up any of the ſtadtholderian rights; nor perhaps ſufficiently practicable with reſpect to ſmaller compliances. The correſpondence between Nimeguen and the Hague was carried on for ſeveral

ral weeks; but was at length abruptly broken off by M. de Rayneval, who ſuddenly ſet out upon his return to Paris about the middle of January 1787.

Nothing could exceed the bitterneſs of recrimination which paſſed between the contending parties upon the failure of this treaty or negociation. It was ſaid on the ſide of the ſtadtholder, that it proceeded entirely from the precipitate arrogance, the haughty affectation of ſuperiority, and the imperious ſpirit of the French miniſter. That he would liſten to no terms but thoſe of his own preſcribing, or ſuch as were dictated by the adverſe faction. Tha the appeared rather as the appointed advocate of that party, than in the character of a common friend, or a cool and impartial mediator. That he rather ſeemed to conſider the ſtadtholder as a guilty perſon interceding for favour and forgiveneſs, than as a prince, who was placed by the conſtitution at the head of the republic, claiming his juſt rights, and demanding redreſs of the injuries he had ſuſtained.

In deſcending to particulars, they ſaid, that the French miniſter had laid it down as an indiſpenſable preliminary condition to his being reſtored to his office of captain-general, that the prince ſhould make ſuch a public ſubmiſſion to his ſovereigns the ſtates of Holland, as would have been an acknowlegement to all the world of his deſerving the ſuſpenſion laid on, and of his being culpable in all the accuſations which they had brought againſt him. That as it would be ridiculous for the ſtadtholder, who had committed no fault, to make apologies or to aſk pardon, ſo it would be in the higheſt degree intolerable, that he ſhould acknowlege a guilt where none exiſted. That the French miniſter had required as another preliminary, that, in order to gratify the ſtates of Holland, the ſtadtholder ſhould violate the conſtitution and invade the rights of other provinces, by binding him to bring the ſtates of Gueldres and Utrecht, without regard to the means which he was to uſe for accompliſhing ſo abſurd and extraordinary a meaſure, to reſcind reſolutions which they had paſſed, and forego meaſures which they had already adopted for their own internal regulation; and, as if it were to render him ſtill more culpable, by exceeding his own authority, and a farther violation of the conſtitution, it was inſiſted that he ſhould withdraw the garriſons from Elbourg and Hattem, without any regard to the ſovereignty under whoſe orders he had acted in placing thoſe garriſons, and by whoſe commands they were ſtill continued. And, finally, that the French envoy, inſtead of giving time for paſſion to cool, or prejudices to ſubſide on either ſide, as ſoon as he found that his arbitrary *dictum* was not inſtantly obeyed, and all his propoſitions immediately and implicitly acceded to, abruptly broke off the negociation, when, by a better temper and diſpoſition on his ſide, there were very good reaſons for believing, that things might in a little time have been put in a fair train of accommodation.

On the other ſide it was inſiſted with great acrimony, that the failure of ſucceſs proceeded entirely from the inflexible obſtinacy of the court of Nimeguen. That, far from paying any deference to the ſtates

of Holland, who were his lawful ſovereigns, the ſtadtholder had inſiſted in the moſt peremptory manner upon every part of his claims, not relaxing any more in the moſt inconſiderable than in the moſt material articles. That he ſhewed no diſpoſition to accommodate himſelf to the unfortunate ſituation in which he was involved, nor to the temper and circumſtances of the times. That he had not ſhewn the ſmalleſt regret for any of the unjuſtifiable meaſures into which he had been precipitated, but, on the contrary, ſeemed diſpoſed pertinaciouſly to ſupport and defend them to the laſt. And, in a word, that a ſingle conceſſion had never even been hinted at from his court; but that all the advances which had been made, and all the inſtances of moderation at any time given, had been diſplayed by the ſtates of Holland.

Upon the whole, without expecting accurate ſtatements of fact in violent political altercations, we muſt, however, obſerve, that an invincible obſtinacy has long been charged, as one of the peculiar and diſtinguiſhed characteriſtics of the policy of that court.

The king of Pruſſia, upon the breaking up of the negociation, and the departure of Rayneval, immediately recalled the Count de Goertz, ſending a ſhort letter to the ſtates general, in which he only expreſſed his concern for the failure of his good wiſhes and offices towards reſtoring the tranquillity of the republic, without any obſervation on the cauſes of that failure, or the ſmalleſt hint by which any conjecture could be formed of his further intentions, any more than of his preſent temper and diſpoſition. This reſerve, and laconic conciſeneſs, was immediately turned to good account by the adverſe party, who, interpreting it intirely in their own favour, triumphantly publiſhed this conſtruction, as an evidence, that the king was ſo much diſguſted with the ſtadtholder's incurable obſtinacy, in not agreeing to thoſe reaſonable conceſſions which the ſtates of Holland required, and which he had himſelf recommended, that he would now take no farther concern in his affairs, but abandon him entirely to their mercy. And this had ſuch an effect, that a report was ſpread, and credited in other countries as well as Holland, that a ſerious miſunderſtanding had taken place between the two courts.

In the mean time, the Pruſſian miniſter extraordinary had returned directly from Nimeguen to Berlin, having enclоſed the king's letter to the ſtates general, accompanied with one of his own, in which he apologized for not having taken leave of them formally and in perſon at the Hague.

Previous to theſe negociations, during the time of their continuance, and for ſeveral months after, continual changes were taking place in the conduct, views, connection, and ſtrength of the numberleſs parties and factions which were ſpread throughout the republic. Theſe were ſo ſudden and various as to preſent nothing but a general chaos of diſorder and confuſion to all diſtant ſpeculators. In general, however, the democratical intereſt was gaining ground; and it was in that reſpect, and in that only, that the preſent conteſts held out a proſpect of amendment and benefit (and a moſt eſſential one it would have been) to the conſtitution, by admitting the body of the citizens to a

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ſhare in their reſpective governments. Though it muſt be acknowledged, that if that great change had taken place, the whole conſtitution and form of government muſt have been new modelled; or otherwiſe, the executive power would have been totally incapable of fulfilling its purpoſes, and the centre of union between the reſpective parts of the republic would be too feeble to reſiſt danger, or to admit of public exertion.

In the city of Utrecht, the ancient government was entirely overthrown, and the democratical completely eſtabliſhed; while, to inſure its permanence, a college of tribunes was inſtituted as an inherent part of the new conſtitution, whoſe office it was not only vigilantly to guard and defend the rights of the burghers or people at large, but who were likewiſe furniſhed with ſuch ſtrong powers of controul in reſpect to the election, and even to the after conduct of the ſenators or regents, as threw the government in a great meaſure entirely into their hands. They were, however, verging faſt to a civil war with the ſtates of the province; to which the numbers, wealth, and power of that city had rendered them more than competent; even if they had not been openly encouraged, and ſtrongly ſupported, by Holland. That aid was, however, neceſſary to counterbalance the ſupport which the ſtates were likely to receive from the ſtadtholder, as well as from their neighbours of Guelderland, and perhaps other provinces; who ſeeing the danger of ſuch innovations to themſelves, were likely to oppoſe the eſtabliſhment of a precedent, which they ſaw too general a diſpoſition in the people to follow.

The government eſtabliſhed in Utrecht was conſidered as a model of perfection by the democratical parties in other places. The idea of a college of tribunes, which would render the ſeveral town regencies entirely ſubſervient to the people, and lay the ſenators individually at the mercy of every factious or turbulent demagogue who became a member of that office, was generally and peculiarly captivating; ſeveral of the towns in Holland, as well as other places, eagerly adopting it in their projected ſchemes of reform. The ariſtocratics were not, however, by any means idle, and, where the inequality in power was too great to admit of an open reſiſtance, all covert means were uſed to procraſtinate the event, if it was found impoſſible to defeat the attempt. Thus the democratic parties experienced not a few revolutions of fortune in places where they thought themſelves ſecure, and were not ſeldom ſurpriſed with an ingenious after-game when it was leaſt expected.

The ſtates of Holland were in a critical ſituation. Nothing could be more alarming or painful to them than the rapid progreſs which the democratical ſpirit was making in that province; and yet they were involved in ſuch untoward circumſtances, through the meaſures which they had ſo long purſued againſt the ſtadtholder, that they dared not openly to oppoſe the popular diſpoſition, leſt they might have thrown the great and numerous body of burghers into his arms, which would have decided the conteſt at once againſt them.

This embarraſſment fully appeared

ed in their conduct with respect to the city of Hoorn. For the burghers at that place having adopted the new scheme of reform, and the magistracy appealing to the states, the latter found means, under the forms either of the constitution or of their own body, to procrastinate the affair in such a manner, that it never was brought to an absolute decision. In Dort, and some other places, where the republican spirit was very strong, and the animosity to the prince of Orange great, the scheme of reform was completed among themselves, without any application to the states. But the defeat which the popular party met at Rotterdam was not to be compensated by small successes. One of the magistrates there, deserting his own party and immediate interests, placed himself at the head of the reformers, and actually commenced his scheme of innovation. But the magistracy were too firm, and the bulk of the people too much on their side, to admit the project to succeed. The refractory magistrate was displaced, his proceedings annulled, and the peace and quiet of that wealthy and powerful city restored with little trouble.

The difficulty of comprehending the true state of things was continually increased by the unaccountable changes which took place, not only in the great towns, but in the conduct of the states of the respective provinces, and even of the states general themselves. This was so signal and striking, that a writer, who evidently leans not a little to the republican side, declares with regret, "that it had been one of "the misfortunes of this contest, "that, through the seven independ-"ent states of which the republic "is composed, there is not one, that "has been firm and unanimous in "its attachment, either to the "stadtholder or his enemies*." A circumstance that little accords with the cool determined firmness, and the inflexible obstinacy, ascribed to that people.

A remarkable instance of this inconstancy took place in the province of Friesland. The Frisons had ever valued themselves upon being, and had for many ages been considered by others, among the foremost and the boldest assertors of liberty. In the present contests, they seemed studious to preserve or to renew their antient character, and the states of that province were among the earliest and the most strenuous of any in their opposition to the stadtholder. Yet, as if there had been some invisible power, which irresistibly spread its influence over men's minds and dispositions, they suddenly slackened their pace in the midst of the course; shewed strong symptoms at first of doubt and irresolution, but in a little time appeared decidedly in favour of the stadtholder.

The first indubitable instance of this change, was given by their abolishing the free corps in that province, which had been raised there, as every where else, for the sole purpose of opposing or controuling the Orange interest. They, however, seemed afterwards to accord with Holland in certain measures; but so peevish a course of controversy and altercation arose

* History of the United Provinces, &c. 1787. p. 253.

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afterwards between them upon some others, that the states of the latter put an end at once to the correspondence by the incurable resolution, "that silent contempt was the "only manner in which the arguments of the Frisons should be "treated." This passionate and contemptuous measure fixed at least a majority of the states of Friesland in the interests of the stadtholder, which was a material addition to his strength. The towns of that province, like those of all others, were divided in their sentiments; some being violently in his interest, and others more so in their animosity; but perfect unanimity in any, would have been in vain sought for in the present times.

Similar, and still more unexpected conversions, took place in other provinces; nor was it uncommon for the converts to relapse again to their former sentiments. The city of Amsterdam had from the beginning been the bitterest and most implacable of all the stadtholder's enemies; so that it seemed as if all the violent measures pursued against him had originated in the pride, malice, and power of that people. Mr. de Rendorp, lord of Marquette, had long been one of the principal leaders of the popular party, and was considered as the instigator of the most violent and precipitate measures which the senate of that city had adopted. This man, to the astonishment of all who were not initiated in the deepest mysteries of party manœuvres and politics, suddenly changed sides, and carried over along with him a majority of the senate to that of the stadtholder.

The first fruit of this revolution was a direct proposal from the deputies of Amsterdam in the states of Holland, to restore the prince of Orange to the command of the garrison of the Hague; which went at once to remove one of the principal points in contention, and would indeed have opened the way in a very great measure to an easy reconciliation. Being defeated in this attempt, through the opposition of a majority of the provincial states, the senate of Amsterdam wrote circular letters to all the towns of the province, strongly urging them, and using every possible argument to enforce the desire, to revise the instructions to their deputies in the assembly of the states, and to cooperate with themselves in promoting the salutary work of conciliation.—Thus was Amsterdam labouring to overthrow, in a single instant, all the effects of those measures which she had so long and so ardently pursued!

This revolution of sentiment and conduct, if not of principle, took place about the middle of 1786, and we shall soon have occasion to observe others scarcely less surprizing.

The defection of Amsterdam could not but excite an universal alarm among the leaders of the republican party, and urge them to the adoption of every measure that could possibly tend to counteract its effect. Although they had hitherto preserved a majority in the assembly of the states of Holland, yet that majority was by no means disposed blindly and servilely to follow their dictates in all cases without discrimination: on the contrary, that party had been obliged to withdraw several of their most violent propositions, without venturing to bring the questions to a decision, when they augured,

augured, from the countenance of their uſual ſupporters, the danger of a defeat. The great object now then was to procure ſuch a decided majority in that aſſembly as were willing to go with them in all caſes whatever, and would thereby enable them to proceed to ſuch extremities againſt the ſtadtholder as they wiſhed and intended.

The firſt attempt, tending to this purpoſe, was to obtain addreſſes from the towns of the province to the aſſembly, which they had themſelves dictated, in order to induce the preſent members to depart entirely from that ſyſtem of moderation which had hitherto proved ſo troubleſome a reſtraint to their proceedings, and to adopt all thoſe meaſures of violence which they were ready to bring forward, as ſoon as the occaſion ſhould offer a proſpect of ſucceſs. The general ſcope of theſe addreſſes was returning thanks to the ſtates for the efforts they had already made in oppoſing the alarming progreſs of deſpotiſm, a ſtrong recommendation to proceed with vigour in their exertions to its final extermination, and a promiſe to ſupport them with their lives and fortunes in the purſuit of all ſuch farther meaſures as they ſhould judge neceſſary for the accompliſhment of that purpoſe.

Though theſe addreſſes were triumphantly carried in Dort, Harlem, and ſome other towns diſtinguiſhed for their republican ſpirit and preſent oppoſition, yet the attempt failed in ſo many others, that the party had no cauſe to boaſt of their ſucceſs. In Amſterdam they procured 16,722 ſignatures to the addreſs, which they pretended not only to be a majority of the inhabitants, but to include the names of the principal citizens and burghers; and would therefore have it conſidered as the genuine and unequivocal ſenſe of the capital. But the contrary to theſe aſſertions being then known to be the real ſtate of things, and indeed ſoon after incontrovertibly eſtabliſhed, this attempt at deception added no reputation to the cauſe, and leſſened the opinion of its ſtrength.

Yet theſe addreſſes ſeem to have encouraged the republican party to bring forward a bold and deciſive meaſure, which, though a favourite in contemplation, had not yet been ventured upon. This was the ſuſpenſion of the prince of Orange from his offices of ſtadtholder and admiral general, in the ſame manner they had already ſucceeded in ſuſpending him from that of captain general. This queſtion was brought forward on the 10th of January 1787, and occaſioned the warmeſt and moſt violent debates, for two ſucceeding days, that had been known in that aſſembly The propoſers, however, found the oppoſition ſo formidable, and the aſpect of the independent members ſo doubtful, that they did not chooſe to hazard the deciſion of a vote on the queſtion.

Thus defeated, the only reſource ſeemingly left for procuring a ſure majority in the aſſembly of the ſtates, was that of increaſing the number of voters. For the better underſtanding of this buſineſs, we are to obſerve, that ſeveral towns, which were only villages, or perhaps not in exiſtence, at the time of the union, have ſince riſen to wealth and conſequence, as others which were then conſiderable, have ſince declined in perhaps a ſimilar progreſſion. The former conſequently have

have no repreſentatives in the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, while the latter, like the decayed boroughs in England, ſtill retain their repreſentation; and, however inſignificant as to population or property, preſerve their rank, tho' not entirely their conſequence, as members of the original confederacy and union.

The republican party, in order, as we have ſeen, to increaſe the number of votes in the aſſembly of the ſtates, procured or introduced petitions from Heuſden, Woerden, and other new towns which were grown into conſideration, requiring a ſhare in the general repreſentation. This attempt was ſo little likely to ſucceed, that it ſeemed rather the offspring of paſſion and a premature confidence and eagerneſs, than the reſult of a cool judgment and any well-founded hope. It was accordingly ſo ill received by the ſtates, that the towns ſoon withdrew their petitions, and the party found themſelves again foiled, without their being able to bring the queſtion to an abſolute deciſion.

We have heretofore ſtated, that the two great parties for and againſt the houſe of Orange, into which the inhabitants of the United Provinces were divided, were ſo nearly balanced in point of number, that, if tried by the teſt of a poll or a general vote, it would be a matter of doubt on which ſide the majority would appear. Our opinion was neceſſarily founded on ſuch information as we could then obtain. This, however, was ſo defective as to lead us, in that reſpect, into an error. It now appears from the moſt indubitable authority, that although the prince of Orange had, through various cauſes and much miſmanagement, loſt, within a few years, a very conſiderable and alarming ſhare of his popularity and influence, yet, that he poſſeſſed ſtill ſo faſt a hold of the affections or opinion of the great bulk of the people throughout the republic, that, were any deciſion by numbers to take place, the majority in his favour would be ſo vaſt, that the adverſe party would appear only a mere handful in the compariſon. The peaſantry or yeomanry, including in that deſcription all the inhabitants of the open country, were, almoſt to a man, not only warm, but, it might be ſaid, violent in their attachments to him. The inhabitants of the inferior towns, and many of their magiſtracies, were little leſs ſo. And even in the great cities, where it was probably but little expected even by his friends, it appeared, as ſoon as the teſt was applied, that a majority of the inhabitants was on his ſide.

This was fully ſhewn in the city of Amſterdam, the great and original ſource of all the oppoſition he had encountered, and of all the mortification which he had endured. We have ſeen that the adverſe party had procured near 17,000 ſignatures to an addreſs inimical to the intereſts of the ſtadtholder, which they repreſented as being a majority of the inhabitants, and as conveying the unqueſtionable ſenſe of that great city; but an aſſociation having been ſoon after entered into there for ſupporting the rights of that prince, the ſubſcribers in three days more than doubled the number of the addreſſers, and amounted to above 35,000. In Rotterdam, it was well known that his friends would have been found ſtill more

more numerous in proportion to the general number of the inhabitants.

We have heretofore rightly obſerved, that the nobility, (or, in the language of the country, the equeſtrian order) together with the army and the navy, were generally ſtrongly attached to the houſe of Orange. To theſe orders of men we ſhall now add the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, a body whoſe opinions and example muſt carry great weight and influence in all countries where religion is not nearly extinct; and who, in this, excluſive of all other motives of attachment, had, ever ſince the days of Arminius, conſidered that family as their principal ſhield of protection and defence, againſt the heterodox doctrines which they imputed to that viſionary innovator. Now as many of the republican leaders had early adopted and ſtill held theſe opinions, and the party were generally diſpoſed to them, it was no very difficult nor unuſual matter, that ſome conſiderable ſhare of that abhorrence which was conceived againſt doctrines that were regarded as abominable, ſhould be transferred to the perſons and party who adopted them; while party zeal, being thus quickened and embittered by religious conteſts and prejudices, the enthuſiaſm excited by the combination could not fail to place the clergy among the foremoſt ſupporters of the Orange cauſe and intereſts.

With ſuch ſupports, added to that of the bulk of the people, and fortified with ſuch ſtrong mounds of defence as great legal and official powers, with a long-eſtabliſhed authority, it may appear almoſt paradoxical how the fabric could have been ſhaken as we have ſeen by a comparatively ſmall party. To account for this, it is to be obſerved, that the defect in point of number was compenſated, on the ſide of the party in oppoſition, by a great ſuperiority with reſpect to wealth, of which they poſſeſſed not only more than a proportionate ſhare, but, it is probable, conſiderably more than a moiety of what was contained in the whole republic; and every body will allow, that the more wealth is concentrated, by being lodged in ſuch a moderate number of hands as will not be much more than ſufficient for its due application to any given purpoſe, the more powerful its effects will prove. The ſame apparent defect will account, even independent of ſeveral other cauſes which may be eaſily pointed out, for the cloſe union, the eaſy management, and the effective concert, in all caſes, of that party, which appearing like the diſcipline of a well-regulated army, afforded frequent and great advantages over their looſe and disjointed antagoniſts. They were likewiſe in poſſeſſion of moſt of the offices of magiſtracy, and in many provinces of the authority and name of the conſtitutional government; a circumſtance of no ſmall weight in the eſtimate of political ſtrength. The ſpringing up of the democratical ſpirit, however ruinous to the ariſtocracies in the iſſue, was for the preſent a wonderful acceſſion of ſtrength to the adverſe party, by throwing that great body of the burghers on whom it operated directly into their arms. To all theſe may with juſtice be added, and certainly will not be conſidered as an inefficient cauſe, that ſeveral of the leaders of the republican party were men of very conſiderable parts and abilities; while it muſt be acknowledged by

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all who attend to the courſe of the conteſt, that theſe qualities were in no degree counterbalanced on the other ſide. A great ſuperiority in policy, and all party manœuvres, was the neceſſary conſequence.

The affairs of Utrecht had long been a ſource of great embarraſſment to the ſtates of Holland. It was eſſential to the views of the dominant party to ſupport that city; but the doing of it by open force was ſo flagrant a violation of the union, and would appear ſo daring an inroad upon the rights of another ſtate, which was in all reſpects their equal, and whoſe powers of juriſdiction and government were as completely and firmly eſtabliſhed as their own, was ſo alarming and hazardous a meaſure, that it could not without much difficulty be adopted.

Pretty early in the ſummer of the year 1786, the republican party finding or thinking themſelves ſufficiently ſtrong, brought this ſubject forward in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Holland, by moving a reſolution, that they ſhould by force of arms reſiſt all attempts of coercion that were made againſt the city of Utrecht. This queſtion produced long and vehement debates, which were maintained with great perſeverance, and no ſmall degree of animoſity on both ſides. The parties, however, appeared ſo nearly equal in ſtrength, that neither ſide ſeemed much diſpoſed to bring the queſtion to an abſolute deciſion, and it ſeemed to be dropped by a ſort of mutual tacit conſent.

But in the following September, when the capture of Elbourg and Hattem had blown up the flame of diſcontent to the higheſt pitch, againſt the ſtadtholder in the province of Holland, the ſtates, on the 6th of that month, iſſued a ſudden order, that all their troops ſhould be in readineſs to march at a moment's warning. On the following day they granted permiſſion to ſeveral bodies of armed burghers, who had addreſſed them for the purpoſe, to march directly to the aſſiſtance or relief of their brethren in Utrecht; at the ſame time opening their military magazine at Woerden for the uſe of that city.

The day after, being the 8th of the ſame month, in order partly to give the greater weight and appearance of ſolemnity to their proceedings, partly to explain the cauſes of theſe extraordinary meaſures to the repreſentative of the whole republic, and thereby reconcile them to thoſe which they intended farther to purſue, they exhibited to the people the unuſual ſpectacle of their repairing in a body, to the amount of about fifty perſons, to the aſſembly of the ſtates general, where they repreſented them as indiſpenſably neceſſary in the preſent critical ſtate of affairs, in order to withſtand the hoſtile proceedings and dangerous deſigns of the ſtadtholder. It may be neceſſary here to obſerve, that altho' no town has more than one vote, and that theſe amount in all only to nineteen, in the ſtates of Holland, yet that there is no limitation as to the number of deputies which any town may ſend, who are all equally members of that aſſembly, and have an equal right to ſit and to debate in it; ſo that ability, with the powers of argument and perſuaſion, may be branched out into ſeveral parts, although the vote is ſingle.

It was not conſonant to the proceedings of the ſtates general, to give

give any preſent anſwer to, or to make any immediate obſervation on theſe repreſentations.

The ſtates of Holland followed up theſe proceedings with an order to the troops of the province to march immediately to the frontiers on the ſide of Utrecht; and, to render them the more ſtedfaſt in the intended ſervice, voted an augmentation of twelve ſous per week to their pay. They likewiſe took into their ſervice a corps of light troops, which, under the ill-founded denomination of a legion, had been raiſed by a Rhingrave of Salm, during the late conteſt with the emperor, for the ſervice of the republic in that ſeaſon of apparent danger. The ſuppreſſion of this corps, which had been intended along with other military reductions of the ſame nature, had long been prevented through the influence of the republican leaders, on account of the violent part which their commander took, or affected to take, in behalf of that party. The ſtates general having, however, at length diſcharged them from the ſervice of the republic, thoſe of Holland took them into the immediate pay of that province, in order to their being employed in the war of Utrecht.

We have, in our hiſtory of the year 1786, taken notice of the ſubſequent meaſures purſued by the ſtates of Holland againſt the ſtadtholder previous to Monſ. de Rayneval's negociation; particularly his ſuſpenſion fom the office of captain-general, the diſcharging the troops from their military oath to him, and their forbidding that title to be applied to him in the public prayers of the churches. We likewiſe took notice of the ſtrong proteſt made by the prince againſt theſe proceedings.

The defection of the ſenate of Amſterdam from their party, ſeemed to be little leſs than a mortal ſhock to the republican leaders; and the failure of their late attempts of ſtripping the ſtadtholder of his remaining great offices in the province of Holland, and of increaſing the number of voters in the aſſembly of the ſtates, could not but increaſe their conſternation and deſpondence. The effect produced by this ſtate of things was viſible for ſome time after the commencement of the year 1787, by that unuſual ſpirit of moderation which apparently prevailed in their conduct. But they were ſoon to experience a more ſenſible ſhock than even the loſs of Amſterdam.

This was no leſs than a revolution of ſentiment and conduct in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Holland. Indeed the change which had taken place in the ſenate of Amſterdam, conſidering the lead which that city had always taken in public affairs, and the almoſt unbounded influence which ſhe had ever maintained in the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, afforded alarming indications of the conſequences which were likely to enſue. From that period the ſtates had viſibly grown more indeciſive in their conduct; the republican zeal ſeemed much ſlackened, and the numbers ran cloſer on every diviſion.

It ſeemed to be a capital error in the republican party, to admit the appointment of the celebrated Van Berkel, the firſt penſionary of Amſterdam, to the office of repreſenting the republic as miniſter to the new ſtates of America. This man had long been the leader, oracle, and it may be ſaid, the ſoul of that party; and no man was ever better

better calculated for such a situation. His ambition was boundless; but he possessed all the great qualities necessary to its support and gratification in as unlimited a degree. His love of money, however, balanced his love of power, and seemed to preponderate on this occasion of sacrificing his prospects at home to the American employment. Perhaps he was encouraged in this project by some of the leaders on his own side, who wished to be his successor; and who would not believe that his popularity and power were the effect of superior talents. However that was, it is certain that Van Berkel's absence was now severely felt by the party; and it is highly probable that neither the defection in Amsterdam, nor the consequent change in the assembly of the states, would have taken place if he had been present.

After some weeks seeming hesitation, the assembly of the states of Holland afforded an unequivocal proof of the change which had taken place in their sentiments, by partly reversing and partly altering a former resolution of their own, upon a motion made for that purpose by the friends of the prince of Orange. This was followed by another measure not less convincing. The refugees from Hattem and Elburg, who were considered as martyrs to the republican party, were treated by them nearly with the reverence suited to that character, and had early received the protection of the states of Holland; but they now passed a resolution, recommending these refugees to the clemency of the states of Guelderland, and requesting that they might be permitted to return to their respective habitations; and thus virtually withdrew the protection which they had so lately granted.

March 30th 1787.

Nothing could have been more highly resented by the adverse party than this dereliction of the refugees; nor could any thing appear more dreadful to themselves than the change in condition and character which they were to undergo; to be driven from all the sweets of an idle and plentiful life, from the pleasure of being idolized as the forward champions and willing victims to a righteous cause, then to return to their customary labours and native obscurity, and to appear in the garb of suppliants and penitents to their natural rulers, was a transition almost intolerable to humanity.

Nothing could accordingly exceed the exclamations raised against the states of Holland, and the indignation expressed at their conduct. To give up the fugitives to the mercy of their enemies in Guelderland, was not only represented as a most flagrant and glaring violation of good faith, but as an act of direct and shameless treachery. Several of the most factious cities, in this spirit, took up the cause of the refugees, and determined, so far as they were capable, to remedy the evil, by voting their protection to them, offering them all the privileges of burghership, and promising them every other accommodation which it should be in their power to confer.

Thus was the door opening to a new and strange face of things in the province of Holland; and it was soon to reveal aspects still more novel and unexpected.

In the mean time numberless clubs and associations were formed,

and large ſums of money, it was ſaid, ſubſcribed, for the preſervation of the antient conſtitution, and the ſtadtholder's rights; while every new meaſure or incident on either ſide increaſed the animoſity on the other, until nothing could exceed the virulence of their mutual reproach and accuſation; the ſtadtholder's friends openly charging the republican party with having been long the betrayers of their country to French gold, and theſe retorting, that their adverſaries wanted to overthrow the free conſtitution of the republic, and to eſtabliſh a regal deſpotiſm, though at firſt perhaps without the name, in the perſon of the prince of Orange.

The ſituation of the republican party became exceedingly critical. They had been foiled in all their late attempts; they had loſt their principal and ſuppoſed impregnable fortreſs in Amſterdam. In the next great city, that of Rotterdam, they were entirely maſtered; a majority of the provinces, thoſe of Frieſland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Guelderland, were decidedly againſt them; and they had now finally loſt their influence in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Holland; ſo that the two ſmall and weak provinces of Groningen and Overyſſel were all that continued firmly on their ſide.

It was then evident, that nothing leſs than the moſt prompt and deciſive meaſures could retain or retrieve any part of their power and conſequence as a party. Theſe could not but be hazardous and dangerous, but it was the laſt ſtake, and all things muſt be riſqued; if fortune favoured, ſucceſs would afford a ſufficient ſanction to the proceedings. They ſaw, at the ſame time, that in ſuch circumſtances, all farther temporiſing with the democratical parties muſt be at an end; that the ariſtocracies muſt now cordially admit their claims; and that they had no other alternative than that of ſubmiſſion to the prince of Orange; an idea more dreadful than even that of a foreign conqueſt. It was accordingly determined that the armed burghers ſhould be the inſtruments of reforming the ſtate and government; and that when they had effectually ſucceeded in ſubverting the old, their order ſhould be entitled to ſuch a ſhare in the new conſtitution, as they might hereafter agree upon.

It was not to be ſuppoſed, that the burghers would be ſlack in embracing an opportunity of fulfilling their own purpoſes, and attaining thoſe objects which they had long ſo eagerly ſought. They had ſome time before entered into a combination for introducing a democratical revolution in the city of Rotterdam; and petitioned the ſtates of Holland for their ſanction in new-modelling the ſenate, by increaſing the number from twenty-four, the preſent eſtabliſhment, to forty perſons. But this petition was received very unfavourably by the ſtates, who referred them back to their own magiſtracy; and theſe immediately publiſhed a declaration, in which they ſtrongly inſiſted, that the ſenſe of the different towns of the republic could not be legally known or communicated through any other medium than that of their reſpective ſenates, and that conſequently the ſtates of Holland had no right or authority to take any petition from their citizens into conſideration.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, which took place about the cloſe of the paſt, or the commencement of the preſent

preſent year, the inceſſant efforts of the democratic party to overturn; and the reſiſtance of their oppoſers to preſerve inviolate the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government, had ſince kept that city in a conſtant ſtate of tumult and diſorder. In this courſe of domeſtic warfare, counter aſſociations were formed and ſubſcribed to by the contending parties, when it ſoon appeared that the number of thoſe who united in favour of the prince, more than doubled that of their antagoniſts.

But the new and powerful energy which was at length communicated, the confidence derived from having arms in their hands, and the courage inſpired by the correſpondence and advice received from their brethren in other places, rendered the burghers regardleſs of the ſuperior number of their adverſaries, and induced them fearleſsly to proceed to the laſt extremities.

April 23d. 1787. In this determination they ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe, compelled the ſenate to depoſe ſeven ſuch members of their body as they conſidered the moſt adverſe to their deſigns, and, under the form of a mock election, had their places inſtantly filled up with ſeven of the moſt violent of their own party. The deputies of the city in the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates being among the degraded ſenators, the repreſentation of Rotterdam was of courſe totally changed. It was to little purpoſe that the injured ſenators appealed to the laws, to the conſtitution, and to the ſtates of Holland; no redreſs was any where to be obtained. The deputies at the Hague had the courage to endeavour to keep their ſeats, alledging that they were the only legal repreſentatives of their city, the new ones being uſurpers brought in by force and violence; but the provincial aſſembly itſelf being by that time garbled, had likewiſe changed its nature, and, pretending that they had no right to interfere in the private diſputes of any city, received the new deputies without regard to the complaints or rights of the old.

On the very ſame day that the ſenate of Rotterdam was purged in this manner by the armed burghers, ſimilar meaſures were purſued by their brethren at Amſterdam. They ſurrounded the ſenate-houſe betimes in the morning, and the affrighted magiſtrates entered into a negociation with them, which was ſpun out until the evening, when finding that they had no alternative, they were obliged to ſubmit to the demands of the burghers, by declaring that nine members of their body, who were thoſe nominated to them, had abdicated their offices. Among theſe victims to the revolution, were three deputies to the aſſembly of the provincial ſtates, who had lately voted on ſome occaſion on the ſide of the ſtadtholder. At the ſame time that they were clearing the ſenate of their adverſaries, the four colonels of the city militia, and conſequently the only legal commanders of the burghers, were doomed to undergo their perſecution, and obliged to ſend in their reſignations.

About the ſame time the city of Utrecht, proud in its wealth, and confident in the circumſtance of its contributing as much or more towards the public expence than the reſt of the province, determined at once to ſhew its ſuperiority, and to reduce the ſtates at Amersfort to

beggary, and an incapacity of carrying on buſineſs, by withdrawing its allotted quota of revenue entirely from their diſpoſal. This meaſure admitting of no alternative, ſerved to cure that ſlackneſs and indeciſion which had marked the conduct of the provincial ſtates, and compelled them to adopt the moſt vigorous meaſures for reducing that turbulent city to obedience. For this purpoſe their own troops, in concert with thoſe of their allies the ſtates of Guelderland, and ſuch as the ſtadtholder could furniſh, ſeemed to be competent; but the great clog to the undertaking lay in the apprehenſion and danger, that Holland would take an open and direct part in the conteſt, and, throwing its whole force into the oppoſite ſcale, ſink the balance entirely againſt them. For though ſuch a meaſure would not only be a direct breach, but amount to a diſſolution of the general confederacy (Utrecht, like every other province, being abſolutely paramount and ſovereign within its own territories) yet they had ſeen ſo many inſtances of the daring ſpirit of that party now dominant in Holland, that they truſted as little to their prudence in weighing general conſequences, as to their juſtice with reſpect to the rights of others.

It became accordingly the firſt object of policy with the ſtadtholder's friends, as well as with the ſtates of Utrecht and Guelderland, to uſe all the civil means which the nature of the conſtitution and government admitted, to reſtrain the violence of Holland; and if theſe failed of effect, their ſecond object, and laſt apparent reſource was, to call in the aid of the provinces of Zealand and Frieſland (which they had a well-founded hope of obtaining) and prepare to defend their territorial rights, and vindicate their ſovereign authority by arms.

The ſtates general had hitherto preſerved the moſt guarded neutrality through the whole courſe of theſe diſſenſions; ſo that it could not even be ſurmiſed what their private opinions as men might be, relative to any of the queſtions which had been ſo violently agitated. In fact, by the conſtitution of that body, though their powers and authority were great, they were directed rather to general than to particular objects. Their high mightineſſes were the watchful guardians of the intereſts of the republic as a whole; they were to look particularly to them with reſpect to foreign nations; they were to watch the approach of danger from without, to eſtimate its degree, and to make a timely proviſion for the public ſecurity. In war, their powers were great, and their authority in a great meaſure concluſive; and in peace, they were to preſcribe the force to be ſupported by ſea and land, to inſpect into the ſtate of the fleets and armies, and to look to every part of the public defence at home and abroad. But with reſpect to internal affairs, or the differences between particular ſtates, their powers of controul, if not abſolutely limited, are at leaſt unknown, as their exertion is probably without a precedent. But in caſes of extreme neceſſity, even with reſpect to internal affairs, where the peace or unity of the republic were endangered, the occaſion would undoubtedly ſanctify the application of theſe undefined powers, and the effect would be the

the greater from the rareneſs of the exertion.

It ſeemed as if the ſtates general conſidered the occaſion for calling forth that ſupreme power, which, however concealed or dormant, muſt ſubſiſt in all ſtates, as now arrived, by that war which was on the point of breaking out between Holland and the ſtates of Utrecht with their allies.

But, previous to their direct interference, the friends of the ſtadtholder deemed it neceſſary to obtain the ſanction of another great body in the ſtate, as an eſſential preparatory meaſure. This was the council of ſtate for the ſeven provinces, a body of the firſt dignity and power with reſpect to the mere executive authority in the republic. This council, which ſits conſtantly at the Hague, is compoſed, like the ſtates general, of deputies from all the provinces of the union; and is the conſtant repreſentative of that body, which meets only on ſtated days, not only in thoſe ſhorter intervals, but in the caſes of ſeparation or prorogation, and in theſe ſeaſons ſuperintend the execution of all ſuch reſolutions as they have paſſed on public affairs. The council of ſtate likewiſe ſuperintend the public revenues, the neceſſary proviſions for the army, and the affairs of the *generalité*; by which term is to be underſtood thoſe countries, diſtricts, or towns, which, by conqueſt or otherwiſe, have fallen to the republic ſince the union, and which conſequently are not included in it.

The ſtadtholder, in better times, had uſually poſſeſſed a great and neceſſary influence in this body; but the diſorders and confuſion which ſo long prevailed, perhaps rendered their preſent diſpoſition doubtful. However that was, the council of ſtate now declared themſelves, and paſſed a reſolution, on the 28th of April, forbidding all colonels, or other officers commanding regiments, from marching their troops upon the territories of any other province, without the conſent of that ſovereignty firſt obtained; and diſcharging them from all obedience to any orders whatever of a contrary nature. This reſolution being confirmed by the ſtates general, became an abſolute decree.

This produced a reply from the ſtates of Holland, in which they declared, that the reſolution of the ſtates general would have been perfectly concluſive on them, if the confederacy had maintained its proper ſituation; but that this had been already changed, by the hoſtile march of the troops of one province againſt the inhabitants of another; from which they conſidered the bond of union as broken, and conſequently were no longer bound to its obſervation. At the ſame time they deemed it neceſſary to try, what effect this interference of the ſtates general might have upon the diſpoſition of their troops, and accordingly iſſued an order, that the officers ſhould peremptorily declare, whether they were ready to obey their maſters, the provincial ſtates, in all caſes without exception; and that thoſe who refuſed, or who heſitated in giving a ſatisfactory explanation, ſhould be immediately ſuſpended. May 10th.

But in the intermediate time, things were arrived at ſuch a criſis on the ſide of Utrecht, as to preclude all farther hope of ſucceſs from civil intrigue or negociation,

towards the preſervation of peace, or the reſtoration of harmony; and the firſt blood was now publicly drawn in a military manner through theſe conteſts.

We have already ſeen that the provincial ſtates aſſembled at Amerſfort, had at length determined to proceed to the laſt extremities, in order to reſtore the government of their turbulent capital, and to reduce it to a due ſtate of obedience to and conformity with the ancient government and conſtitution. The better to effect this purpoſe, it was reſolved in the firſt inſtance, as the neceſſary prelude to a ſiege, to ſeize the principal poſts which ſurround the city of Utrecht, and thereby cut off its communications in general, but particularly with the province of Holland, from which only it looked for ſupport and aſſiſtance.

No meaſures were ever worſe conducted than thoſe adopted upon this occaſion. The poſſeſſion of the poſt of Vreeſwyk, near Utrecht, was a matter of the utmoſt importance to both parties, and neither ſeemed to make a proper eſtimate of its value. Its ſituation upon a great canal, rendered it the medium of communication between Utrecht and South Holland, and it was beſides the ſeat or head of the ſluices, by which a conſiderable part of the neighbouring territories in both provinces were liable to be laid at any time under water. Yet the city of Utrecht had not placed the ſmalleſt guard to protect a place ſo near, and of ſo much conſequence to its ſecurity.

On the other ſide, the ſtates ſent the Count d'Efferen, with a weak battalion of his regiment, amounting only to about 350 men, without artillery, and, ſo far as appears, without any means of throwing up retrenchment or defence of any ſort, not only to poſſeſs and maintain this poſt, but another, at a conſiderable diſtance, on the way to Utrecht, which was neceſſary to its preſervation, being a village called Jutphaas. It cannot but appear aſtoniſhing, how any council, however ignorant of war, or any commander of a regiment, however little verſed in actual ſervice, could deem it poſſible for ſuch a handful of men to maintain their ground in two poſts conſiderably ſeparated, and in the vicinity of a great and turbulent city, poſſeſſing ſeveral thouſands of well-armed and long-diſciplined burghers, whoſe courage was inflamed by the violence of their enthuſiaſm, and the long ſucceſs which had attended their proceedings.

Count d'Efferen, fully ſucceeded in performing the firſt part of his miſſion, by taking poſſeſſion, on the afternoon of the 9th of May, both of Vreeſwyk and Jutphaas; poſting four companies of his detachment in the firſt, and three in the other. The ſurpriſe, and the delay of aſſembling the council in Utrecht, occaſioned its being about ſeven o'clock in the evening, before a ſmall party, which ſeemed inſufficient for the purpoſe, were permitted to march to repel the invaders; for, whether it proceeded from their contempt of the regular troops (whoſe force they were acquainted with) or from whatever other cauſe, the eagerneſs of the burghers to go as volunteers was ſo ſtrongly controuled, that only 200 of that body, accompanied with 30 light marksmen, were ſuffered to proceed on this ſervice; they however

ever were supported by three pieces of cannon. This party was commanded by the Baron d'Averhoult, one of the new members who had come into the senate upon the change of government in Utrecht.

Upon their approach to Jutphaas, the three companies stationed there fell back, until they were supported by the other four from Vreeswyk; the volunteers coming on in the dark, for it was then ten o'clock, were suddenly fired on by the regular troops, who had opened to the right and left to receive them. The volunteers did not display the surprise or disorder so natural to raw troops upon this unexpected fire, but, bringing up their artillery coolly, engaged and soon routed the enemy.

The news of this affair was brought to Utrecht after midnight, and nothing could exceed the triumph of the people, at seeing a number of firelocks and other trophies, with about 20 prisoners, appear as the fruits of their first essay in arms. A small reinforcement, with a convoy of artillery and ammunition, was directly sent off to Averhoult, who continued that night at Jutphaas, but proceeding betimes in the morning to Vreeswyk, the regular forces were so far from shewing any inclination to retrieve the honour of the preceding night, that they immediately abandoned the place.

This paltry affair, which afforded so little credit to the military forces of the state, served to raise the spirits of the burghers of Utrecht, and the opinion they held of their own prowess, to so high a pitch, that it seemed nothing in war could afterwards be difficult. Only two persons, one of whom was of some consideration, were killed on their side, and about a dozen wounded. The dead heroes were interred, at the expence of the state, with the greatest pomp; and the senate passed a resolution that a monument should be raised on the spot where they fell, to eternize the memory of those who had thus bravely shed their blood, in the first contest for the defence of the city, and the new constitution.

The states of Holland, upon the first news of this skirmish, did not hesitate a moment in ordering their troops to march directly into the territories of Utrecht; they placed garrisons immediately both in Vreeswyk and Jutphaas, and the troops of Salm were sent to reinforce the capital. A skirmish soon took place between the latter and a party of the troops of the state, who met them on their march, and who seem to have been as unsuccessful in this second essay as in the first. In the mean time, the most unqualified menaces were thrown out, both in the declarations of the states of Holland, and of those assembled at Amersfort; while these applied to all the neighbouring provinces for assistance, to repel this violent invasion of their territories; and the conduct of Holland seemed to excite a very high and general indignation. In the mean time the stadtholder took the field with the forces attached to him, and every thing, on every side, tended to immediate war.

A sudden and unexpected revolution, which took place in the affairs of Holland, seemed, however, to hold out hopes, that these extremities might still possibly be avoided. We have seen the test proposed by the states of that province

vince to try the fidelity and obedience of their officers; the late reſolution of the ſtates general had afforded ample room for pretence to theſe, not to depart from their political opinions or principles, and a great majority of them refuſed to ſubſcribe to the propoſed declaration. Whatever degree of diſſatisfaction this defection excited, it did not ſeem at all to embarraſs the proceedings of the ſtates of Holland; for they immediately fulfilled the threat of ſuſpending the officers; and with equal celerity, appointed new ones to fill their places. The refractory officers were, however, ſoon conſoled, by a reſolution of the ſtates general to take them under their immediate protection, and this accompanied with an order, that their cuſtomary pay ſhould be continued, and duly diſcharged by the public treaſury of the ſtate at large.

But previous to theſe events, the ſtadtholder had publiſhed a manifeſto, on the 26th of May, which could ſcarcely be conſidered as leſs than a declaration of war againſt the province of Holland, or at leaſt againſt that ariſtocratical cabal, as they are called in it, who are charged, in direct terms, with having overturned the conſtitution and government of ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable cities, and in a great meaſure of the province at large; while their leaders, diſdaining to pay any regard even to the forms of law or the conſtitution, had depoſed the legal ſenates by force, and compelled them, at the point of the bayonet, not only to ſubmit to a ſurrender of their own rights, but to abandon the truſts repoſed in them by their country, and the duties of which they were bound to perform. That this cabal, which was repreſented as being not leſs contemptible in point of number than in all other reſpects, had been enabled to commmit theſe exorbitances, merely through the circumſtance, that their leaders had been ſervants of the ſtate, and treacherouſly turned thoſe powers with which they had been endued for its preſervation, to its abſolute ſubverſion. That now, in ſome meaſure to cover their enormities at home, and hoping to have time, during a ſtate of general calamity and confuſion, to eſtabliſh their uſurped power, they were hoſtilely preparing for a violation of the rights, and an invaſion of the territories of another ſtate, thereby intending to involve the whole republic in all the miſeries and horrors of a civil war. That the ſtadtholder, whoſe long bearing, and long ſuffering, had been conſpicuous to all the world, partly from the gentleneſs of his own nature, partly from the hope that the evils ariſing from the conduct of this faction would long ſince have cured themſelves, and partly that the nefarious deſigns of their leaders might become apparent to all people, had hitherto refrained from proceeding to thoſe extremes which the caſe would have fully warranted, in order to reſtrain thoſe enormities; but that now the neceſſity and danger were ſo viſible and urgent, that he could no longer abſtain from the exerciſe and due application of thoſe coercive powers with which he was endowed by the conſtitution, for preſerving the public tranquillity, preventing any farther violation of the general union, and reſtoring the legal government, and the due operation

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of the conſtitution in the province of Holland. Hopes were likewiſe held out to the burghers, that their claims ſhould be attentively conſidered, and that the prince would do every thing in his power, towards their receiving all conſiſtent and reaſonable ſatisfaction.

In the mean time, the animoſity of the contending parties had riſen to ſuch a pitch of violence in Amſterdam, as to render that city a ſcene of the moſt dreadful diſorders. An addreſs to the ſtates of Holland for reſtoring the ſtadtholder to all his rights, which we have before noticed as having received 35,000 ſignatures, ſerved to revive with new vigour all the ſeeds of animoſity and contention on both ſides; and the city preſented for ſome days the mixed picture of cruel civil war, accompanied with the unſparing ravage of a foreign invader. The republican party, though ſo much inferior with reſpect to number, was, however, the conſtant victor in all theſe bloody conteſts. The quarter of Cattemburg, in which the ſhipbuilders, and other perſons belonging to the admiralty, as well as thoſe of ſimilar callings in the merchants ſervice, principally reſided, was ſo entirely ſeparated from the city by a canal and a drawbridge, that it ſeemed a diſtinct town, and the inhabitants a ſeparate community. The people of this quarter have at all times been diſtinguiſhed for the violence of their attachment to the ſtadtholder's intereſts, and were apt to expreſs it in the boiſterous manner peculiar to their character.

On the 28th of May, being the day appointed for cloſing the addreſs, a number of theſe people attended in the city on that account; and it is not at all improbable, that their joy at the prodigious majority of the ſignatures, beyond any thing that had ever appeared on the other ſide, together with the effect of the ſtrong liquors which are never unſparingly uſed on ſuch occaſions, might have inſpired them with that riotous diſpoſition with which they are charged by their adverſaries. It is likewiſe to be remembered, that the very circumſtance of the ſignatures, which ſo much excited the joy of the Cattemburgers, could not but produce a very contrary effect on the oppoſite party, and was well calculated to raiſe their animoſity to the higheſt pitch, and to inflame their rage to the greateſt violence.

A quarrel, however, commenced, and the riot continued, without any material miſchief being done, until the evening, when the Cattemburgers were routed. The ſore remembrancers which they bore of the conflict, together with the ſhame of the defeat, were probably the cauſes of their returning the following day in greater numbers than before. The parties being now more equal, the riot became ſo alarming, that a body of armed burghers thought it neceſſary to interfere. The mob of the republican party being now relieved from the labour of fighting, the moſt villainous part of them immediately perceived, that the happy occaſion offered, while their enemy was kept at bay, and the noiſe and confuſion ſtill continued, to enter upon more profitable action, and to which they were more competent, than that in which they had already been engaged. They accordingly abandoned the field, and, dividing into bodies ſufficient for the purpoſe, ran with the utmoſt ſpeed and violence to different

ent parts of the city, and immediately proceeded to break into and pillage thoſe houſes of the principal ſtadtholderians, in which they expected to find the moſt valuable plunder. The firſt houſe which became a victim to their rapacity was that of M. de Rendorp, who had himſelf, through a fortune ſo ſingular as not eaſily to be accounted for, eſcaped the fiery ordeal of the laſt reform of the regency, and ſtill retained his office of burgomaſter.

In the mean time, the Cattemburgers having been driven to their own quarter, where they drew up the bridge, and ſtood upon its defence, perceiving how their friends were uſed in the city, whether upon a principle of retaliation, or of mere rapine, began incontinently to plunder the houſes of thoſe of the adverſe faction who reſided among them. Nothing leſs than the actual ſack of a capital, could afford a juſt idea of the ſcene of confuſion and terror, which the pacific and great commercial city of Amſterdam now preſented. Drums reſounded in every part, not only to aſſemble the armed burghers, but to call the four regiments of city militia (who compoſe a very numerous and well armed body) to their colours. Artillery were dragged forward on both ſides, and ſeveral diſcharges, both of them and of muſketry, took place from the oppoſite ſides of the canal which ſeparated the hoſtile parties. The cable which ſupported the drawbridge being at length cut, the paſs was forced, the Cattemburgers ſoon routed, and were ſucceſſively expoſed to military rage, and to civil execution.

On the following day the depredations on the friends of the ſtadtholder were renewed with freſh violence; while the city police ſeemed to be entirely taken up with two favourite objects; the one being to puniſh the Cattemburgers, and the other (which was even, if poſſible, more eagerly ſought) to procure ſuch evidence, as might enable them to bring a charge againſt the prince of Orange, that all the miſchief had originated with him; an attempt in which they failed, notwithſtanding the terror which preſſed upon the minds of the unhappy perſons who were the objects of the ſcrutiny. In the mean time Amſterdam was deſerted by numbers of its moſt reſpectable and opulent citizens; not a few of whom, deſpairing of any return of order and ſecurity, retired, with whatever they could ſave of their wealth, to foreign countries. Others, who ſtood the brunt, and endeavoured to weather the ſtorm, had their windows lined with muſketeers, and two pieces of cannon were planted before the great mercantile houſe of the Hope's for its protection. In the mean time all buſineſs was at an end, the counting-houſes ſhut up, the principal merchants removing their effects to their country ſeats, a total ſtop put to paper currency of whatever ſort, and all orders from the banks for money rejected. It was reported that fourteen of the ſtadtholder's party were hanged in the ſtreets, without any form or pretence of trial; but the reports propagated in ſuch ſituations, of violence and mutual animoſity, are little to be relied on as to particular facts, tho' ſuch events are their natural conſequences.

We have already ſeen the decided part taken by the ſtates general againſt thoſe of Holland, by taking the refractory officers into their

protection, and into the public pay. This was undoubtedly a mortification, but was soon succeeded by others much greater, and of a nature not a little alarming. For the states general issued an order to general Van Reyssel, who commanded the troops of Holland, to break up the cordon or line which they formed on the frontiers of Utrecht, under pain to him and them, of instant dismission from the service. The states of Holland immediately issued counter orders, charging Van Reyssel and his officers, under the same penalty, to preserve their station. Both parties now seemed disposed to carry this civil hostility to its utmost extreme; for while the states general suspended Van Reyssel from the command of the army, the states of Holland voted him full support, protection, and the most complete indemnity from all consequences.

These measures were followed by another very important event. It was no less than a revolt of a great majority of the troops of Holland from the orders and jurisdiction of their masters the states of that province.

We have before had occasion to observe, that the army in general held dispositions very favourable to the interests of the prince of Orange. This had been lately confirmed, with respect to the officers, by their refusal, at the risque of their commissions, to comply with the proposed test. The disposition of the private men remained, however, still doubtful; and, whatever it might be, required the operation of some active agent, to excite its visible exertion; at the same time, that the late augmentation of their pay by the states, a measure so universally powerful in its effect upon soldiers, seemed to preclude all hope of success in such an experiment.

Colonel Balneavis (of a noble family in Scotland) had been among the first of those officers who refused to obey the orders of the states, and had accordingly retired from his regiment; but now, confiding probably in the affection of his men, June 10th, 1787. he returned to them at Oudewater, and not only induced them, but a battalion of another regiment who were stationed along with them in that fortress, to march off with their artillery, and to join the stadtholder. This spirited and dangerous adventure served as a general signal of revolt, and the example seemed instantly to infect the whole line, so that in less than a week the cordon was broken up, the frontiers of Holland left defenceless, and about two thirds of their troops were gone over to the stadtholder.

The alarm and confusion which this misadventure occasioned, in such a season and state of things, when the pride and affected superiority of Holland had not only disgusted, but nearly excited a general confederacy against her, will be easily conceived. The volunteers and armed burghers were now the only refuge, and they were immediately called out to supply the place of the troops, and to take up arms in the defence of their country. The states allowed them pay and maintenance; and, as a last resort, in a case of such imminent danger, they appointed a commission of defence, being a kind of field or military deputies, who were to be stationed at Woerden, and to act in concert with general Van

Van Reyſſel, in all ſuch meaſures as tended to the public defence, and particularly in retaining, if poſſible, the remainder of their troops from deſertion. The city of Amſterdam, in the mean time, ſent a detachment of armed burghers to ſecure the ſluices at Muyden; and ſimilar means were uſed at Harlem.

The ſtates of Holland, notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, found it ſo difficult to recede, in any degree, from their uſual haughtineſs, and were ſo much irritated againſt the ſtates general, that it was propoſed, and eagerly debated in their aſſembly, that the deputies of the four provinces of Zealand, Frieſland, Utrecht, and Guelderland, ſhould be commanded to depart from their reſidence at the Hague. The more moderate part, however, conſidered that this would be ſo glaring and unexampled a violation of the union, and in all reſpects ſo deſperate a meaſure, that they prevented its being adopted; though it ſeemed that the queſtion was rather laid by for the preſent, than that the propoſal was abſolutely rejected.

An expedient was, however, reſorted to as a ſubſtitute (and in ſome meaſure a leſs violent one) than the expulſion of a majority of the ſtates general from the Hague. This was to engage their dependent allies, the government of Utrecht, who had long refuſed any obedience to the provincial ſtates at Amersfort, and treated them upon every occaſion with the utmoſt contempt, to proceed to the laſt extremity of depoſing, ſo far as they could, that aſſembly, by declaring it illegal, and incapable of its functions, and electing a new ſet of ſtates from among themſelves, who were to be conſidered as the repreſentative of the whole province.

But an extraordinary and unforeſeen event was now to take place, which was totally to change the nature of theſe conteſts, to introduce new actors upon the ſtage, and nearly to abſorb in its magnitude, even the remembrance of theſe petty violences and hoſtilities.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Arreſt of the princeſs of Orange near Schoonhoven. Obſervations on the conduct and principles on which the ruling party in Holland acted in that meaſure; with an account of the circumſtances attending it. Conſequences of that event, which change the whole face of public affairs in the republic, and intermingle foreign intereſts and connections with their domeſtic conteſts. Princeſs returns to Nimeguen. Strong memorial from the king of Pruſſia, demanding immediate and ample ſatisfaction, with due puniſhment to the authors of the outrage offered to the princeſs. Anſwer from the States of Holland deemed by the king unſatisfactory and evaſive. Anſwer from the States General, in which they diſapprove the conduct and obſtinacy of the States of Holland, and leave them to abide the conſequences, highly acceptable to the king. Court of Verſailles condemn the conduct of Holland, and juſtify the king in his demand of ſatisfaction. Second memorial from the court of Berlin, ſtrongly expreſſive of the king's ſurprize and indignation at the anſwer and conduct of the States of Holland. M. de Thulemeyer preſents a paper containing the form and terms of the ſatisfaction which the king inſiſts on. States of Holland, inſtead of compliance, order every thing to be in readineſs for inundating the country in caſe of invaſion. Preparations for war on the ſide of Pruſſia. Stadtholder takes the towns of Wick-Duerſtede, and Harderwycke. Province of Zealand declares for him. Ineffective attempts on his camp by the Rhingrave of Salm. Scandalous invective againſt the prince of Orange, in the form of a petition to the States of Holland. Licentiouſneſs of the rabble; deplorable ſituation and depopulation of the country; States endeavour in vain to prevent emigration. Proclamation iſſued by the States General, prohibiting the influx of French officers and ſoldiers daily arriving. Remonſtrate with the court of Verſailles on that ſubject. Duke of Brunſwick, at the head of a Pruſſian army, enters the territories of the republic. Takes Gorcum. Attempt made by the commiſſion of defence to inundate the country fails of effect. Shameful flight of the garriſon and armed burghers from Utrecht, without waiting the ſight of an enemy. Univerſal panic. The Pruſſian forces, in a few days, overrun and ſubdue the greateſt part of South Holland; moſt of the cities and fortreſſes falling into their hands without reſiſtance. Duke of Brunſwick and general Kalkreuth approach the ſtrong poſts of Amſtelveen and Ouderkerp, within a few miles of Amſterdam. Revolution at the Hague. States of Holland reſcind all their former reſolutions againſt the ſtadtholder, and invite him to return and take poſſeſſion of the government. Prince of Orange, and afterwards the princeſs, arrive at the Hague. Short truce, to give time for a deputation from Amſterdam to propoſe terms of accommodation. Terms deemed inadmiſſible. Strong defences, and inacceſſible ſituation of Amſterdam, ſeemed to render it impregnable. Truce being expired, duke of Brunſwick gives orders for a general attack on all the enemy's outpoſts at five o'clock in the morning. Admirable diſpoſitions made by the duke. Important poſt of Half Wegen taken, which opens the way to Amſterdam on the weſtern ſide. Amſtelveen taken

after

after a long and brave reſiſtance. The approaches to the city being now ſecured, the Pruſſian troops are called off from the other attacks. Admirable temper, and great moderation, diſplayed by the duke of Brunſwick, under various circumſtances which occured previous to the capitulation of Amſterdam, and the ſurrender of the Leyden Gate to the Pruſſians.

NOTHING could afford a more ſtriking inſtance how much the iſſue of the greateſt and moſt ſyſtematically conducted affairs of ſtate depend on unforeſeen events, often collateral to the cauſe in queſtion, than was exhibited by the arreſt of the princeſs of Orange at Schoonhoven. After the whole train is regularly laid, and political deſigns are ripening by mature degrees, it frequently happens, that reſolutions are to be taken on the ſpur of the occaſion, which are deciſive of failure or ſucceſs, but which admit of little or no deliberation. Thus it was in the affairs of Holland.

It muſt have been evident to every cool obſerver, however limited in his political views, that nothing could be more dangerous to the republic than the affording an opening to any foreign power for an hoſtile interference in their domeſtic feuds, under the colour of a perſonal or family inſult. And of all the princes in Europe it was equally evident, that the king of Pruſſia, from his near neighbourhood, cloſe affinity with the ſtadtholder, and, perhaps above all, from the promptneſs in the execution of the greateſt meaſures which has ſo long diſtinguiſhed that court, ſhould have been looked to with the moſt guarded caution, in order to prevent the poſſibility of any pretence, diſtinct from the ſubject, for ſuch interference.

For the king of Pruſſia would have otherwiſe found it very difficult, in the preſent poſture of affairs, and unleſs much more deciſive and dangerous meaſures were purſued againſt the ſtadtholder and his family, to colour a violent invaſion of the territories of the republic with thoſe plauſible pretexts, which the preſent ſyſtem of policy and conduct adopted by the ſtates of Europe has rendered, at leaſt in a conſiderable degree, neceſſary. But all this difficulty was removed by themſelves, through the inſult offered to the princeſs his ſiſter; and thereby, a foreign quarrel being involved in their domeſtic diſſenſions, the ſwords that were drawn under pretence of obtaining ſatiſfaction for the affront, were ſoon directed to model the ſtate and government.

On the other hand, it is not to be denied, that if the intentions of the princeſs had not been as pure as her known character aſſures us they were, the admiſſion of ſuch a perſon into the very center of their operations, could not but be fatal to the deſigns of the republican party. The activity and energy of her diſpoſition, her acknowledged ability, the affection the provinces bore to her perſon, and more eſpecially the difficulties her ſex would have oppoſed on the reſtraint which prudence might require, made her an object of ſome apprehenſion. The very reſpect which is attached to the character of mediator is capable of being perverted to ſiniſter purpoſes. And the peculiar circumſtance of a princeſs,

ceſs, allied to one of the greateſt royal houſes, after being reduced to fly from her country, nobly ruſhing back again into the ſcenes of war and tumult, and committing herſelf to the mercy of hoſtile factions, that ſhe might plead the cauſe of her huſband and her children; this was a ſpectacle not raſhly to be indulged to a people yet in the ferment of a recent revolution, and before the ſpirit was properly aſſimilated to a new government. Men embarked in civil contentions are naturally ſuſpicious; and the great and critical intereſt, in which all is at ſtake, cannot liſten to thoſe perſonal reſpects, and bow to the conſiderations which regulate the concerns of ordinary times. It may be added too, with ſome appearance of probability, that the king of Pruſſia would not have engaged in the Dutch affairs at all, if his interference had not coincided with his condition and the plan of his politics; and that, if circumſtances had made it neceſſary for him to acquieſce in ſuch open attacks on the rights of a perſon ſo nearly allied to him as the ſtadtholder, he would not be moved by a meaſure which ſome people would call a perſonal unprovoked indignity, but others might conſtrue an act of juſtifiable rigour, and of political neceſſity: ſo that, in caſting up the account, we may find rather the occaſion than the cauſe of the king of Pruſſia's irruption into Holland, in the event, the particulars of which we are going to relate.

The princeſs of Orange, whether from a confidence founded in a ſenſe of her abilities, or on the influence which ſhe expected might be derived from her ſex, dignity, and family, adopted the reſolution of proceeding, unaccompanied by the prince her huſband, from Nimeguen to the Hague; intending, undoubtedly, to have entered into a perſonal negociation with the leaders of the adverſe party, and at the ſame time to manage the intereſts of the ſtadtholder with the ſtates general, the council of ſtate, and other great bodies of the government.

Whatever the ſecret motives might be, thoſe avowed by the princeſs were, that ſhe was on her way to the Houſe in the Wood, (a palace belonging to the houſe of Orange, known by that name, and adjoining to the Hague) in order to communicate to Mr. Van Bleiſwick, the grand penſionary, to their noble mightineſſes the ſtates of Holland, and to their high mightineſſes the ſtates general, ſuch conciliatory propoſitions, in the name of the prince her huſband, (who could not in the preſent ſituation of affairs attend in perſon) as would, if it were yet poſſible, prevent the evils and horrors of a civil war, which at preſent hung ſo heavily over the republic.

On the other hand, the adverſe party repreſented this myſterious journey as a meaſure fraught with the greateſt dangers. They ſaid, that in order to facilitate the ſtadtholder's open operations againſt them in the field, the princeſs had come into Holland with a view of exciting inſurrection and rebellion among the people, and of throwing every thing into confuſion at home. That the debauching the troops of the ſtate, and procuring a farther deſertion of them from their maſters, was probably another object of the journey. And, as it was neceſſary to inflame as much as poſſible the minds of the more vulgar and ignorant

norant members of their party, and that a common travelling poſt coach or two, with a couple of hired chaiſes, could not well bear the imputation of being the conveyance of any dangerous quantity of artillery, it was induſtriouſly given out, that the princeſs's baggage was full fraught with ammunition of the moſt dangerous nature, for that above 3000 orange cockades were packed up in it, which ſhe intended to diſtribute among her adherents. And, as the baggage was not ſearched, either from motives of reſpect, or from a political aſſumption of them, it became impoſſible after to prove the negative.

The princeſs, accompanied only by the baroneſs Waſſanaar, count Bentinck, a field officer or two, and attended by a few domeſtics, arrived, in the common mode of travelling, with hired carriages, at the borders of Holland, near Schoonhoven. They were ſtopped by the firſt guard of armed burghers they met; but upon a declaration of the princeſs's quality, and where ſhe was going, the officer, after much heſitation, and apparent embarraſſment, ſuffered them to proceed.

We have before obſerved, that the place of the deſerted troops had been ſupplied by the armed burghers, who, with thoſe that remained, ſtill kept up the line on the frontiers of Utrecht. It appears that the commanding officers of the line had received ſome previous intelligence of the approach of the princeſs, and it is probable had time to receive private inſtructions from the ſecret commiſſion of defence at Woerden, which was furniſhed in ſome reſpects with dictatorial powers, in what manner to act upon this new occaſion. The princeſs ſeems rather to have paſſed by than thro' Schoonhoven, and proceeded above a league farther without interruption; but the carriages were then ſuddenly ſurrounded by a party of burghers, who were ſoon joined by a detachment of the horſe of Heſſe Philipſtal, whoſe commander had gone over to the prince, but was either deſerted by his regiment, or they had refuſed to proceed with him. June 28th. 1787.

This detachment, though officered, ſubmitted to act like machines, under the orders of a rough, vulgar, ignorant captain of the free corps. Their behaviour was ſuch as might have been expected from ſuch a leader; who was equally ignorant of military duties, and of the manners eſtabliſhed among gentlemen. After much altercation and delay, he, with difficulty, complied with a propoſal of the princeſs, to ſend an expreſs to general Van Ryſſell, who was at three leagues diſtance, in order that he might remove this obſtruction to her route; but abſolutely refuſed to let M. Bentinck accompany the expreſs, and was hardly perſuaded to ſuffer him to write a few lines to Van Ryſſell.

Upon a repreſentation of the very diſagreeable ſituation of the princeſs, ſtopped upon a narrow road between two canals, it was agreed to remove her to ſome more convenient place until the arrival of the meſſenger from Van Ryſſell. The miſerable guard who had her in cuſtody, and who exhibited the exultation and diſorder of a banditti who had ſeized a rich prey, rather than the conduct and character of ſoldiers, by their noiſe and ſudden unmilitary motions ſo ſtartled the horſes in the princeſs's carriage, that

that she narrowly escaped being overturned into one of the canals; while their insolence and brutality were such, that they prevented, by force, the gentlemen in the other carriages from going to her assistance.

They were then conveyed as prisoners through the country, without knowing for some time whither they were to be carried, until their arrival at a small town about seven o'clock in the evening. At this place they were conducted to head-quarters (we suppose an inn) where the princess and the gentlemen were conducted to one room, and her attendants in another adjoining. Centries were placed at all the doors, and the most ridiculous precautions used to prevent an escape. The captain of the free corps accompanied the princess in her room, with his sword drawn in his hand, but upon a remonstrance of the impropriety, civilly put it in the scabbard; and, sitting cross-legged by her side, he ordered wine, beer, pipes, and tobacco, as a refreshment. Some of the circumstances, which are reported to have accompanied this novel scene, were highly laughable; particularly that three soldiers with drawn swords attended one of the princess's women upon a private occasion, from which all male spectators are usually secluded.

In some hours the commissioners from Woerden arrived, who endeavoured to palliate what was past by the strictness of their orders, and the danger and necessity of the times; but pleaded their inability to suffer the princess to proceed on her journey, until the return of a messenger whom they had dispatched for instructions to the states. In the mean time they recommended to the princess to choose some neighbouring town where she could meet with proper accommodation for passing the night. She accordingly fixed upon Gouda, as the nearest; but they apprehending an insurrection if she went to that town, Schoonhoven was at length determined upon, where she arrived about midnight, accompanied by two of the commissioners, and escorted by a party of horse.

The princess had immediately dispatched letters to the grand pensionary, and to the secretary, upon her arrival at Schoonhoven; and waited there the following day for the answers to them, as well as that which was expected from the states of Holland. These not arriving, she set out the morning of the 30th on her return to Nimeguen. The expresses, however, came up, before she had repassed the Lech; but, as they contained nothing satisfactory, nor in the smallest degree tending to encourage her in the pursuit of her object, of going to the Hague, she continued her journey. That adventurer the rhingrave of Salm, who is a younger brother of the actual prince of that title, and who has made himself so notorious in the course of these troubles, having in the interim spread a report, with a view of exciting the people to some extraordinary violence, that the prince of Orange was travelling post with an army of 12,000 men, for the rescue of the princess from her captivity. All the arts of chicanery and falsehood, however liable to detection, however short the possible duration of their effect, and however destructive in their operation, are practised without shame or remorse, by those who hope to profit by in-

creasing the flames of civil diſſenſion, in whatever country is thus unhappily a prey to their deſigns; and the conduct of this perſon affords an uſeful leſſon, that to be without ſcruples in the proſecution of a cauſe is by no means a proof of fidelity and zeal.

While the princeſs was in durance, the prince of Orange diſpatched a letter to the ſtates general, claiming their immediate interference for her liberation, as well as for proper ſatisfaction for ſo unprecedented and extraordinary an inſult.

But the buſineſs was now to fall into more effective hands, and to be taken up by a power that was not to be trifled with. A ſtrong memorial, as ſoon as it could be done, was tranſmitted from the king of Pruſſia, through Mr. Thulemeyer, to the ſtates of Holland. His language was now conſiderably changed from that which he uſually held. He expreſſed the deepeſt ſenſe of the affront, violence, and injury to his ſiſter, as if offered directly and perſonally to himſelf. He inſiſted accordingly upon immediate and ample ſatisfaction, and particularly upon the puniſhment of thoſe who had committed the outrage; and concluded by giving them to underſtand, that he ſhould eſtimate the value which they placed on his friendſhip and good-will, by their conduct upon this occaſion.

July 10th.

In the intermediate time, the ſtates of Holland had paſſed a reſolution, juſtifying and approving of the conduct of their commiſſioners, in, what they called, "this extraordinary, unexpected, and diſagreeable affair." In the debates upon this ſubject, they ſeemed to throw the whole blame of every thing that happened upon the princeſs, by her adopting the raſh meaſure of ſuddenly entering the territories of Holland, after ſo long an abſence, and in ſo critical a ſeaſon, without previouſly acquainting the ſtates with her deſign; a meaſure which could not be conſidered otherwiſe than dangerous; for that if the conciliatory motives aſſigned had been the real cauſes of the journey, ſuch a preliminary application was ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary to their effect, that it could not poſſibly have been overlooked.

The Pruſſian memorial drew a very long and laboured, but diſſatisfactory anſwer from the ſtates of Holland. They denied all intention of inſulting the king's ſiſter; attributed to her ſudden and unexpected entry into the country, without any attention to the uſual and neceſſary forms, whatever had happened; palliated ſome, and denied others of the circumſtances relative to her treatment: from all their information it was conducted decently, without the ſhadow of any thing injurious, or of any want of reſpect ſhewn to her royal highneſs; juſtified their commiſſioners; if they had acted otherwiſe, the laws of their country would have affixed ſome penalty on them. They renewed the topic, though in a leſs lofty ſtrain, of their own ſupreme ſovereignty; declared their great reſpect for the king, but inſinuated that reſpect between ſovereigns ſhould be mutual; and obſerved, that with the greateſt reſpect and regard which they held for the perſon of her royal highneſs, they cannot think that his majeſty means, that ſhe ſhould be exalted above the ſovereignty. They conclude, that

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the measures pursued on this occasion were necessary for preserving the peace of the province, by preventing those popular tumults and violences, of which they had such frequent and deplorable instances; and finally imputed the king's interference to partial and unfounded representations.

The Prussian minister had likewise presented another memorial from the king, on the same subject, to the states general; but their answer was so satisfactory, as to produce a return of acknowlegement and thanks from the king. Their high mightnesses declared, that they had made repeated applications, without success, to the states of Holland upon this unfortunate occasion; that they must therefore leave it entirely to them to abide the consequences, as they would not themselves be in any degree answerable for them.

The king of Prussia lost no time in ordering a representation of the outrage offered to his sister to be laid before the court of Versailles. In order to counteract the effect of this representation, the states of Holland were no less alert in laying before that court their answer to the Prussian memorial, together with their justificatory detail of the transactions, included in resolutions which they passed upon the occasion. It could not then but be to their unspeakable mortification, that they found the French king, their boasted ally, and the great supporter and friend of the party, had in strong terms condemned the treatment experienced by the princess. He declaring, that he conceived it to be a gross insult; that it was carrying matters to too great a length; that the king of Prussia was therefore certainly justified in demanding ample satisfaction for the affront; and that it ought undoubtedly to be given.

The answer of the states of Holland drew a memorial from Baron Thulemeyer, expressing in strong terms the mixed surprize and indignation which that answer excited in the Prussian monarch. That it was with the utmost astonishment he found, that, instead of an offer of just satisfaction, proportioned to the insult, they had returned an answer supported only by evasive and insufficient arguments. That his majesty would not admit, that the pretended ignorance of the motives which carried her royal highness to the Hague, and the apprehension of a popular commotion, should afford any excuse or colour to the conduct of the commission at Woerden. That such a suspicion, ostentatiously published, was a new insult. That the word of the princess, and her solemn declaration of the salutary motives by which she was excited, should have afforded the most perfect conviction to these deputies of the states; while the prudence with which she concealed her journey, in order to prevent the people from shewing those demonstrations of zeal and joy on her arrival, which their affections would otherwise have rendered inevitable, should have been considered as a fresh cause for the gratitude of government. That the king will not trouble himself with enquiring into the legality of the right of refusal which the commission at Woerden attributes to itself upon this occasion; but he will consider the more attentively the manner in which it was given and executed. That proceedings so outrageous and offensive have made a

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deep impreſſion on the mind of the king, who looks on the injury as offered to himſelf. "It is by the "expreſs orders of that monarch, "that the underwritten again de- "mands from your noble and great "mightineſſes, an immediate and "ſuitable ſatisfaction for the in- "ſult; and his majeſty further en- "joins me not to ſuffer you to re- "main ignorant, that he will per- "ſiſt invariably upon this ſatisfac- "tion, and that he will not content "himſelf with a diſcuſſion of de- "tached circumſtances, vague ex- "cuſes, or further ſhifts and eva- "ſions."

This was followed by a note from Mr. Thulemeyer, containing the forms of the ſatisfaction with which the king was willing to be contented—That the ſtates ſhould write a letter to her royal highneſs (to be firſt approved of by the Pruſſian miniſter) diſavowing the ſuppoſition that ſhe had any views contrary to the welfare of the republic—That they ſhould apologize for the oppoſition made to her journey, and for the treatment of which ſhe complained — That they ſhould puniſh, at the requiſition of the princeſs, thoſe perſons who were culpable of the offences offered to her auguſt perſon—That they ſhould revoke the erroneous and injurious reſolutions which they had paſſed with reſpect to this journey—And that this revocation ſhould be accompanied with an invitation in theſe terms, "That her royal "highneſs will come to the Hague, "to enter into a negociation, in "the name of the prince ſtadt- "holder, for conciliating, by a "ſuitable arrangement, the dif- "ferences which ſubſiſt at pre- "ſent."

That if theſe moderate conditions are without difficulty complied with by the ſtates, her royal highneſs will interfere with the king, her brother, to forbear any further requiſition for ſatisfaction on this ſubject. But that in the interim, until the negociation takes place, his majeſty expects, in the moſt expreſs manner, that the ſtates of Holland will, at leaſt, let things remain in their preſent ſtate; and that they will not proceed to any ſuſpenſion, deprivation, or other meaſures, offenſive or prejudicial to the perſon of the prince ſtadtholder, captain and admiral general, as by ſo doing they will render all conciliation illuſory, impoſſible, and will add to the offences.

It will not be ſuppoſed that conceſſions ſo mortifying to the pride, and ſo inimical to the deſigns of the republican leaders, could have been ſubmitted to. Indeed, the domineering language, and the haughty arrogance, which they had ſo long been in the habit of uſing towards the ſtadtholder and his family, ſeemed to render them incapable of any conceſſion however moderate. Their reliance upon France, in the laſt reſort, was likewiſe ſtill unimpaired. The ſtates of Holland, in their deliberation upon Thulemeyer's memorial, reſolved not to enter into any verbal or written diſcuſſion of the ſubject there, but to depute two of their number to Berlin, to explain matters upon the ſpot to the king. But when the expreſs arrived in four days from that city, with the preciſe terms of the ſatisfaction, not only demanded but inſiſted on, they thought it neceſſary to prepare for the worſt, and immediately iſſued an order to have every thing in readineſs for laying

laying the country under water, the moment any foreign troops ſhould enter the territories of the republic.

In the mean time every thing carried the face of immediate war at Berlin. Troops aſſembling, field equipage preparing, magazines forming, and councils of war frequently held, at which the reigning duke of Brunſwick conſtantly preſided. In the interim, 9000 Pruſſian troops lined the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves, bordering on the territories of the republic; the governor of Weſel received orders to prepare accommodations for the reception of an army of 60 or 70,000 men; and all theſe preparations were avowedly deſigned for obtaining ſatisfaction from the ſtates of Holland, for the inſult offered to the princeſs of Orange.

During theſe tranſactions the ſtadtholder had taken, by a *coup de main*, the fortified town of Wick, otherwiſe called Duerſtede, in the province of Utrecht; a place eminently noted, in the courſe of theſe troubles, for its early rejection of the authority of the provincial ſtates, the adoption of violent republican principles, and for the animoſity which it bore to the ſtadtholder; being in all theſe reſpects ſcarcely inferior to the capital itſelf, under whoſe protection it was foſtered and ſupported. This town was, particularly from its ſituation, an acquiſition of great importance to the ſtadtholder; it is ſituated on the borders of Holland, within 24 miles of Amſterdam; commands the courſe of that part of the Rhine, here called the Lech, on which it ſtands; poſſeſſes the command of ſeveral ſluices; and may be conſidered as the key of that province on the ſide of Utrecht. This was ſo well underſtood by the ſtadtholder, that, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of his army, he placed a garriſon of 1000 men in it. The conſternation and alarm which the ſurprize occaſioned at Amſterdam, ſufficiently ſhewed the juſtneſs of his eſtimate.

This firſt ſucceſs was ſoon followed by the taking of Harderwycke, a town of Guelderland, important likewiſe from its ſituation, which is on the Zuyder Sea. At the ſame period, whether theſe ſucceſſes were inſtrumental to it or not, the city of Middleburg, and the whole province of Zealand, declared without reſerve in his favour. The prince then advanced with his army towards the city of Utrecht, where he encamped at a league's diſtance, and, ſpreading his poſts to a conſiderable extent, began greatly to ſtreighten the intercourſe of that turbulent people with the adjacent country.

In this ſtate of things the Rhingrave of Salm, who was conſidered as the hero of the party, and was beſides governor of the city, and commander in chief of all the forces, whether foreign or domeſtic, employed in its defence, thought it neceſſary to make ſome attempt for the ſupport of that high reputation which, without danger or ſervice, he had ſo fortuitouſly obtained. For this purpoſe he adopted the ſcheme of making a ſtrong ſortie from the city at night, with a view, if not of beating up the prince's quarters, at leaſt of ſurprizing and carrying ſome of his detached poſts; which, from their extent, ſeemed a very feaſible deſign.

The force which he led out upon this occaſion, nearly included all orders and deſcriptions of military

men. Cuiraſſiers, huſſars, fuſileers, and markſmen, of his own legion; volunteer chaſſeurs; regular infantry of Holland, and volunteers; infantry of a corps called Palardi's; beſides the burghers of the town, under whatever denominations. This force was divided in two columns without the city, where each took its allotted courſe, on the night of the 26th of July; one being led by the Rhingrave in perſon, and the other by a lieutenant colonel called Klernenburg. The firſt, through ſome miſchance, paſſed the night without finding the enemy; and when at length they diſcovered him at break of day, they found him in ſuch a ſtate of ſtrength and preparation, that the Rhingrave, perceiving at once the danger, ſhewed ſuch judgment and prudence in the timely manner of making his retreat, that his troops returned ſafe to Utrecht, without the expence of a ſingle ſhot.

Not ſuch was the fortune of the other column. They found their way directly to their object, at the poſt of Soeſtdyck, which they attacked with vigour and intrepidity long before day. This was an old ſeat, under the name of a caſtle, with a village adjoining, belonging to the houſe of Orange. The troops of Heſſe-Darmſtadt have been long renowned for their excellence; and it happened, unluckily for the aſſailants, that the village was occupied by part of a regiment of that prince in the Dutch ſervice. Theſe, notwithſtanding the darkneſs and ſurprize, were inſtantly in arms, and were acknowledged, even by their enemy, to have well ſuſtained their ancient reputation. They lined the hedges of the gardens, the windows of ſome parts of the caſtle, and, ſeizing every tenable ſpot, defended all with the moſt determined valour. The conflict laſted fiercely till the approach of day; when other troops being attracted, by the noiſe of the firing, to the relief of the poſt, the aſſailants were forced to retire with the loſs of more than a hundred and fifty men; but their retreat to Utrecht had nearly proved fatal, for their guide being killed, they were led by another (they ſay through treachery) almoſt into the jaws of the enemy; ſo that they with difficulty eſcaped being involved in the centre of the ſtadtholder's camp at Zeiſt. A French officer of ſome diſtinction ſerved as a volunteer in the corps of Salm upon this occaſion. Indeed the officers of that nation, were generally either parties in or witneſſes to moſt of the tranſactions of this time; and one of rank and quality had even been preſent at the ſeizure of the princeſs of Orange.

All the effect which ſo many untoward circumſtances, and ſtrong indications of ſignal approaching danger, ſeemed to produce upon the ruling party in Holland, was to render them more harſh in their government, obſtinate and violent in all their proceedings, and more unrelenting and cruel in their perſecution of the Orange party. Among other capricious inſtances of perſecution, violence, and tyranny, the diſplay of Orange colours, in any form or manner, was conſtituted a crime of the firſt magnitude. It was ſaid that two men were openly hanged in the ſtreet at noon-day, for tranſgreſſing this order. The diſtorting ribbands or emblems of any colour into the form of the letter (*W*) was rendered highly,

highly, if not equally, penal. The expoſing of orange-coloured flowers to view, whether in the windows or elſewhere, had been prohibited long before. Such a ſyſtem of violence, if voluntary, cruel, and if neceſſary, unfortunate, under whatever name or form of government, could ſcarcely be permanent.

In the mean time, a bitter and unmanaged invective againſt the ſtadtholder, called The Declaration of the Inhabitants of Holland againſt William the Vth, was ſigned by about 6000 names, and publiſhed. In this piece, the prince was declared to have betrayed his country to England in the midſt of a war; he was charged with perjury and violation of his oath; accuſed of diſobedience to his ſovereign lords and maſters; and ſtigmatized as behaving like another duke of Alva. As a traitor to his country, they required that he ſhould be ſtripped of all his dignities, deprived of all his authority, his goods confiſcated, his perſon proſcribed, and delivered up to the ſovereign, to receive the recompence of his crimes.—Such was the laſt ebullition of popular fury, which was ſoon to ſubſide under the ſtrong compulſion of a diſciplined and victorious army.

The ſtates of Holland uſed every poſſible endeavour, that the new deputies, elected by the city of Utrecht, ſhould be received as the legal and real repreſentatives of the province by the ſtates general, and that the old legitimate ſtates, who had ſo long ſat at Amersfort, ſhould be excluded from their ſeats, and conſequently their vote, in that aſſembly. But their high mightineſſes, as well as the council of ſtate, reſiſted this innovation with ſuch firmneſs, that, to the great diſappointment of the party, all their efforts proved fruitleſs.

Through the courſe of theſe tranſactions, nothing could appear more deplorable than the aſpect which almoſt every part of the republic preſented. The rabble no longer heſitated at any act of the moſt daring licentiouſneſs; ſo that the foreign miniſters at the Hague thought themſelves in circumſtances of ſuch danger, that the Ruſſian miniſter applied, in the name of the whole diplomatic body, to the ſtates general, to provide ſome effectual ſecurity for their perſons and houſes.—It is worthy of obſervation, that this memorial was not preſented to the ſtates of Holland, in whoſe department the buſineſs ſeemed peculiarly to lie.—In ſuch a ſtate, it was not much to be wondered at, that the moſt melancholy objects ſhould every where ſtrike the eye. Numbers of ruined and plundered houſes ſhewed, in the towns, unerring marks of the higheſt deſolation; and many families, reduced at once to beggary, were every where to be met in the moſt piteous ſituation. The neighbouring countries were filled with the opulent or the induſtrious Hollanders, who thought themſelves happy in eſcaping from the dangers and miſeries to which they were expoſed at home. Oſtend, in particular, began again to raiſe its head, and to ſhake off the languor and deſpondency which the late peace occaſioned, through the number of Dutch families, who, totally abandoning their country, ſettled there for a permanency, and had no ſooner procured houſes, than, taking advantage of the port and ſituation, they reſumed their uſual habits, introducing new branches of trade,

and opening new ſources of commerce.

The king of Pruſſia, with a quickneſs of diſcernment, which did him credit, perceived at once the advantages which were to be derived to his own country, from the giving a proper direction to this ſpirit of emigration. He accordingly, without heſitation or loſs of time, immediately annulled or removed all thoſe laws or regulations, which had injudiciouſly thrown impediments or diſcouragements in the way to the ſettlement of foreigners within the Pruſſian dominions; particularly thoſe, which depriving men of their power of free agency, chained, as it were, the ſtranger to the new ſoil, by forbidding the removal of his perſon or effects, however contrary to his liking, or ruinous to his affairs, ſuch a compulſion might prove. Reſtrictions, indeed, ſo abhorrent to the nature of mankind, that it ſeems aſtoniſhing how they could have been adopted in wiſe governments. So true it is, that a power of exporting again is the greateſt encouragement to importing; and the beſt way to induce men to come, is to licenſe their departure. Theſe reſtraints are now, however, totally done away in the Pruſſian dominions, and an unreſtrained freedom of egreſs and regreſs, with reſpect to perſon and effects, is decreed to all foreigners.

The ſtates of Holland could not but be grievouſly affected, and ſeriouſly alarmed, at the unexampled depopulation of their country; and to ſee foreigners at the ſame time doubly enriched, by the acquiſition of its beſt citizens, and of their wealth. The evil was ſo ſudden and ſo general, that it was ſcarcely perceived before it was nearly irremediable. They paſſed the ſevereſt decrees againſt emigration, laying heavy penalties on all attempts towards it; pointing out to the citizens the duties which they owed to the ſtate; and vainly boaſting of their own competence and full ability to the protection of all their ſubjects. But the ſpirit of emigration was too ſtrong to be overruled; the boaſt was laughed at, and the ſeverity of the decrees only increaſed the rage for departure, and rendered men the more determined in their reſolution. In the mean time, the ſtate of miſery which that rich province exhibited, would have appeared incredible to thoſe who had before known it, and who did not now themſelves behold the viciſſitude. All foreign commerce had for ſome time been ſeemingly annihilated; and now, through the violent meaſures purſued by the domineering party in Holland, by the laying on of embargoes, and by ſtopping or ſeizing the ſhips of other provinces, as well as of their own, the internal commerce, which, for the extent of country, was the greateſt that ever exiſted, was equally injured.

Several of the provinces paſſed reſolutions for opening a new congreſs of mediation; and requeſting Great Britain, France, and Pruſſia, to undertake the friendly office of mediators. This propoſal ſeemed to be cordially accepted by the three powers in queſtion; but Holland ſtill hung back, without an abſolute refuſal, in direct terms; though the addition of Great Britain to the mediators, was a meaſure, which nothing but the laſt extremity could have induced the governing party in that province to admit of. Things were likewiſe

too

too fast approaching to a crisis, to afford the leisure and time necessary for negociation.

Though France seemed to lie dormant through the course of these transactions, yet, during the whole summer and the beginning of autumn, she was incessant in her endeavours, by every possible underhand method, to afford encouragement and assistance to the republican party in Holland. Crowds of French officers arrived every day in that province, and either received commissions in the service of the states, or acted as volunteers in their troops. But this not being thought sufficient, several hundreds of tried and experienced soldiers, whose fidelity and discretion could be relied on, were selected from different regiments, and, being furnished with money for their journey, and assurances of future favour, were dispatched in small parties to join the troops, and help to discipline the volunteers and burghers of Holland. It was a new circumstance, that a corps of engineers should be smuggled from one country into another in disguise; and it was rendered still more extraordinary, by the respective countries not immediately bordering in any part. Yet this was now done. The private men were furnished with clothes of the common colours, money, and proper answers to make to any troublesome enquiries; and thus equipped, they were to proceed, in very small parties, to the place of their destination, officers being stationed, in some of the principal towns on their way, to afford any farther succour or advice that might become necessary.

As soon as this influx of French officers and soldiers into the territories of the republic became, from their number, an object of general notice, the states general lost no time in endeavouring at least to stop the growing progress of the enormity. For this purpose, they not only issued proclamations strongly forbidding the intrusion, but they made very serious complaints upon the subject, both to the French minister at the Hague, and directly to the court of Versailles, by their own minister at Paris. This was all they could do; for those already arrived in Holland were out of their reach.

It was not until the king of Prussia had filled his magazines, advanced his troops and artillery to the frontiers, appointed a commander in chief, completed all his preparations, and was on the point of entering into action, that the states of Holland at length thought proper, in some degree, to descend from that high station of assumed power and dignity, on which they had so long strutted. Without seeming to consider the change in comparative power and estimation which had taken place between other states and their own, without seeming to recollect that they were only a single divided province, opposed by a majority of its fellows, they had assumed all the pride of sovereignty, and all the confidence of dictation, which the united republic could have displayed in the days of its greatest power and splendor. Whether it proceeded from a more perfect recollection of their condition, or because men grow moderate in their language as their resolution becomes more determined; they now, however, when it was too late, and the die already cast, returned

Sept. 8th. turned an anſwer full of condeſcenſion, to the king of Pruſſia's laſt memorial. But though they expreſſed the greateſt concern for what had happened to the princeſs, and nearly the greateſt poſſible degree of regard, and even reverence, for her and the king, although they deprecated his wrath in terms approaching to humiliation, and ſeemed almoſt to ſupplicate his friendſhip, yet they ſtill perſevered in juſtifying the conduct of the commiſſioners at Woerden, by denying that they had been guilty in the want of reſpect to the princeſs, excepting that the mere diſcharge of their duty (which they were doubly bound to, by the ſtrictneſs of their orders, and ſtill more by the unfortunate neceſſity of the times) ſhould be conſidered as ſuch. Upon the whole, it teemed with ſuch expreſſions of humility, and even ſhewed ſo conciliatory a diſpoſition, (particularly in throwing themſelves upon the king's friendſhip and mediation for reconciling their differences) that it is probable if ſuch an anſwer had been returned in the firſt inſtance, and its ſpirit adhered to, things could ſcarcely have arrived at their preſent extremity; at leaſt a door would have been open to accommodation and peace.

But the ſeaſon of peremptory reſolutions, ingenious, lively, argumentative replies, boaſtful threats, memorials, and even apologies, was now at an end; and the controverſy haſtened to a different iſſue.

The celebrated hereditary prince of Brunſwick, who under that title had gained ſuch early renown thro' all Europe, from the ſplendid actions which he atchieved, under the auſpices of that great general, his uncle prince Ferdinand, in the laſt ſeven years war in Germany; that war in which England bore ſo diſtinguiſhed a part, and in which he commenced his career of glory before he had well arrived at manhood, was now, by the death of his father, become the ſovereign and reigning duke of that country. This prince, who had long ſlumbered in the ruſt of peace, was now called from that enviable tranquillity by his near relation the king of Pruſſia, in order to undertake a taſk worthy of his genius and character, that of reſtoring the ſtadtholder to his rights, and the republic of the United Provinces to its priſtine ſtate of government.—As we were the early hiſtorians of this prince's exploits *, ſo his coming again within our obſervation, affords that ſoothing ſatisfaction, which ariſes from the revival of dear and early habits long ſuſpended, and from recovering the meridian ſplendor of virtues we admired in their dawn.

On the 13th of September 1787, the Pruſſian army, conſiſting of 25 battalions, and as many ſquadrons, advanced from their rendezvous in the duchy of Cleves, and entered the province of Guelderland in three columns, that on the right, which directed its courſe to the northward, being under the command of general Lottum; the center column, led by the generals Waldeck and Gaudi, marched on both ſides the Lech, on which, and the Waal, were the boats which conveyed the magazines, the lazaret,

* See the firſt volumes of the Annual Regiſter, from its commencement to the end of the German war.

and

and the pontoons of the army; the left column, which took the moſt ſouthern direction, was immediately commanded by the duke in perſon. Three of the battalions being left behind to ſecure the communications from the frontiers, the whole number of effective men, that entered the province of Holland, amounted to ſomewhat more than 18,000. Their artillery, as might be expected, was excellently choſen for a ſudden and ſhort war, in which regular ſieges were not the immediate object, conſiſting only of 16 ſix-pounders, 8 twelve-pounders, and 8 ten-inch howitzers.

The two former columns croſſed the Lech at Weſterporter, and encamped near Arnheim; the duke's diviſion paſſed the Waal at Nimeguen, and encamped near Lend. The only interruption to their progreſs proceeded from the exceſſive rains, which rendered the ſpongy ſoil of that low flat country a perfect marſh, and the roads nearly impaſſable, the infantry ſinking to the mid-leg at every ſtep. The Pruſſian huſſars were, however, puſhed forward on all ſides, and a party under the command of a lieutenant, which the duke had detached from Tiel, hearing that the republicans were ſtrong, and ſeemed determined on reſiſtance at Leerdam, in Holland, on the way to Niewport, they advanced thither with great rapidity; but they found the place abandoned by the garriſon on their approach, and the exceſſive fatigue rendered their horſes incapable of a purſuit.

The duke of Brunſwick purſuing the ſame courſe, turned to the left to Gorcum, which he found in a conſiderable ſtate of defence, and the cannon from the ramparts were fired at him as he advanced with a detachment of huſſars to reconnoitre the place. The camp was ſome miles behind; but colonel Romberg, with a detachment of infantry, eſcorted by huſſars and chaſſeurs, and accompanied by the neceſſary artillery, having marched all night, notwithſtanding the deepneſs of the country, with the numberleſs deep and broad ditches they had to paſs, arrived at Dalem, a village near the town, by break of day. In Sept. 17th. this place he immediately raiſed a battery of howitzers, ſending at the ſame time an officer to ſummon the town, with a threat of immediate bombardment in caſe of refuſal. An hour's time being allowed for an anſwer, and none returned, the officer was again ſent back, accompanied by a trumpet; but on his approach being fired at by the centinels, this affront was conſidered and accepted as the ſignal for bombardment.

The celebrated colonel and chamberlain Capelle, ſo eminent for his republican principles, and the part which he took in that cauſe, was governor of Gorcum, ſo that more than a common defence was to be expected. A few ſhot, however, only were fired, and about five grenades thrown, when a houſe was perceived in flames; and a new inſtance was given, how unfit an opulent people, tremblingly alive to their property, are to withſtand the dangers and calamities of war. A white flag was diſplayed from the tower, a parley immediately ſounded, and the fire of the battery as ſuddenly ſtopped.

The governor met colonel Romberg at the gate; the conditions were ſoon ſettled, M. Capelle giving

ing up the city, and ſurrendering himſelf and the garriſon priſoners of war; though, contrary to all military rules, he had previouſly given orders to the ſoldiers to make their eſcape down the Waal, by the boats which lay in numbers off the town. The duke of Brunſwick arrived juſt as the capitulation was ſigned; and marching along with the troops into the town, received a much greater ſatisfaction than this firſt triumph could have otherwiſe afforded, in his having been hailed by all the inhabitants that appeared (and who were evidently a great majority) as their deliverer, while the air reſounded with acclamations in favour of the houſe of Orange. The priſoners taken in Gorcum, conſiſted only of five officers, beſides the governor, with 63 ſoldiers; but the artillery amounted to 105 pieces of cannon. Not a ſingle perſon had been killed or wounded; one houſe burnt, another damaged, and a windmill blown up by a ſhell, was the whole damage done.

A greater number of priſoners than were found in the town, amounting to ſix officers and 90 ſoldiers, were at this inſtant brought in by captain Hirſchfeld, the duke's adjutant-general, at the head only of ſeven huſſars. That party had been ſent to open the ſluices of Arkel, and Hirſchfeld was diſpatched with a battalion of grenadiers to interrupt their deſign; but he, not waiting the march of the infantry, advanced rapidly with the huſſars, and turning a wood, appeared ſuddenly in their rear. Obſerving the confuſion which this unexpected fight occaſioned, he immediately ſummoned them to ſurrender; and the terror of the Pruſſian arms was ſo great, that they laid down theirs without heſitation. The fire of the battery had at that time ceaſed, which he ſucceſsfully uſed as an argument that the town had capitulated.

On the firſt intelligence of the entrance of the Pruſſian army, the commiſſioners of defence at Woerden iſſued immediate orders for inundating the country; but the waters of the Waal and the Lech, happening then to be uncommonly low, this circumſtance fruſtrated the deſign in the firſt inſtance; and the unremitted activity of the Pruſſian huſſars aud chaſſeurs, in diſperſing the labourers, and taking the troops appointed to protect them, rendered the execution afterwards impracticable. In the mean time, the different directions in which the Pruſſian columns interſected the country, the manner in which it was overſpread by their ſubdiviſions, and the rapidity by which their huſſars and chaſſeurs ſeemed to appear at different places in the ſame inſtant, not only magnified their numbers in the eyes of the people to a prodigious degree, but the conſternation and terror was ſo great, and all means of communication and counſel ſo ſuddenly cut off, that each town ſeeming abandoned to its fate, without knowledge of the ſtate of its fellows, loſt at once the powers of action and defence: the only exertion left among the armed burghers, the volunteers, and every order of the military, being to make their eſcape at all events from the places they were in, without any certainty where they were to find ſhelter, and under the trembling apprehenſion, at every ſtep, of being overtaken or intercepted

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cepted by the enemy. Some of these fugitives, however, committed great outrages in their flight, plundering and burning the houses of the Orange party in the villages and open country, while they endeavoured in vain to fix the imputation of these disorders upon the Prussians, who observed, through all these transactions, as strict a discipline as if they had been only changing quarters or marching to a review in their own country. The celerity of the hussars soon put an end to these enormities, by the dispersion and chastisement of the marauders.

The influence of reputation, and the terror bred by opinion, could never be more apparent than at this time; for so great was the dread conceived of the Prussian arms, that no superiority of number could embolden either the regular or irregular forces of the province, to endure any thing like a conflict even with the hussars and chasseurs. Under the general operation of these circumstances, so great a number of fortified towns (and these generally well provided with artillery and ammunition) were, perhaps, never before taken in so short a space of time; and this was performed with scarcely the loss of a single Prussian soldier for the first week.—It was indeed difficult for those who had read the history of the ancient wars of the Netherlands to believe, that those towns which had been celebrated through the world, for the extraordinary length of the sieges they endured, and the unconquerable obstinacy of their defence, should now be given up without firing a shot. But the distance of the respective periods in point of time is not so great, as that difference which has taken place in the character of the inhabitants.

After the taking of Gorcum, the duke's detachments spread on all sides, and every thing fell before them. Besides places of less consequence, Niewport and Schoonhoven, both cities capable of a long defence, if there had been even leisure for regular sieges, were abandoned by their garrisons without waiting for the sight of the enemy; notwithstanding which, a considerable number of the latter were brought back prisoners by the Prussian hussars. Dort surrendered to a handful of hussars who were going on other service, and who seemed to summon it by chance, or merely out of a bravade. Another detachment having boldly advanced to the gates of Rotterdam, they were immediately thrown open to them. In the same manner Leyden and Harlem surrendered, without firing a shot.

Similar success attended the column which advanced on both sides the Lech; Viannen, the Vaart, and every place in their way, was abandoned at their approach. The first advance of these troops on the south side of Utrecht, while the right hand column under general Lottum was at the same time within a few miles of them to the north, threw that turbulent city into the most deplorable state of terror and confusion. Their opinion of their own consequence made them imagine that they were the only object in view with both columns, that they would accordingly close upon the city, and that, surrounding it on all sides, they should at once be equally cut off from all means of relief and escape.

Their numbers were very considerable,

ſiderable, amounting to above ten thouſand armed men, including the legion of Salm, and all the other foreigners who had come to their aſſiſtance; their artillery were, in proportion, perhaps ſtill more numerous; and vaſt ſums had been expended in new fortifications, under the immediate direction of able engineers, who were ſent by France for the purpoſe. In theſe circumſtances they deſpiſed the prince of Orange's little army of about 3,500 men, which was poſted at the Bilt, a few miles to the north-eaſt of the city: and in reality, if their troops had been good, and well commanded, they were in much better condition for offenſive operations than the invader; and if no change had taken place in their relative ſituation, the war might have laſted for years without any abſolute deciſion. But they had been ſo blind to the apprehenſion of danger from any other quarter, that the new works were all conſtructed on that ſide by which the ſtadtholder muſt have made his approaches; truſting to the potency of their allies in Holland for the ſecurity of thoſe ſides of the city which looked towards that province, and where the old fortifications were accordingly left in their priſtine ſtate.

The people of Utrecht were ſo unwilling to be diſturbed from the dream of confidence, greatneſs, and ſecurity, which they had ſo long indulged, that the firſt accounts which they received of the entrance of the Pruſſian army, though authenticated by perſons of veracity, were treated with the utmoſt contempt and ridicule. But when, on the night of the ſame evening, expreſſes arrived from Amersford, with intelligence of Gen. Loſtum's arrival at that place, within 14 miles of them, and at the ſame inſtant others arrived from Wick, in the oppoſite direction, and about the ſame diſtance, with the news that they ſaw Waldeck's army enter the town, no words could deſcribe the conſternation and diſmay which enſued. All eyes were turned to their hero, the Rhingrave of Salm, and ſome remains of hope ſtill lingered, that his courage and military knowledge would have adminiſtered relief; but when it was ſeen that he was no leſs oppreſſed by the general terror than the multitude, that he was among the foremoſt who prepared for eſcaping, and that he declared the city was indefenſible, nothing could exceed the diſorder and confuſion that prevailed.

Some faint attempts were made to ſpike the artillery, and to ſpoil the powder in the magazines; but the fears of thoſe employed ſoon became ſo predominant, that every other object and conſideration immediately gave way to the deſire of eſcape. In an incredibly ſhort ſpace of time, all the roads and canals leading to Holland were covered with the horſes, carriages, and boats of thoſe terrified fugitives, who eſcaped with their families, and whatever elſe they could convey. A greater number, who could not procure theſe conveniencies, traverſed the roads on foot, loaded with ſuch parts of their effects as they deemed moſt valuable, and could beſt carry. Some hundreds, however, of the citizens, with more ſenſe and prudence than any of theſe, took the reſolution of breaking and hiding their arms, deſtroying their hoſtile emblems, and waiting quietly in their houſes to abide the conſequences; and by this

this wise and easy measure, happily escaped all question, and all loss.

This memorable night of terror, confusion, and miserable flight, happened so early after the arrival of the Prussians in the province, as the 15th of September; and it is worthy of observation, that Utrecht was not within the line of operation of any of the columns of that army; for they had no intention of losing time in the siege of a city of such extent, so powerful in men, arms, and money, and where, from the character and past conduct of the inhabitants, they had every reason to expect a most obstinate resistance.

The inhabitants of the town, who were in the Orange interest, did not venture out of their houses during the tumult of this night, but were astonished in the morning at finding the city evacuated by all orders of armed men, and the artillery lying on the works without centinels or guards. This intelligence was immediately conveyed to the stadtholder's camp; but it seemed so incredible as not to obtain a ready belief; it was on the contrary supposed to be a stratagem of the enemy, in order to lead the troops into an ambuscade. An English volunteer officer soon put an end to this doubt, by galloping himself to Utrecht, and personally examining the city and works. The Prince and his army then entered in triumph, the states of the province were restored to their long lost residence in the capital, and the city soon recovered its pristine tranquillity.

Nothing could have given a heavier blow to the republican cause than the loss of this city; and the weight and effect were much increased by the manner and circumstances of the loss. Utrecht had long been considered as the great bulwark of the province of Holland, and, next to Amsterdam, as the principal seat and grand citadel of the party. Though its old ramparts could not be deemed sufficient to withstand the regular siege of a numerous army, yet with its numerous garrison and artillery, they would have afforded good cover for resisting the desultory attempts of a small one; and the enemy were neither prepared for sieges, nor would they have accorded with their designs; at the same time that such a body of strength lying in their rear, would have been a great check to their progress in Holland. But if they had even been seriously attacked, and that the defence only lasted four or five days, that small delay would have been a wonderful point gained in favour of the party; for Amsterdam would have had time to shake off its panic, and to have adopted such effectual means of resistance, as it would not only be found very difficult to overcome, but might have been the means of prolonging the war in such a manner as to render it subject to great and unexpected revolutions, and the event perhaps very doubtful on the side of the invaders.

The desertion of Utrecht accordingly excited the most general dismay at Amsterdam, while the fugitives communicated their own fears to all places where they fled for shelter. The Rhingrave of Salm now experienced a sad reverse in popular opinion. The eagerness of party, without reason or experience to justify its partiality, had attributed to him all the great qualities of humanity; and now, without being heard, and without leisure for enquiry,

enquiry, he was univerſally condemned, his name never mentioned without execration, and charges of cowardice or treachery were every where laid againſt him. He ſoon found it neceſſary to abandon Amſterdam and the republic altogether, while the place of his retreat was for a long time totally unknown; for ſo ſingular was his fortune, or ſo extraordinary had been his conduct, that while he was charged on one ſide with betraying the party whom he ſerved, he had rendered himſelf ſo exceedingly obnoxious to the ſtadtholder, and to all his foreign and domeſtic allies and friends, that it was doubted whether there was a country in Europe that would have afforded him a ſecure aſylum.

We have already ſeen the quick progreſs made by the central, and by the left column of the Pruſſian army. That on the right, commanded by general Lottum, was equally ſucceſsful, but met with rather more reſiſtance, and conſequently was engaged with ſomething more like action. This column having entered the province of Holland at Hilverſum, a detachment under major gen. Kalekreuth was diſpatched to the right to ſummon Naarden, a very ſtrong place, lying at the ſouth end of the Zuyder ſea, within 13 miles of Amſterdam, and which has always been conſidered as one of the principal keys of the province. Col. Matha, the commander or governor, diſdaining to betray his truſt, rejected the ſummons, and gallantly prepared for defence. The detachment being in no degree equal to the taking of the place, and a ſiege not being intended if it had, fell off from Naarden, and marched up the Vecht, puſhing on parties to ſurprize three of the principal paſſages of that river, in order to gain its left ſide. Two of theſe detachments were ſucceſsful in gaining the paſſages at Maarſen and Zuylen, and a lieutenant croſſing the river with a detachment of cuiraſſiers, puſhed on at full gallop to the fort and entrenchments of Vytermeer, which he maſtered without loſs before the garriſon could recollect themſelves, although the fort was ſurrounded by double entrenchments, and by two ditches full of water.

While the bridges at Maarſen and Zuylen were repairing, general Kalekreuth had the fortune to ſurprize and make himſelf maſter of the ſluices near Breukel, by which the whole country might have been laid under water; a circumſtance which ſtrongly ſhews the terror and confuſion that then prevailed on the other ſide. And the general having received intelligence from capt. Kleiſt, who had been ſent to ſeize the third paſſage over the river at Breukolyn, that the approaches were ſo difficult, and the place ſo effectually covered by the artillery of Nieuwerſluys, that it was impoſſible for him to proceed, he immediately marched thither in perſon. The fort at Nieuwerſluys was very ſtrong, well covered with artillery, and the approaches exceedingly difficult. The Pruſſian commander ſeems, however, to have conducted them with great judgment and dexterity; and, finding that the garriſon was ſupplied with proviſions from Amſterdam, he found means to eſtabliſh ſuch poſts on the other ſide of the river, as entirely cut off their ſupplies. In theſe circumſtances general Averhoult, who commanded the fort, conceiving that the whole country was overrun, and nearly covered by Pruſſians, ſo that

that all defence was useleſs, ſurren-
Sept. 21ſt. dered the place without firing a ſhot. Forty officers and 730 ſoldiers were made priſoners, among whom were a colonel in the French ſervice, and 36 cannoniers of that nation. 54 pieces of cannon were found in the fort.

A party of Pruſſians having marched all night to ſurprize Weſep, loſt their way in the dark, and thereby arrived too late to ſucceed in the deſign; their courage and conſtant ſucceſs, however, prompted them to attack the place, though it was then broad day, and the garriſon were alarmed, and prepared for their reception. They were accordingly repulſed with the loſs of ſome men; and two diſtinguiſhed lieutenants, who commanded the detachment, were ſeverely wounded.

Kalekreuth afterwards puſhed on his approaches towards Ouderkerk, which being within a few miles of Amſterdam, was ſtrongly garriſoned, and an obſtinate defence intended; at the ſame time that all the celerity of the Pruſſians (which was perhaps never exceeded in ſervice) could not prevent ſome of the dykes being cut through, by which the country was becoming daily more difficult and dangerous.

While Kalekreuth was thus preparing to force his paſſage to the environs of the capital, by the way of Ouderkerk, the duke of Brunſwick advanced with a ſtronger force, by the way of Gouda, Alphen, and Leimuyden, leaving the Haarlem Meer on his left, towards Amſtelveen, another village, which like Ouderkerk lay about five miles ſhort of Amſterdam, and which was likewiſe ſtrongly entrenched and garriſoned.

But, during theſe military tranſactions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague, which greatly changed the face of internal affairs in the province of Holland. We have before ſeen, that the inhabitants of that place were in general ſtrongly attached to the perſon and intereſts of the prince of Orange. The governing party, well aware of this diſpoſition, and knowing that the officers and troops who compoſed the ordinary garriſon were little more to be truſted than the inhabitants, had long ſince brought in a ſtrong body of volunteers, to rule the one, and to keep the other in check. Theſe were ſtationed in the center of the town, and had two pieces of artillery, in conſtant readineſs for immediate ſervice, placed before their main guard. Under the conſternation and diſmay which the deplorable flight from Utrecht, the progreſs of the Pruſſians, and the failure of French ſuccours, all together excited on the republican ſide, it was eaſily ſeen that the volunteers would not be long able to keep ſo populous a place in awe, and ſeveral of the principal perſons of that party accordingly retired for ſafety to Amſterdam.

This increaſed the general hope and confidence, but ſtill ſome immediate impulſe was wanting to bring the long-ſuppreſſed ſpirit into action. This was ſoon ſupplied by the courage of the Swiſs ſoldiers, who formerly compoſed the ſtadtholder's ſtate guard. They boldly, in the face of the volunteers, and in broad day, carried off their two pieces of cannon in triumph through the ſtreets, while the populace decorated, or rather covered the artillery with orange ribbons, the very poſſeſſion of which, juſt before,

would have been highly penal; and the display have been made at the immediate risque of life. This served as a general signal. Nothing could be more instantaneous than the effect. In a few minutes the whole place displayed orange colours in every form and manner, and no man would be safe who ventured abroad without one of the late prohibited ribbons, or at least some equivalent symbol. The republicans were disarmed. The States of Holland, finding themselves unable to resist the torrent, were thrown into great confusion; but the most violent of them retiring to Amsterdam, the remainder, who continued the assembly, immediately determined upon the restoration of the prince of Orange, and sent a deputation that very evening to invite his return.

This revolution at the Hague took place on the 18th of September, being only the sixth day from the entrance of the Prussian army into the province of Guelderland; and North Holland having at the same time declared for the stadtholder, the republican party were, within about a week, confined within the narrow compass of Amsterdam, and its neighbourhood.

On the following evening, the stadtholder arrived from Utrecht, in his way to the Hague, at the duke of Brunswick's head-quarters at Schoonhoven, where he lodged in the same house that the princess had so lately been confined in. Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of joy exhibited on the arrival of this prince at the Hague, after so long an absence, though they were perhaps equalled a few days after on the arrival of the princess.

The members of the States of Holland who retired to Amsterdam, held a meeting there, as if they had only transferred the assembly from one place to another; but their number was so inconsiderable, consisting only of the deputies of that city, that they did not attempt to proceed to business. The assembly at the Hague was perfect in its representation, with the single exception of the deputies from Amsterdam. They accordingly proceeded without hesitation in restoring the stadtholder to all those offices and rights from which he had been suspended, and consequently annulled all the proceedings which had been pursued against him in that province.

The assembly of the States of Holland used the utmost dispatch in adopting and carrying into execution all those measures which tended (according to their own words in the invitation to the stadtholder) "to the preservation of the province, and the re-establishment of the tottering constitution." Their invitation for the return of the princess of Orange was in the terms prescribed, and subjected to the satisfaction demanded by the king of Prussia. On the day the prince entered the Hague, they issued an edict, abolishing and forbidding the assembling of all those armed societies, which had been formed for the purpose of supporting what was called the patriotic cause. This was immediately followed by dispatching an express to the court of Versailles, with information that the disputes between the province of Holland and the stadtholder were now happily terminated; and that, as the circumstances which gave occasion for their application to the king on the

the 10th current, no longer existed, so the succours which they then requested from his majesty, would now be unnecessary. They likewise issued an edict, forbidding all attempts to inundate the country; and another, strictly commanding the governors of all towns and fortresses, to give free admission to the Prussian forces.

All this business was transacted, by the states of Holland, between the 18th, the day on which the revolution took place at the Hague, and the 22d of September. In consequence of the last of these edicts, the baron Matha opened the gates of the city of Naarden, on the same principle of duty which had before kept them closed; and the strong fortress of Wesep was given up in the same manner. In the mean time, the republican assembly at Franeker in Friesland, which had been very violent during the troubles, was suddenly dissolved, and the republicans, who were very numerous, quitted that town in much the same order that Utrecht had been abandoned. The provinces of Groningen and Overyssel, now gave up all opposition to the stadtholder; so that the greatest unanimity prevailed in the assembly of the states general, that of the states of Holland, in the council of state, and in all the other great departments of government. All opposition was now centered in the city of Amsterdam, and its environs, whither the most active or the most obstinate of the republican party had fled from all quarters; but the republic was otherwise in a state of perfect tranquillity.

On the first days after the irruption of the Prussian army, the hopes of immediate assistance from France were so strong, that, with an anxious solicitude, all travellers on the roads were eagerly questioned, whether they had seen or heard of the approach of a French army? but these hopes began now not only to fade away, but affairs seemed so desperate, and the revolution so complete, that it became a doubt with all considerate people, whether they could be retrieved by any assistance which France was capable of speedily administering. On the contrary, it was evident that a long and doubtful war, in which England, with the stadtholder's party (which was now the state) would support Prussia, must be the inevitable consequence; in the course of which, whatever the final event might be, the republic could scarcely hope not to be irrecoverably ruined.

Yet, notwithstanding this apparent state of things, and these obvious consequences, the republican party at Amsterdam, (having now recovered in a considerable degree from that overwhelming panic, into which the unequalled celerity of the Prussian forces, and the admirable dispositions made by the duke of Brunswick had thrown them) made every preparation for the most desperate resistance. The surrounding country was laid under water; strong batteries every where erected; all those posts capable of commanding the roads leading into the town entrenched and fortified; and the citizens declared they would hold out to the last extremity.

We have already seen that the duke of Brunswick was carrying on his approaches for the attack of Amstelveen, as general Kalkreuth was against Ouderkerk, two fortified villages and important posts lying

within four or five miles of Amſterdam. In this criſis of danger, a deputation arrived from the regency of Amſterdam, requiring a ceſſation of hoſtilities from the duke, until the terms of accommodation, which they were impowered by their conſtituents to offer, ſhould be conſidered. A ſhort truce was accordingly granted, and the buſineſs of negociation transferred to the Hague.

Sept. 25th.

The Amſterdam commiſſioners were inſtructed to demand, what reaſons induced the duke to threaten their city, ſeeing they had given no offence to his Pruſſian majeſty? that if it was on account of obſtructing the journey of the princeſs of Orange, there were weighty reaſons for that meaſure, of which the venerable council would be ready to give his highneſs a ſuitable explanation—That the city therefore expects he will forbear to make any attack on its territory, which has already ſuffered too much by the inundation, although hitherto only partial—That if he ſhould perſevere in this intended hoſtility, not only much blood would be ſpilt, but that city being expoſed to pillage and ſlaughter, the commercial intereſts of Europe would thereby be ſo deeply affected, that not only the ſubjects of the republic, but thoſe of his Pruſſian majeſty, and of all the neighbouring ſtates, would be involved in the general ruin—And laſtly, that the regency have delegated this ſolemn commiſſion to the duke of Brunſwick, that his ſerene highneſs might lay thoſe ſincere overtures before his Pruſſian majeſty, that his diſpleaſure might be done away, and that he might receive in good part thoſe teſtimonies of high eſteem which the regency were ever deſirous of preſerving for his majeſty.

The purport of the prince's anſwer was, That the ſatisfaction which the king demanded, and inſiſted on as his right, had been fully announced, and the terms ſpecified, in the laſt memorial preſented by the baron Thulemeyer—That the ſtates, and all the other members of the province, were ready to give this ſatisfaction, and expected their concurrence—That the moment they have conſented, by their deputies, to thoſe terms, he ſhould conſider his commiſſion as terminated; and that the king's troops ſhould immediately quit the neighbourhood of their town—That they knew too well the ſentiments of the Princeſs of Orange, to entertain any doubt that ſhe would not paſs over many things, rather than their town ſhould be expoſed to inconvenience or danger.

After the return of the commiſſioners, the town council of Amſterdam ſent two of their number to make propoſals of a particular ſatisfaction, which they were willing to make to the princeſs in perſon; but theſe not being deemed ſatisfactory, ſhe returned them a note, in which ſhe offered, ſhe ſaid, with pleaſure, to engage the king her brother to deſiſt from every point of ſatisfaction, and to withdraw his troops, as ſoon as the ſincerity of their profeſſions was confirmed by the town of Amſterdam, in acting in concert with the other members of the aſſembly of the ſtates, and in acceding to all thoſe reſolutions which had already been paſſed for the re-eſtabliſhment of public affairs; that ſhe would have been very unwilling to accept

accept the invitation of the ſtates of Holland in coming to the Hague, had it not been joined with the aſſurance that the prince her huſband ſhould be reſtored to all his rights; and that for the ſecurity of this purpoſe it was abſolutely neceſſary, that thoſe perſons who had been the authors and inſtigators of the diſorders which had reduced the city of Amſterdam to its preſent deplorable ſituation, ſhould be diſmiſſed from their reſpective ſtations, and thereby rendered incapable of exciting new troubles.

The city of Amſterdam, through its peculiarly inacceſſible ſituation, its artificial ſtrength, with the courage and number of its inhabitants, had, in the ſevere wars of the 16th century, riſen ſuperior to the deſigns and genius of Don John of Auſtria, and the duke of Parma, the greateſt generals, and at the head of the beſt officers and troops then in the world. With equal fortune, in the 17th century, it ſucceſsfully reſiſted the mighty power of Lewis the fourteenth, then at its meridian height, and baffled all the attempts of a Luxemburgh and a Conde, ſimilar generals, at the head of ſimilar troops, but with greater armies. All attempts on it have accordingly been long conſidered as impracticable and viſionary; and it has been held, that nothing leſs than ſuch a froſt as would congeal both the ſalt and the freſh waters of the country, could render it liable to the approaches of an enemy; who muſt likewiſe have a preſcience of the event, his preparations made, and his forces on the ſpot, to profit of the occaſion; while a ſudden thaw would not only overthrow the deſign, but poſſibly be the means of overwhelming the invading army.

Beſides the difficulties oppoſed by a very narrow country, every where interſected with dykes, and commanded by ſluices capable of laying it ſuddenly under water, it is covered on the eaſt and north, and ſhut in from the ocean, by that admirable natural defence the Zuyder ſea, whoſe ſands, ſhallows, and narrow inlets render it impracticable to the deſigns of an enemy, and badly admit the navigation even of their own flat veſſels conſtructed for the purpoſe. A long, irregular, crooked branch of the Zuyder ſea paſſes from eaſt to the weſtward, until it approaches within a few miles of the German or North ſea, when ſuddenly making an angle to the right, it paſſes northward, and terminates in the open country. Amſterdam lies on the ſouth of this inlet, which is called the *Ye*, and is not only effectually covered by it for ſeveral miles in the oppoſite direction, but it nearly, as we ſhall ſee, cloſes up the approaches to it from the weſt. For the Haarlem Meer, a lake about 16 miles long, and half as broad, lying to the ſouth and ſouth-weſt of that city, the land which ſeperates that end of it from the Ye, is in no part above three or four miles over; but in one place, called, from its ſituation on the road to Haarlem, Half Wegen, theſe two great bodies of water actually communicate; and here, by the erection of floodgates of an enormous ſize, the waters of the Ye are prevented from being diſcharged into the Haarlem Meer; an event which would occaſion a great part of the province of Holland, to the diſtance of near 30 miles, to be overflowed, as the level of the ſea at high water is evidently above that of the lake, and of the adjoining country.

The only road by land to Haarlem, and the country to the weſtward, is carried over theſe floodgates: and it will be eaſily ſeen, that Half Wegen, from its ſituation, is capable of being rendered a poſt of great ſtrength, and muſt be of the greateſt importance with reſpect to the ſecurity of Amſterdam. No pains were accordingly ſpared by the republican party, in order to its being fortified in the beſt manner. For this purpoſe they committed the place into the hands of a French officer of ſome diſtinction; who had the charge of conſtructing thoſe works and batteries which he was finally to defend. They beſides rendered the approaches on the Haarlem ſide as difficult as poſſible, by deſtroying the bridges, cutting down trees, making deep ditches acroſs the road, and laying the country under water; ſo that all acceſs to Amſterdam on that ſide, was held to be utterly impracticable, however bold or formidable the enemy.

The country to the ſouth-weſt, ſouth, and ſouth-eaſt of Amſterdam, was generally compoſed of low rich meadows, ſurrounded and interſected by numberleſs wet ditches; and theſe meadows being lower than the ſurface of the adjoining waters, were eaſily overflowed by breaking the dykes of the Amſtel, the Vecht, and the Nieuw Meer. Though theſe inundations were not in general very deep, yet they ſerved, through the number of undiſcoverable ditches which they concealed, to render the meadows totally impaſſable to an army. In this ſituation of the country, the only poſſible method of approaching Amſterdam, was along the roads that run on the top of the dykes; but even theſe ſeemed in a great meaſure impracticable to an army that was to advance in the face of an enemy: for, beſides that the water was in many places nearly on a level with the dykes, they were in general ſo narrow, that very few men could march abreaſt; and not above one, or at the moſt two pieces of ordnance, could any where be brought to bear at one time upon the defenſive batteries.

Theſe roads leading to Amſterdam along the dykes were five in number. The moſt northern, which led from Naarden along the dyke of the Zuyder ſea, paſſed through the fortreſs of Muyden, which was ſtill in the hands of the republicans, and lies about ſix miles eaſt of Amſterdam. The next led from Weſep through the Diemerbrug, a fortified poſt covered with batteries, and lying at about three miles diſtance. The third led from the ſouth-eaſt by Abcoude, and was defended by ſimilar works at a place called the Duyvendregter Brug. The fourth, which runs nearly from ſouth to north, by the ſide of the Amſtel, paſſed through the ſtrongly-fortified works of Ouderkerk, where the Amſtel is joined by the Bullewyck, and where a junction of four narrow dykes, that paſs by the ſides of theſe rivers, was included in one common defence. The fifth and laſt approach to Amſterdam, was that road which, paſſing from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt, paſſes by Leyden and Leymuiden, and turning the Haarlem Meer, leaves it at no great diſtance on the left, until, deviating farther to the right, it paſſes through Amſtelveen, which, as we have ſeen, was a ſtrongly-fortified village five or ſix miles ſhort of Amſterdam.

None of these posts could be approached by any other means than by those single streight roads on the dykes; and they formed a line, which, extending from Muyden on the Zuyder sea, to Amstelveen, and Half Wegen, where that sea, under the name of the Ye, communicates with the lake of Haarlem, they composed nearly three parts of an irregular circle, from the north-east to the south-west, entirely enclosing and covering Amsterdam on the land side, as it was effectually secured by the Ye to the north. The whole extent of this line was above seventeen miles, the posts lying at different distances from each other, as well as from that city; the nearest being within three miles, and the farthest about six. They were all fortified under the directions of the most able French engineers that could be procured; were abundantly supplied with artillery, and with French artillery men; and those that seemed most liable to attack, were fully garrisoned with the best troops of Holland. They had all likewise an uninterrupted communication with Amsterdam, from which they could derive every kind of supply, and every degree of succour, and to which, in the worst case, they could make a secure retreat. At the same time, to cover the city equally on the sea side, a number of light armed vessels were stationed on the Zuyder sea, to guard against any attempt which the Prussians might make by an embarkation from Naarden.

Such were the unusual and arduous difficulties which the duke of Brunswick had to encounter in his approaches to the city of Amsterdam; difficulties, which, it may be easily seen, would require all the united force of an exalted genius, and of the most consummate military skill and ability, to be surmounted.

As the Amsterdammers were more apprehensive of the Prussians making an impression on the side of Amstelveen than any other of the posts, from the approaches not appearing so entirely impracticable, they used their utmost efforts in the fortifications and defences of that place; which were farther secured by its communication with the very strong post of Ouderkerk, to which it was connected by a cross dyke, that afforded means of mutual succour, and in some sort of a common defence. In these circumstances, and under the cover of such seemingly impassable barriers, we are not to consider as the effect of an unfounded and blind security, the confidence with which the city of Amsterdam set that power at defiance, to which the rest of the province had in so few days, and with such little resistance, submitted. Nor were they without motives upon this occasion for running some considerable risque, if the danger had even been greater. For, notwithstanding the grievous disappointment which they had hitherto experienced through the unwilling slackness of France, yet they could not be without hopes that a long defence, and consequent protraction of the war, would almost force that power to fulfil her engagements, and take an active part in their favour. And indeed, the probability was easily seen, that a long contest might draw on the interference of other powers, and kindle such a flame as could terminate in nothing less than a general war.

It can scarcely pass unobserved, by those who know the nature of the

country, that Amſterdam upon this occaſion paſſed over one ſource of defence, which would have effectually ſecured them from the immediate deſigns of their enemy. This was no other than the rendering the inundation perfect; for, by letting the waters of the Ye flow into the Haarlem lake at Half Wegen, the dykes as well as the fields would have been laid under water in ſuch a manner, as to render all approach to the city impoſſible. But as this was the laſt, ſo would it have been a moſt deſperate reſource, and ſuch as could ſcarcely be warranted by any thing leſs than the approach of ſo barbarous an enemy, that extermination, or maſſacre, were the expected conſequences of his ſucceſs. For a very great part of the province of Holland would not only have been ruined for the preſent by the inundation, but the beggary would be entailed for ſome years upon the people, through the length of time, and the very great expence, which a ſecond recovery of the land from the dominion of the water would occaſion. Such a meaſure would likewiſe exaſperate all orders of the people in ſo great a degree, both in the towns, and in the country, all ſuffering ſeverely under the common calamity, that the republican party could ſcarcely hope after to exiſt among them. From theſe cauſes, and from a ſeemingly well-founded reliance on the ſecurity afforded by their preſent barrier, Amſterdam did not yet reſort to this laſt and diſmal extremity.

Nothing undoubtedly can more ſtrongly ſhew a quick and accurate perception, than for the aſſailant of a ſtrong poſt, or rather ſyſtem of fortifications, as this was, to diſcover at a glance, all the advantages and diſadvantages of the ſituation, and conſequently the weaker or more vulnerable parts of the defence, however few, or however concealed they may be. The effect of theſe qualities is heightened, and a luſtre reflected on them, by the defect which not ſeldom appears on the defenſive ſide; where, notwithſtanding long poſſeſſion and full knowledge of the ground, and conſequent leiſure for due conſideration of all its parts, ſome points of the defence are immeaſurably ſtrengthened, while others are overlooked or not ſufficiently attended to; as if the aſſailant was neceſſarily obliged to make his attack in that ſpot which the defender wiſhed. This obſervation is fully exemplified in the preſent inſtance; for, while all the other approaches were fortified and guarded as we have ſeen, the lake of Haarlem was left open; nor was the obvious danger from that quarter ſo much as thought of, until it was too late to be remedied.

The negociation being broken off, and the truce expiring on the 30th of September in the evening, the duke of Brunſwick, fully ſenſible of the great importance of rapid action in military affairs, took his meaſures for an attack on the enemies barrier early on the following morning. In order to render the alarm and conſternation general and effective, he not only ordered all the poſts to be attacked at the ſame inſtant, but that each ſhould be attacked in every quarter that it was poſſible to be approached. For this purpoſe, three different attacks were directed againſt Amſtelveen, four againſt the works of Ouderkerk, one on the Duyvendregter Brug, one on Diemerbrug, one on Muyden, and the laſt on Half

Half Wegen. Some of these were evidently feints, as the nature of the dykes either rendered them absolutely impracticable, or the posts were not of sufficient value to justify the loss of blood which their acquisition must occasion.

The Prussian forces were stationed, previous to the attack, in the villages of Aalsmeer, Kudersteert, Vithorne, Abcoude, and the town of Wesep, forming a semicircle which enclosed the barrier from the lake of Haarlem on the south-west, to Wesep on the south-east; the latter lying on the Vecht, being scarcely three miles in a direct line, though much farther by following the windings of the river, short of Muyden, which is situated at its mouth on the Zuyder sea.

The great objects of the duke in these various attacks were two, the first and principal, to gain possession of Amstelveen, and of the great road that led from it directly to Amsterdam; the second, and scarcely of less importance, was to gain the strong post of Half Wegen; which we have already seen could not be attacked with any prospect of success on the west or Haarlem side. The diligence and genius of the duke, did not suffer the means to escape him of evading this difficulty. He had accordingly taken care to provide, without notice, a number of flat boats at Aalsmeer, in which an able officer, with about seven hundred men, embarked early on the night of the 30th of September, who having made their passage through the part of the lake intended, landed soon after one in the morning near the village of Slooten, which lies to the south-east of Half Wegen: and proceeding with great silence through that, and another called Oostdorp, the detachment arrived, before day-light, on the Amsterdam road, in the rear of the garrison.

Nor was a less provident foresight displayed with respect to Amstelveen, which was so effectually secured in front, that any attempt in that part would have been at least as fruitless as at Half Wegen, while the difficulty of approach to a vulnerable part was much greater. The Haarlem Meer was likewise to afford the means of obviating this difficulty; but to attain this purpose it was necessary to be previously well informed of its parts, of the navigation close to the coast in the points where a dangerous experiment was intended, and above all to obtain a perfect knowledge of the situation and nature of the ground lying at the back of Amstelveen, and in the way to the capital. A British volunteer officer had the honour of nobly undertaking and successfully executing this very hazardous and important service. He explored, in an open boat, every necessary part of the lake, passing under several of the enemy's batteries, and particularly examined a long narrow branch or bay of it, called the Nieuw Meer, which striking off to the right, terminates at a great bleach-ground called Lelie, about three miles at the back of Amstelveen. Having landed in different places, and marked every peculiarity of situation and ground, he returned in safety to the duke, with every degree of information that a general could wish for; adding his private opinion, that the enterprize was difficult, but not impracticable.

A similar detachment to that destined against Half Wegen, was accordingly embarked in flat boats at Aalsmeer,

Aalſmeer, and the whole conduct of the embarkation, and direction of the enterprize by water, confided to the officer who made the obſervations; and who juſtified the confidence repoſed in him ſo well, upon this new element, that not a boat was overturned, nor a ſingle man drowned by any accident: as ſoon as the troops were landed his command expired, and he returned to his former ſtate of a mere volunteer. This detachment did not arrive at Lelie until near five o'clock, which was the hour of general attack, and were ſcarcely cleared from the boats when they heard the three guns fired by the duke, and the ſame number returned from each of the other poſts, which was the ſignal for immediate action, and followed by an univerſal cannonading on all ſides. This redoubled the ardour of the detachment, whoſe firſt object being to gain poſſeſſion of the great road from Amſterdam, had ſtill conſiderable difficulties to encounter from the inundations, and the number of deep ditches in their way: but the ſoldiers were ſo impetuous in their exertions that theſe were ſoon ſurmounted.

The duke was ſo apprehenſive of the event of this enterprize, that, in order partly to ſecond it, and partly, in caſe of its failure, that ſome diverſion might notwithſtanding be made at the back of Amſtelveen, he ordered two companies of infantry to make their way, under the cover of the night, along a narrow footway which led cloſe by the edge of the lake, until they gained a croſs dyke, by which they might paſs by Karnemelk's Gat round the end of the bay which we have mentioned. This party, after ſurmounting numberleſs difficulties from the inundations and ditches, were likewiſe at length ſucceſsful, and either met or joined the former detachment on the Amſterdam road.

We have already ſeen that the firſt detachment had penetrated to the back, or the Amſterdam ſide of Half Wegen. Theſe loſt no time, but ruſhing directly on the enemy's works where they were open behind, and no attack expected, made the French commander and moſt of his garriſon priſoners, and in a few minutes had poſſeſſion of the batteries and ſluices of the adjoining villages of Half Wegen and Swannenbourg, without the loſs of a man. This ſucceſs alone, if every other attack had failed, would have laid the capital ſufficiently open on the weſtern ſide.

The officer who commanded the detachment in the rear of Amſtelveen, divided it in two parts, poſting one on the road from Amſterdam, to repreſs any ſally made from that city, and advancing himſelf at the head of the other to attack the enemy's works. Theſe were well fortified in the rear as well as the front; but the impetuoſity of the Pruſſian troops was ſo reſiſtleſs that they ſoon drove the enemy from a ſtrong battery and ſeven traverſes which lay in their way, and being arrived near the end of the village halted at the laſt traverſe.

The duke had reſerved to himſelf the conduct of the grand and very dangerous attack upon Amſtelveen in front; which the enemy had omitted neither pains or judgment in the preparation, nor valour in the defence, to render impracticable; nor would the attempt have been conſiſtent with prudence, if it had not been for the reliance which he placed on the co-operation of

of the detachment in the rear. At one in the morning he advanced, at the head of the battalion of Droſt, preceded by 200 diſmounted huſſars, and 80 chaſſeurs, along a narrow dyke, encloſed by very deep ditches full of water; having with him two ſix pounders, and four howitzers. The regiment of Waldeck was ordered to follow at a given, but not near time, in order to prevent the diſorder and confuſion, which the darkneſs, and the narrowneſs of the paſſage, might otherwiſe be liable to occaſion.

At half after two o'clock the duke arrived at the Noordammer bridge, which the enemy had broken down, but was ſpeedily repaired, and covered with ſtraw, that the ſoldiers might paſs it without noiſe. They then marched to the hamlet of Hond van Leyden, which lay about 1200 yards ſhort of Amſtelveen, and was poſſeſſed by the enemy; but they were ſoon diſlodged by the briſk attack of the chaſſeurs. At this village the duke made his preparations for the attack on Amſtelveen, while the grenadiers and light troops were clearing the dyke of the trees which the enemy had laid acroſs it. An entrenchment, which lay about four hundred yards in the front of the village, was now the firſt object of attack, and though it was ſurrounded by a ditch full of water, and paliſaded, it was carried at the firſt onſet.

Day now beginning to break, the duke perceived that the enemy had a much ſtronger entrenchment than that he had juſt taken, in the way to Amſtelveen. This work had before it a double ditch full of water, was defended by chevaux de friſe, and was ſo ſkilfully conſtructed, that its artillery bore upon the dyke both to the right and left of the draw-bridge. This determined the duke to halt in the entrenchment he had newly acquired, while the chaſſeurs and grenadiers were employed, under the cover of ſome hay-ſtacks, to endeavour to throw a bridge over the ditch of the entrenchment. In the mean time a moſt ſevere fire was kept up by the enemy, in almoſt every direction, from their different batteries, while the duke could only bring one howitzer to bear with effect, from the dyke upon their works. To ſupply this defect, as much as it could be done, he ordered a battery to be thrown up at Hond van Leyden, with a view of enfilading the entrenchments of the enemy. In the mean time, the hay-ſtacks being ſoon ſet on fire and burnt by the enemy, the light troops and grenadiers were left entirely expoſed, and the duke ſeeing their perilous ſituation, immediately ſent orders for their retiring to the hamlet; he continuing himſelf, with only the battalion of Droſt, and a ſingle howitzer, to maintain the new poſt, and endeavour to annoy the enemy. In this very critical ſituation, expoſed, with very little cover, to a heavy and moſt ſevere fire, and to the ſame common danger with the troops he commanded, the duke was deſtined with his party to ſtand inactive, as a mark to be ſhot at, for between four and five hours, while every eye was anxiouſly directed to Amſtelveen, every moment expecting the co-operation of the party in the rear.

Some explanation, ſuch as we have been able to obtain (for no enquiry was inſtituted or cenſure paſſed) becomes neceſſary to account for this failure or delay. It cannot

cannot be ſuppoſed, that the officer who attacked and carried a ſtrong battery and ſeven traverſes with ſuch gallantry, ſhould then have ſuddenly halted at the back of the village through any defect of ſpirit. It is ſaid to have proceeded, and undoubtedly did, from ſome miſapprehenſion of, or perhaps too rigid an adherence to, the cautious inſtructions given by the duke, to guard againſt the mutual miſchief which the croſs firing of the troops might occaſion, had they entered the village at each end, and at the ſame preciſe point of time. It is to be remembered, that neither the aſſailants in the front or in the rear could poſſibly know any thing of each other's ſituation, more than what they might ſurmiſe from the diſtance or continuance of the firing; and that the noiſe occaſioned by ſo many attacks, and ſo general a cannonade, muſt have rendered that ſource of information confuſed and doubtful.

The officer who had led the two companies along the margin of the lake, happened to be poſted with his men cloſe to Amſtelveen, and growing impatient at the length of time that the attack continued without effect in the front, determined to uſe that diſcretional licence, which great and ſudden occaſions muſt juſtify even in military affairs. He boldly attacked and rapidly forced his way into the village; threw the enemy into ſuch confuſion that they every where abandoned their batteries, and he was in a few minutes maſter of the place. It happened that the volunteer who conducted the detachment over the lake was of this party, and had the fortune to be the firſt who paſſed through Amſtelveen, and who conveyed the welcome intelligence to the duke that the place was carried.

The duke then immediately ſeized the ſtrong poſt which had hitherto retarded his progreſs, and, having joined the two companies, the enemy in their flight to Ouderkerk were cannonaded from their own batteries. Above three hundred priſoners were however taken. As the fate of Amſterdam was now decided, the duke immediately called off the aſſailants from the other attacks. The Pruſſian artillery upon the ſpot were not ſufficiently weighty to make any effectual impreſſion on the ſtrong works of Ouderkerk, and they were ſo entirely ſurrounded by the river Amſtel and other deep waters, as not immediately to admit of a cloſe aſſault. It was, however, abandoned by the garriſon in the evening, and their vigilant enemy loſt no time in taking poſſeſſion of it. None of the other attacks ſucceeded, nor was it expected they would. Upon the whole, the valour which the enemy now exhibited in the defence of their works, although it failed of the effect propoſed, afforded a full demonſtration of the great expence of time, labour, and blood, which the rapid movements of the Pruſſian forces ſaved, by turning, through their unequalled celerity, to the greateſt poſſible account, that panic which at firſt ſo univerſally prevailed. And even at the laſt, when Amſterdam alone was left to ſuſtain the whole weight of the war, if their leaders had not blindly overlooked the lake of Haarlem, at the ſame time that they took ſo much pains to ſhut up all the other approaches, its iſſue might have been long doubtful. It is ſaid, that the commander of Amſtelveen informed

informed them, on the day preceding the attack, that he was apprehenſive of no danger from any other quarter, and that they had intended to ſend a ſufficient armament to ſecure the paſſage of the lake, upon that very day on which all was over.

The Pruſſians do not acknowledge that more than ſomething about 150 ſoldiers and four officers were killed in all theſe attacks, and a rather greater number ſeverely wounded. Nor could the ſlaughter have been very conſiderable on the other ſide. It does great honour to Amſterdam, that, notwithſtanding the animoſity and rage which then prevailed, the Pruſſian wounded ſoldiers, which were brought in from the different works, were all treated with the utmoſt care, humanity, and tenderneſs; and they were ſo ſenſible of this kind and hoſpitable treatment, that they refuſed money from their viſitors, leſt it ſhould be deemed any detraction from that general bounty which left them nothing to want. Though this is to be attributed to the admirable inſtitutions of that great commercial city, which have left no degree of human miſery unprovided for, yet ſome praiſe is due to thoſe by whom, in the preſent heat and violence of temper, thoſe inſtitutions were reſorted to.

All the other out-poſts, finding that the Pruſſian forces were approached ſo cloſely to Amſterdam as to cut off their communication with it, and thinking all reſiſtance fruitleſs, were ſhortly given up without firing a ſhot. In the mean time, the magiſtrates of that city, in order to conceal the real ſtate of affairs from the people, took advantage of the Pruſſians being foiled or repulſed in ſeveral of the attacks, to boaſt of a victory. But they were ſo ſenſible themſelves of the danger of their ſituation, that they ſent deputies on the next morning to the duke to deſire a ceſſation of arms, in order to afford time for ſettling the terms of capitulation. This propoſal was immediately acceded to by the duke; but, to guard againſt the inſtability of their councils, and the violences of a numerous and heated populace, he made his approaches cloſe to the city, on that ſide where the long ſuburb of Overtoom ſtretches into the country from the Leyden Gate, for more than a mile to the ſouth-weſt. An elevated ground on the left of this ſuburb, afforded a convenient place for the erection of batteries, from whence, if the neceſſity of affairs ſhould require ſo deſtructive a meaſure, that great city would in every part be ſubjected to a bombardment.

It ſoon appeared that the duke's precautions were not unneceſſary, and that the impreſſions of terror ſoon weaken by time, and ſtill more by a familiarity with the objects which occaſioned them. The demands or conditions propoſed by the magiſtracy were ſo high as to be deemed inadmiſſible. They demanded that the people ſhould be admitted to a ſhare in the government of Amſterdam, by allowing them to vote in the election of magiſtrates—That they ſhould not be diſarmed—That the magiſtrates in office ſhould not be diſplaced—That no garriſon ſhould enter the city—That no orange ribbons ſhould be worn in it—And, that a general indemnity ſhould be granted to all perſons who had taken refuge in Amſterdam.—It is not eaſy to preſerve a ſerious countenance,

countenance, at seeing the article about orange ribbons inserted in those conditions, on which might possibly have depended the existence of one of the greatest cities of the world.

October 3d. In the mean time, the magistracy of Amsterdam issued a sort of protest, under the form of a proclamation, in which they informed the burghers, that they had ever conscientiously endeavoured to act, to the utmost of their power, in every measure, for the advantage of their country in general, and of that city in particular; that nevertheless, being now pressed by the impending danger that threatens the total ruin of the city, they find themselves compelled by necessity to submit to measures, which, they call God to witness, are only extorted from them, lest they should at last be forced to yield to demands still more ruinous and oppressive—That, since they must yield up all, their last wish was to be able to preserve the internal peace of that great and populous city, the welfare of which was more precious to them, not only than the preservation of their respective property, and the honourable employments they held, but even than their lives. They therefore hoped and expected, that the brave burgesses, who had hitherto acted with such laudable zeal in support of the public cause, would continue with the same zeal to maintain and insure the public tranquillity, and to preserve every individual, of what party soever, from all violence and oppression. These sentiments were full of dignity and moderation, and such as became men who submitted to necessity without abandoning the principles of their resistance, and without reserving a pretence to renew it.

But the burghers not being so sensible of the imminent danger of their situation as the magistracy, refused to comply with the terms on which they were willing to give up the city, and would have urged the duke to the extremity of bombardment, if his temper had been less eminent than his valour and conduct. He, however, thought it necessary to seize the suburb of Overtoom, where he fixed his head-quarters, to push his approaches to the very walls, to surround the city closely on the land side, and to make every preparation for an assault.

These measures succeeded, and on the 6th of October, the deputies of Amsterdam having joined the assembly of the states of Holland at the Hague, and thereby rendered their number complete, they assented to and confirmed all the resolutions which had been passed during their absence, from the 17th of September, by that body. This was nearly conclusive. The satisfaction demanded by the princess of Orange was immediately decreed, and she sent a list of sixteen persons, whom she wished to be rendered incapable of creating future troubles in the state, by a deprivation of their respective offices; but disclaiming every desire of their undergoing any other punishment on her account. In this list were included the principal and most violent leaders of the republican party; among whom was the celebrated Van Berkel, and two other pensionaries of Amsterdam, besides M. de Witt, magistrate of that city; M. Van Gyzalaer, the pensionary of Dordrecht; the pensionaries of Haarlem;

Haarlem; and the principal magiſtrates of Alkmaer, Woerden, Gouda, and ſome other towns. The ſtates of Holland likewiſe reſtored to their ſeats the depoſed members of the regency in Amſterdam and other places, as well as the legal officers of the militia in the former. Theſe changes were hardly borne by the burghers and populace in Amſterdam, and gave occaſion to ſome diſorders and riots.

Amſterdam, beſides conſenting to all the reſolutions paſſed by the ſtates, was obliged to annul the prohibition of orange ribbons, and to conſent to the diſarming of all perſons in the town except the legal militia, whether under the denomination of patriots, volunteers, auxiliaries, or troops or refugees from Utrecht. This was not only a grievous mortification, but it became a matter of no ſmall difficulty in the execution, to deprive of their arms and cartridges ſo great and ſo mixed a multitude; nor, if the buſineſs had even been willingly undertaken, would it have been eaſy to find them out in the concealments which ſuch a city afforded. The duke of Brunſwick was accordingly more than once obliged to inſiſt peremptorily upon the due obſervance of this condition, and at length to demand the giving up of the Leyden Gate to the Pruſſian troops, in order that they might facilitate its performance.

This produced a conference between the duke and a deputation from the city, in which the terms of capitulation were ſettled. By theſe, only 250 Pruſſians, with two pieces of cannon, were allowed to take poſſeſſion of the Leyden Gate. Two ſquadrons of light horſe only, to be quartered at Overtoom. None of the king's troops to enter the city without the permiſſion of the magiſtrates. That the magiſtracy ſhall guard and be anſwerable for the ſluices: that they ſhall give the duke a daily account of the progreſs made in diſarming; and that a Pruſſian commiſſioner ſhall attend to receive the arms, and ſee that the condition is faithfully complied with.

The 10th of October was the fatal day, that the haughty city of Amſterdam, which had ſo often given the law to other ſtates, and to powerful nations, was condemned to ſurrender its keys to the duke of Brunſwick, to behold a foreign garriſon in poſſeſſion of one of its principal and maiden gates, and in effect maſters of the whole. A ſingular ſtory is related upon this occaſion, and affirmed to be a fact; that when the deputies had ſigned the capitulation, they made it a requeſt to the duke, that none of the Engliſh officers, who were volunteers in the army, ſhould be allowed to be preſent when the troops took poſſeſſion of the gate.

On the day that the Leyden Gate was delivered to the Pruſſians, great riots took place between the exaſperated members of the oppoſite parties in different parts of the city, in which ſome blood was ſhed. The Jews, who had ſhewn the moſt unanimous and inviolable attachment to the ſtadtholder's cauſe, were particularly ſufferers upon this occaſion. In the mean time the magiſtracy applied to the ſtates of Holland for a garriſon, to anſwer the double purpoſe of preſerving or reſtoring the peace of the city, and of affording an opportunity for the departure of the Pruſſian troops, who, notwithſtanding the admirable or-

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der and discipline they observed, were exceedingly terrible to a people, who, besides their being foreigners, had not been used to the military appearance they exhibited.

A regiment of Swiss, the Orange Nassau regiment, with the horse guards from the Hague, and a few other troops, amounting to between two and three thousand men, was the garrison now allotted to Amsterdam. The sullen indignation shewn by the republican party, upon the introduction of this garrison, does them no discredit. Confining themselves to their houses, they disdained to look at the marks of their disgrace and the instruments of their subjection; and, while the troops marched through the streets, the very women and children of the party repressed that strong curiosity so natural to both, by refraining from going to the windows to behold a sight so novel and so disgraceful. For a conquest gained over citizens by foreign troops, is, even to the successful party, a triumph mixed with considerable alloy. The measure of calling in foreign force to decide domestic differences, if ever it is to be resorted to, is always to be lamented; since the vanquished party are treated, not as honourable enemies, but as culprits, by a power to which they are not naturally amenable, while the conquering party must partake of the servitude which it helps to impose.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Undisturbed tranquillity of Great Britain during the recess of parliament. Treaty of commerce with France, signed 29th September 1786. *State of political parties. Creation of Peers. King's speech at the opening of the session. Addresses voted unanimously. Remarks by Mr. Fox upon the principles of the commercial treaty. Mr. Pitt's reply. Motion for taking the treaty into consideration; objected to as too hasty. Motion for delay debated, and rejected. Motion by Mr. Fox relative to the state of the negotiation with Portugal; rejected without a division. Petition from the chamber of commerce for further time to consider the tendency of the treaty. House in a committee upon the treaty; Mr. Pitt's speech on that occasion; considers the treaty in three points of view, commercial, financial, and political. Comparative view of the produce, manufactures, and population of the two countries; conclusions in favour of Great Britain. Answers to the objections of the chamber of commerce. Remarks on the treaty of Utrecht. Tendency of the treaty with respect to revenue; the advantage in favour of Great Britain. Political tendency of the treaty. Absurd prejudices answered. Causes of the change that had taken place in the political views of France.—Mr. Fox replies to Mr. Pitt; contends for the importance of the political tendency of the treaty beyond any other consideration. Relative political situation of the two countries. Grounds of the natural enmity subsisting between them. Improbability of any change in the designs of France; her hostile views in the present treaty. Defends the resolutions of the chamber of commerce. Answers Mr. Pitt's arguments relative to the revenue. Moves that the chairman report a progress; supported by Mr. Francis. Different lines of conduct of Lord Chatham and Mr. Pitt. Effects of the treaty upon the navy. Opinion of Mr. Powys; of Mr. Baring. Mr. Fox's motion rejected by a large majority. Resolution moved by Mr. Pitt agreed to. Committee sits again. Resolution moved to lower the duties on French wines. Able speech against the treaty by Mr. Flood; answered by Mr. Wilberforce. Principles laid down by Mr. Wilberforce strongly condemned by Mr. Fox and Mr. Powys. Opinion of Mr. Alderman Watson. Treaty defended by Mr. H. Dundas. Amendment moved by Mr. Fox, respecting the duties on Portugal wines, rejected. Last effort of Mr. Fox in favour of the Methuen treaty; acquiesces in Mr. Pitt's declaration on that subject. Duty on brandy, on beer, on cottons, on glass; and debates thereupon. Report of the committee. Conversation respecting the omission of Ireland. Resolutions agreed to. Motion for an address to the king upon the treaty; strongly opposed. Extraordinary display of eloquence by Mr. Grey. Captain Macbride's opinion. Mr. Burke, upon the political tendency of the treaty, and its remote effects. Treaty defended by Mr. Grenville, Lord Mornington, and Mr. Pulteney. New objection to the address from Mr. W. Ellis; answered and overruled by a majority of* 236 *to* 160. *Address agreed to, and communicated to the lords. Decision of the house of lords upon a motion by lord Stormont, respecting*

Specting such of the sixteen peers as should be created peers of Great Britain. Motion opposed by the lord chancellor; defended by lord Loughborough, and carried by a majority of 52 to 38. Debates in the house of lords upon the commercial treaty. Altercation between the duke of Richmond and the marquis of Lansdown. Address of both houses to the king.

DURING the long recess, with which the members of parliament were this year indulged, Great Britain continued to enjoy an undisturbed tranquillity and repose; —for it is scarcely necessary to except the momentary alarm, occasioned by the danger, to which the person of the sovereign was exposed from the attempt of a miserable lunatic, as related in our last volume; nor that contest of loyalty and affection, which it called forth amongst every class and description of his subjects.

On the 29th of September a treaty of commerce and navigation with France was signed at Versailles by Mr. Eden, to whom the negotiation of that measure had been entrusted on the part of Great Britain. We shall forbear making any other remark upon this new and important event, than that it appears to have caused much alarm and apprehension amongst the manufacturing part of the French nation: its expediency and policy, with respect to this country, will be found amply discussed in the proceedings of the British parliament.

The state of political parties remained also without any considerable variation. The right hon. Charles Jenkinson was advanced to the dignity of a peer of Great Britain, and made chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, and president of the board of trade, and, though not admitted in form to a seat in his majesty's cabinet councils, was supposed to be confidentially consulted upon all affairs of importance; the earl Gower was made marquis of Stafford, and lord Camden an earl; and the duke of Athol, earl of Abercorn, duke of Montague (with remainder to the second son of the duke of Buccleugh) the duke of Queensbury, earl of Tyrone, earl of Shannon, lord Delaval, sir Harbord Harbord, and sir Guy Carleton, were created peers of Great Britain.

On the 23d of January his majesty opened the fourth session of the present parliament by a speech from the throne, in which, after mentioning the friendly disposition of foreign powers towards this country, he informed the two houses, that he had concluded a treaty of commerce with the French king, and had ordered a copy of it to be laid before them. He recommended, as the first object of their deliberations, the necessary measures for carrying it into effect; and expressed his trust, that they would find the provisions contained in it to be calculated for the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce in both countries; and, by promoting a beneficial intercourse between their respective inhabitants, likely to give additional permanency to the blessings of peace. 23d Jan. 1787.

To the house of commons he recommended the state of the revenue as a constant object of their attention; and expressed his hopes that some regulations would, in this session, be carried into effect for the ease of the merchants, and for simplifying the public accounts.

The uſual addreſſes were moved and ſeconded, in the houſe of lords by the earl of Rochford and lord Dacre, and in the lower houſe by lord Compton and Mr. Matthew Montague, the member for Boſſiney. As they contained nothing but matters of mere compliment to the king, they paſſed without oppoſition; but in the houſe of commons Mr. Fox thought himſelf bound to take notice of ſome general principles which had been lain down by the propoſers of the addreſs, apparently as the ground upon which it was intended to defend the treaty, that had lately been concluded with the court of Verſailles.

He obſerved that much ſtreſs had been laid upon certain propoſitions, which he readily admitted were in themſelves incontrovertible;—that peace, for inſtance, was preferable to war, and commerce to conqueſt, and that mutual jealouſies were the cauſe of frequent miſchiefs: but he denied that they were any way peculiarly applicable to our circumſtances at the preſent moment. They were principles, he ſaid, upon which the government of this country had been uniformly and wiſely conducted for the laſt century; but it remained to be ſeen how far they would juſtify any innovation in the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of our policy, ſhould the treaty, which was ſoon to become the ſubject of their conſideration, contain in fact ſuch innovation. All the wars of Great Britain had been wars of neceſſity; and that jealouſy of the power of France, which we were now called upon to lay aſide, had been founded upon the fulleſt experience of her ambitious deſigns. Where then was the neceſſity of inculcating forbearance upon thoſe who had never acted wantonly, or the prudence of arguing againſt a jealouſy, to which we owed our very ſafety?

He deprecated the imputation of being governed by vulgar prejudices, but at the ſame time he declared it to be his opinion, that the external circumſtances of the two nations rendered a rivalſhip and, in ſome degree, an enmity between them inevitable, and that it was impoſſible to prevent them by any meaſure which human ſpeculation could deviſe—Nay, he would not heſitate to pronounce, that were ſuch an event poſſible, it was not to be wiſhed for by any lover of this country.

The treaty, he ſaid, muſt be either commercial, or partly commercial and partly political; and in one or other of theſe points of view its merits were to be eſtimated. If, as he ſincerely wiſhed, it was a mere commercial treaty, the framers of it had only to prove that the new channel of trade which it opened would not obſtruct or would be more beneficial than all the other ancient channels, which this kingdom had long been in poſſeſſion of and which had been found to be the ſources of her commercial wealth and proſperity: but if, on the other hand, miniſters avowed that the treaty was intended as a political meaſure, and that they had in view ſome more cloſe and intimate connection with France, ſuch as ſhould render it in future more difficult for the two countries to go to war than heretofore, they then would have to ſhew ſtrong and ſatisfactory reaſons for having purſued and concluded a meaſure ſo new in the hiſtory of theſe kingdoms, and of ſuch infinite magnitude and importance.

He ſaid, he might venture how-

ever to propheſy, that ſuch an attempt, admitting it to be ſafe and prudent, would prove vain and abortive.—Upon this ground he took a general view of the political conduct of France towards this country, and towards the other powers of Europe. However volatile and inconſtant the French nation may be ſuppoſed to be, the French cabinet, he remarked, had been for centuries the moſt ſteady and uniform in Europe. To raiſe that monarchy to unlimited power had been its unvarying aim; and he defied any man to point out an inſtance in which that court had let ſlip any opportunity which ſeemed to have the leaſt tendency, however remote in appearance, to promote its favourite object.

He demanded what reaſons there were to ſuppoſe that France had abandoned the purpoſe ſhe had ſo long and uniformly aimed at. Her power, he contended, was at this moment greater than in the reign of Louis XIV.; and could any ſtateſman be dupe enough to believe that moderation, at a moment when moderation ſeemed leaſt neceſſary, was the real and true motive that had induced France to accede to a treaty, which held forth the ſpecious appearance of rendering all future hoſtilities between her and Great Britain almoſt impoſſible to happen?

But perhaps his majeſty's miniſters would furniſh the houſe with ſome explicit and poſitive proofs of this great change in the politics of France, and of the ſincerity of her friendly diſpoſition towards us. They might, as yet, be ſaid to be in the honey-moon of their new connection; and he aſked whether, during that fond period, they felt the influence of France greatly operating in their favour with thoſe powers, with whom they were now negociating alliances? Did it manifeſt itſelf in the court of Vienna, in the court of Spain, in the court of Peterſburg, or at the Hague? He believed the very reverſe was well known to be the fact.

But there was another circumſtance which deſerved their moſt ſerious conſideration. The army of France was formerly the firſt in Europe: it was now but the fourth, being inferior to thoſe of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and the emperor. On the other hand, her navy was daily increaſing, and to that object her whole attention was directed. Was this a favourable ſymptom of her friendly diſpoſition towards this country? Did it indicate any extraordinary partiality towards Great Britain? Did it not clearly prove that her confidence was placed upon her continental alliances, and that ſhe was looking forward to and preparing for ſome favourable opportunity of indulging her inveterate animoſity againſt her ancient enemies?

There remained but one ſuppoſition, upon which the ardour, that had appeared for a cloſe political connection with France, could be accounted for. He acquitted the firſt miniſter of the charge he was going to make; but he believed there were men in this country ſo loſt to the memory of its former greatneſs, ſo ſunk in their own baſe deſpondency, as to think it right for us, diminiſhed as our ſplendour was, to ſeize the earlieſt opportunity of making terms with our riſing neighbour, of forming an intimate

intimate connection with her, and by that means artfully ſecuring her favour and protection.

Mr. Fox concluded his ſpeech with ſome obſervations upon the effects, which the new treaty would have upon the treaty ſubſiſting between Great Britain and Portugal. The Methuen treaty, he obſerved, was juſtly a favourite of this nation: it had been productive, during the courſe of near a century, of the moſt important benefits; and he therefore truſted, that before parliament would ſanction any new engagements, that might endanger ſo ſure and tried a ſource of commercial advantage, they would require from his majeſty's miniſter the fulleſt ſatisfaction upon that eſſential article.

Mr. Pitt, in reply to Mr. Fox, charged him with the moſt ſhameleſs inconſiſtency, in giving his aſſent to an addreſs, againſt the greateſt part of which he had been arguing with all the force of his eloquence. He hoped however, for the ſake of unanimity in their proceedings, that he would purſue the ſame line of conduct through the reſt of the ſeſſion; and that whenever he ſpoke againſt the meaſures of government, he would always think it prudent to vote for them. As to his apprehenſions of being thought to be governed by vulgar prejudices, they were quite unneceſſary, as his opinions were ſo far from being *vulgar*, that he believed he was the only perſon in the whole kingdom who entertained them.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to combat the principles laid down by Mr. Fox, which went, he ſaid, to prove the neceſſity and the policy of a conſtant animoſity with France. Theſe doctrines, he contended, militated in the moſt direct manner againſt both humanity and common ſenſe. He aſked, whether he meant to recommend to this country ſuch a ſpecies of political jealouſy as ſhould be either mad or blind; ſuch a ſpecies, as ſhould induce her either madly to throw away, that which was to make us happy, or blindly to graſp at that, which muſt end in her ruin? Was the neceſſity of a perpetual animoſity with France ſo evident and ſo preſſing, that for it we were to ſacrifice every commercial advantage we might expect from a friendly intercourſe with that country; or was a pacific connection between the two kingdoms ſo highly offenſive, that even an extenſion of commerce could not palliate it? For his part, he could by no means join in opinion with the right honourable gentleman, that the ſituation of Great Britain and France was ſuch, as precluded the poſſibility of an amicable intercourſe; and he was ſure, if ſuch intercourſe was not abſolutely impracticable, the treaty now depending was the moſt likely of any meaſure to effect it. Such a treaty would make it the intereſt of each nation to cheriſh and preſerve the connection between them, and would ſo eſſentially implicate and unite the views and convenience of a large part of each kingdom, as to enſure, as much as poſſible, the permanence of the ſyſtem about to be eſtabliſhed.

The honourable gentleman had triumphantly foretold the overthrow of this project, by the reſtleſs ambition of France. How ſoon ſuch an event might take place, he could not poſſibly foreſee; but if war was the greateſt of evils, and commerce the greateſt bleſſing that a country could

enjoy (which, though contrary to the right honourable gentleman's opinions, he believed was the general ſenſe of the nation) then it became the duty of thoſe, to whom public affairs were entruſted, to endeavour, as much as poſſible, to render the one permanent and to remove the proſpect and dangers of the other.

This was the object of the preſent treaty. For the great advantages likely to ariſe from it would not only ſtrongly operate upon every ſucceeding adminiſtration in both countries, ſo as to induce them to avoid a war as long as it could be avoided with honour and prudence, but would alſo ſtrengthen the reſources of the country towards carrying on a war, whenever it ſhould become indiſpenſably neceſſary to engage in one. This was, he ſaid, the true method of making peace a bleſſing, that while it was the parent of immediate wealth and happineſs, it ſhould alſo be the nurſe of future ſtrength and ſecurity. The quarrels between France and Britain had too long continued to harraſs not only thoſe two great and reſpectable nations themſelves, but had frequently embroiled the peace of Europe; nay, had diſturbed the tranquillity of the moſt remote parts of the world. They had, by their paſt conduct, acted as if they were intended by nature for the deſtruction of each other; but he hoped the time was now come, when they ſhould juſtify the order of the univerſe, and ſhew that they were better calculated for the more amiable purpoſes of friendly intercourſe and benevolence.

With regard to the diſtinction that had been made between *commercial* and *political* treaties, he confeſſed he could not conceive a commercial intercourſe between any two nations, that muſt not neceſſarily have a powerful effect on their political conduct towards each other. The right honourable gentleman, when ſecretary of ſtate, muſt have been at the point of propoſing ſome treaty with France. If it was his intention to have propoſed ſuch a plan, as he now ſeemed to think the only proper one, a plan of a commercial arrangement, that ſhould not create an intereſt in either nation to maintain and render it permanent;—ſuch a plan as ſhould not be conſidered by either party as more deſirable than a ſtate of hoſtility and war; if ſuch was his plan (and it was evident that he would not have approved of any other) he had then acted prudently in deſtroying all traces of it, and in taking care not to leave any copy of ſo very notable a project in his office behind him.

With reſpect to the ſtate of our negociations with Portugal, he obſerved, that as it was not a queſtion before the houſe, he ſhould by no means enter into it; but if any gentleman ſhould deſire to know how far our connection with Portugal was likely to be affected by the French treaty, he ſhould then think himſelf bound to ſatisfy him by one or the other of the following anſwers—either that the connection would not be at all affected; or that we were left at full liberty, by the terms of the preſent treaty, to carry into effect the ſpirit of the old ſubſiſting treaties with the court of Portugal. The fact was, that the latter was the caſe; and he ſhould not heſitate to ſay, that when the court of Portugal ſhewed herſelf entitled to receive ſuch a benefit at the hands of Great Britain, he ſhould be ready to concur in granting it; but as long as the court of Portugal continued

tinued to withhold from us our proportion of the mutual advantage provided for both nations by the Methuen treaty, as ſhe had done for many years paſt, ſo long he ſhould think it the duty of adminiſtration to ſuſpend the execution of that part of the French treaty that left us at liberty to ſecure to the kingdom of Portugal a continuance of that favour, which ſhe had hitherto enjoyed, but to which her preſent conduct ſeemed but little to entitle her.

Feb. 5th. On Monday the fifth of February, Mr. Pitt moved, "That the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee on the Monday following, to take into conſideration that part of his majeſty's ſpeech on opening the ſeſſion, which related to the treaty of commerce and navigation formed with his moſt chriſtian majeſty."

This was ſtrongly objected to by oppoſition, as leaving too ſhort a time for deliberation; and accordingly Lord George Cavendiſh moved, that *Monday ſe'nnight* ſhould be ſubſtituted in the room of *Monday next*, and that in the mean time a call of the houſe ſhould be ordered.

In ſupport of the amendment it was urged, that the delay propoſed could not be productive of any conſiderable inconvenience; that a meaſure of ſuch magnitude and importance, both in commercial and political points of view, called not only for the moſt mature deliberation, but alſo for the fulleſt attendance; and that it was highly proper the nation at large ſhould have it in their power to declare their ſentiments of a meaſure, which went to repeal the eſtabliſhed laws, and to reverſe the moſt approved maxims of our anceſtors; to break the bonds of our old alliances, and to connect us with thoſe whom we had long regarded as our rivals and our foes.

Mr. Pitt was admoniſhed to profit of his paſt experience, and to recollect, that in his propoſed commercial arrangements with Ireland, and in his bill for eſtabliſhing an intercourſe with America, he had been reſcued, by the ſalutary delay which had then been procured, from all the miſchievous conſequences of his own raſhneſs and precipitancy.

Neither the arguments nor the ſarcaſms of oppoſition moved the miniſter. He contended that every moment's delay would be attended with ſerious inconveniences, as the merchants and manufacturers had already engaged in ſpeculations to a vaſt extent upon the faith of the treaty. The importance of the meaſure, he ſaid, had of itſelf operated as a call of the houſe, and rendered it totally unneceſſary, as fully appeared from the crowded attendance of that day. The whole buſineſs had been before the public for more than four months. The watchful jealouſy of merchants and manufacturers was well known; and yet not the ſmalleſt complaint or objection had yet been made from any quarter whatſoever.

He concluded by retorting upon Mr. Fox the attack that had been made upon him reſpecting the raſhneſs of his former meaſures, by referring to the proceedings upon the celebrated India Bill; a meaſure, he ſaid, which from its novelty, its magnitude, and its obvious effects, ſeemed eminently entitled to the moſt deliberate diſcuſſion, and yet which no entreaties, no perſuaſion, could reſtrain him

from hurrying through the houſe with the moſt ſhameleſs precipitation.

On a diviſion there appeared for the amendment 89, againſt it 213.

Feb. 9th. On the ninth Mr. Fox again endeavoured to bring the conſideration of the negotiations with Portugal before the houſe, previous to their coming to a deciſion upon the French treaty. The probable ſtate of our future trade with Portugal was, he ſaid, extremely eſſential for the houſe to advert to. The moſt proper period of treating with Portugal would have been before the concluſion of the treaty with France—it would have manifeſted a fairneſs and a decency on our part to an old ally, and convinced the world that whilſt we were ſeeking for new friends and new connections, we had no intentions of ſacrificing the old.

Beſides, ſuch a procedure would have been not leſs politic than manly and dignified. We were treating with France, under the preſent circumſtances, at a manifeſt diſadvantage;—for if, through any pique or perverſeneſs, the court of Liſbon ſhould refuſe to renew the Methuen treaty, now virtually abrogated by the new French treaty, France would in that caſe derive great additional advantages from the ſeparation, for which we neither ſhould have an equivalent, nor could claim any. The duties on the wines of Portugal would, in ſuch a caſe, be left as they now ſtand, and conſequently both the real and the comparative duties on the French wines would be greatly leſſened.

He concluded by moving for copies of the inſtructions that had been given to his majeſty's miniſters in Portugal, reſpecting the complaints of the Britiſh merchants; and of the anſwers of the court of Liſbon to ſuch repreſentations.

This motion was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt upon ſeveral grounds. If its object, in bringing under the examination of the houſe papers relative to a negotiation pending between the two courts, was to induce them to take an active part in the formation of the treaty, it was clearly unparliamentary.

He denied that the concluſion of the French treaty would neceſſarily put an end to the Methuen treaty. This conſequence, he ſaid, might be avoided, if it ſhould be thought proper, by their coming to a reſolution to lower the duties upon Portugal wines before the day ſpecified, upon which the reduction of the French duties ſhould take place.

He defended the policy of concluding the French treaty firſt, upon this obvious principle, that it was always beſt to reſerve in our own hands a reſource, in caſe of diſagreement with thoſe, with whom we are negotiating. Before we opened our negotiations for the remedy of our complaints againſt Portugal, we had ſhewn that court, that we could do without her, by having formed ſuch a connection with France, as would make it eligible for us to transfer to that country, ſhould ſhe reject them, thoſe advantages, which ſhe at preſent enjoyed.

But waving theſe arguments, and allowing that the French treaty might throw difficulties in the way of our negotiations with Portugal, and even upon the ſuppoſition of a final rupture with that country, he was ready to defend the former treaty upon its own merits, and under theſe diſadvantages.

The motion was rejected without a diviſion.

Feb.

Feb. 12th. Before the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee upon the treaty of commerce and navigation with France, a petition was preſented by Mr. Alderman Newnham from certain manufacturers, aſſembled in their chamber of commerce, praying that the houſe would not that day come to any deciſive reſolution upon the commercial treaty with France, as the petitioners had not had leiſure to underſtand the treaty, and conſequently were not yet aware to what degree their intereſts, and the intereſts of other manufacturers, were likely to be affected by it.

Upon this petition Mr. Pitt remarked, that its contents, and the moment of preſenting it, were ſomewhat ſingular. The French treaty had been publiſhed between four and five months, during which time the petitioners it ſeems had not *choſen* to find leiſure to examine and underſtand it; and now, on the day upon which the houſe had agreed to take it into their conſideration, without pointing out one ſpecific objection to it, they had the modeſty to requeſt parliament would delay for an indefinite time all further proceeding upon it. This, he ſaid, he thought the houſe ought by no means to conſent to.—The order of the day was accordingly loudly called for; and the houſe being reſolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt roſe again, and, in a ſpeech of three hours, entered into a full explanation and defence of the treaty.

He conſidered it in three points of view, as affecting our manufactures, our revenues, and our political ſituation—With reſpect to the firſt, he undertook to prove, that though the treaty had been formed upon principles of ſtrict reciprocity, yet that this country muſt, from the nature of the caſe, unavoidably have the advantage. To underſtand this, he ſaid, it would be neceſſary for the committee to conſider the relative ſtate of the two kingdoms. It is a fact generally admitted, that France has the advantage in ſoil and climate, and conſequently in her natural produce; while it is equally true, that Great Britain is decidedly ſuperior in her manufactures and artificial productions. The wines, brandies, oils, and vinegars of France are articles which we have nothing to put in competition with, except our beer. But it is equally clear that we, in our turn, poſſeſs ſome manufactures excluſively our own, and that in others we have ſo eminently the advantage of our neighbour, as to put competition at defiance. Such is the relative condition, and ſuch the preciſe ground on which it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that a valuable correſpondence and connection between the two nations might be eſtabliſhed. Having each its own diſtinct ſtaple, having each that which the other wanted, and not claſhing in the great and leading lines of their reſpective riches, they reſemble two opulent traders in different branches, who might enter into a traffic mutually beneficial.

But nothing, he ſaid, could be more evident than that trade was more or leſs advantageous to any nation, in proportion to the degree of labour, induſtry, and capital employed in bringing its commodities to market, and to the exceſs in value of the perfect manufacture above the raw materials: and this principle gave a decided advantage to us over the French. For, granting that large quantities of their natural

natural produce would be brought into this country, would any man ſay that we ſhould not ſend more cottons by the direct courſe now ſettled, than by the circuitous paſſage formerly uſed?—more of our woollens than while reſtricted to particular ports, and burthened with heavy duties?—would not more of our earthen ware, and other articles, which, under all the diſadvantages they formerly ſuffered, ſtill, from their intrinſic ſuperiority, forced their way regularly into France, now be ſent thither?—and would not the aggregate of our manufactures be eſſentially benefited in going to this market loaded only with duties from twelve to ten, and in one inſtance only five per cent.? The article charged higheſt in the traffic, viz. ſaddlery, gave no ſort of alarm. The traders in this article, though charged with a duty of fifteen per cent. were ſo conſcious of their ſuperiority, that they cheerfully embraced the condition, and conceived that a free competition would be highly advantageous to them.

On the other hand, we had agreed, by this treaty, to take from France, on ſmall duties, the luxuries of her ſoil, which our refinements had already converted into neceſſaries. Was it in the power of high duties to prevent the introduction of them at our tables? Was it then a ſerious evil to admit their wines on eaſier terms?—With reſpect to brandy, the reduction of the duties would chiefly affect the contraband trade. It is an undoubted fact, that the legal importation bore no proportion to the clandeſtine; for, while the former amounted to no more than 600,000 gallons, the latter, by the beſt-founded calculations, did not amount to leſs than between 3 and 4 millions of gallons. As this article then ſo completely poſſeſſed the taſte of the nation, it could not ſurely be deemed wrong to give to the ſtate a greater advantage from it than heretofore, and, by cruſhing the illicit, to promote the legal traffic in it. The oils and vinegars of France were, comparatively, ſmall objects; but, like the former, they were luxuries which had taken the ſhape of neceſſaries, and by receiving them on eaſy terms we could loſe nothing.

In the next place it was neceſſary to enquire whether, in addition to the above, which were the natural produce of France, that kingdom had any manufactures peculiar to itſelf, or in which it ſo greatly excelled as to give us juſt cauſe of alarm on account of the treaty, when viewed in that aſpect? Cambric was the firſt that preſented itſelf; but in this article it was notorious that our competition with France had ceaſed, and there could be no injury in granting an eaſy importation to that which we were determined at any rate to have. In every other article there was nothing formidable in the rivalry of France. Glaſs would not be imported to any amount. In particular kinds of lace, indeed, they had probably the advantage, but none which they did not enjoy independently of the treaty. The clamours about millinery he thought vague and unmeaning. Viewing the relative circumſtances of the two countries in this way, our ſuperiority in the tariff was manifeſt. The excellence of our manufactures was unrivalled, and in the operation muſt give the balance to England.

Another circumſtance comparatively

tively favourable to this country above France in the treaty, was the ſtate of population in both kingdoms. We had a market opened to us in a country containing above twenty millions of inhabitants, whilſt we admitted France to trade with a nation that was ſuppoſed to contain not above eight millions.

He next proceeded to anſwer the ſeveral objections that he underſtood had been made to the treaty in the chamber of commerce.

The firſt related to the facility of conveying out of the kingdom the raw materials and implements of manufacture, and of enticing away our artizans and workmen, under pretences, which the new treaty would make it impoſſible to guard againſt. This, Mr. Pitt ſaid, was an idle apprehenſion, as no one pretext or means, whereby the law in thoſe caſes could be evaded, would exiſt after the confirmation of the treaty, which had not exiſted before. The ſame anſwer, he obſerved, would apply to the doubts that had been expreſſed, whether the rights of certain privileged towns and corporations, and of perſons enjoying patents for improvements or inventions in manufactures, were not endangered by the treaty; they were in fact as effectually protected as before, and no conſtruction whatever of the treaty could injure them.

It had alſo been objected, that although a drawback was allowed on the exportation of French wines, and other articles of that country, from Great Britain, yet no proviſion was made for a drawback of the duties upon our manufactures when exported from France. On this he obſerved, that ſuch a ſtipulation would be highly improper, and inconſiſtent with the principles of negociation: for as the allowing of the drawback would be only for the purpoſe of our own intereſt and convenience, we had no right to expect from France a bonus correſpondent. A ſimilar convenience might, indeed, operate with them to induce them voluntarily to follow our example; but as it had not been demanded of us by France, nor ſtipulated for in the treaty, we had no right whatſoever to make any demand for it in return.

Laſtly, it had been remarked by the chamber of manufacturers, that the commodities, in which France traded, were in general the produce of the ſoil, which could not diminiſh in their quantities nor ſuffer in their qualities from time;—whereas ours were principally manufactures, which owed all their value to the labour and ingenuity beſtowed upon them; the conſequence of which, they apprehended, might be, that the French, by becoming in time as induſtrious and as ingenious as our people, would carry on a ſucceſsful competition with us in thoſe articles in which we had at preſent a ſuperiority; while it was impoſſible for us, from the nature of our ſoil and climate, ever to expect to equal them in any of the articles of their produce. This was, he ſaid, an idea that could by no means apply as an argument againſt the preſent treaty;—for however fluctuating in its nature trade might be, it was abſurd to ſuppoſe, that in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time as twelve years (the length of time for which this treaty was to laſt if not renewed) any ſuch eſſential change ſhould take place in our commerce, as to transfer to France that decided ſuperiority, which we now enjoy, in almoſt every article

article of manufacture. In other reſpects this circumſtance, as he had before remarked, was of decided advantage to us.

The rejection of the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of Utrecht, by the houſe of commons, in 1712, and the general opinion of the impolicy of that meaſure, had been inſiſted on. But allowing that an open commercial intercourſe with France would, at that time, have been injurious, it did not follow that it would be ſo now; for at that period thoſe manufactures, in which we now excel, had hardly exiſtence, but were on the ſide of France, inſtead of being againſt her. The tariff did not then, as now, conſiſt of articles in which we were comparatively ſuperior; but in addition to the produce of France, which at all times muſt be the ſame, the balance of manufactures was alſo in her favour. Nor was it true, that we had invariably conſidered it as ſound policy to reſiſt all connection with France; ſhe had been more jealous of us than we of her. Prohibitions originated on the part of France, and we only retorted in our own defence.

He next took a view of the treaty, as likely to affect our revenue; and began by ſtating the objections that had been made to it on this head. It had been ſuggeſted, that as a conſiderable reduction muſt unavoidably take place in the duties on French wines, and probably on the duties on Portugal wines, ſhould the proviſions of the Methuen treaty be ſtill kept in force, the revenue would, *prima facie*, undergo a preſent diminution to the extent of the ſeveral reductions of duties, which could only be compenſated by a proportional increaſe of conſumption of articles of the ſame or ſimilar quality.

To obviate this ground of objection, he ſtated the preſent circumſtances of the wine trade—that notwithſtanding the late regulations for the prevention of ſmuggling and ſubjecting the wine trade to the ſuperintendance of the exciſe, there was a clear proof, ariſing from a comparative view of the ſtock books of the exciſe officers, and the entries at the cuſtom-houſe, that within theſe few months paſt the conſumption of wines was infinitely greater than the legal importation. This aroſe partly from a contraband and clandeſtine importation, but chiefly from the manufacture of home-made wine, which was brought to market as foreign wine. Now the conſequence of a reduction of duties, accompanied, as was deſigned, by further regulations of collection, muſt neceſſarily be the encouragement of the fair trader and the ſuppreſſion, as well of ſmuggled importation, as of the pernicious home manufacture; ſo that although our conſumption might not increaſe, yet our legal importation, and of conſequence our revenue and navigation, muſt be materially benefited.

But even ſuppoſing, by the reduction of our duties on wine, ſomething to be loſt, and not compenſated by the increaſe of the legal importation, ſtill in other parts of the arrangement there were proviſions made that would amply meet any defalcation that could ariſe in the revenue on wine. An article, which he had already mentioned, that of cambric, would alone go a great way towards indemnifying us for our loſs on wine. This article at preſent

preſent laboured under an actual prohibition, and yet it was in conſtant uſe, and would, if legalized, bear a tax and, as he was inſtructed and believed, produce 50,000*l.* per annum. Now, calculating the reduction on wine as an entire loſs to the revenue, which could not be expected to be made good, even in part, by the increaſed legal conſumption, the whole ſum ſo loſt would amount on Portugal wine to 150 or 160,000*l.*; and on French wines and brandy to about 20,000*l.* When it was conſidered then what a very conſiderable revenue would ariſe from other new branches of importation, as well as cambric, how conſiderably the demand for our own manufactures would increaſe, and how much the revenue would be thereby improved by the increaſe of the exciſe duties, which many of thoſe manufactures pay; and, above all, how much it would operate in favour of the population and navigation of the kingdom—there was no perſon could be ſo deſponding, as not to hope for a full and complete compenſation, in thoſe ſeveral channels, for any loſs we could poſſibly ſuſtain from the lowering the duties on wine.

He further remarked, that there was another circumſtance, which he had had occaſion to mention before, and which gave us a conſiderable advantage in the preſent treaty over the French in point of revenue. The principal articles of trade which the French markets ſupply, were the natural growth of the ſoil, and were produced by the earth almoſt in a ſtate fit for conſumption, and were of a nature that, on importation into other countries, would bear a very conſiderable duty in compariſon to their prime coſt: whereas the commodities, that Great Britain would have to ſupply France with, were ſuch as acquired great value from the labour beſtowed upon them, and therefore were not able to pay any great internal duty. Our moſt ingenious and laborious manufactures, in ſteel and other metals, were to be admitted into France on paying a duty only of 10 per cent.; ſo that if we ſhould import their commodities only to the amount of 500,000*l.* we ſhould have a clear income to our revenue of more than that ſum; but, if they were to import to the value of one million of ours, they would have only a revenue of about 100,000*l.*

Add to all this that the principal articles we ſhall import from France employ but few hands in their preparation, give but ſmall encouragement to navigation, and produce little to the ſtate. Our manufactures give employment to millions, and in collecting the raw materials from every quarter of the world advance our maritime ſtrength, and in all their combinations, and in every ſtage of their progreſs contribute largely to the ſtate. The high price of labour in England ariſes chiefly from the amount of the exciſe, and three-fifths of the price of labour were ſaid to come into the exchequer.

The third point of view in which he conſidered the treaty, was that of its political tendency. It was objected to, he ſaid, inaſmuch as it went to compoſe thoſe jealouſies, and deſtroy that rivalſhip, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two countries, and which it was ſtated was of the moſt ſalutary

conſequence

conſequence to Great Britain; and it was further inſinuated, that there was no dependance to be placed on the faith of the other contracting party.

The firſt of theſe objections had, he ſaid, unfortunately gained ſome degree of conſideration from the uniform practice of the two countries for many centuries paſt; and he was ſcarcely ſurprized to hear, even from ſuch enlightened men as he had heard ſpeak upon the ſubject, that France and England were naturally and neceſſarily enemies. The fact, he was perſuaded, was directly the reverſe; for, however ambition or accident might have embroiled them with each other, ſtill there had always been in the individuals of both countries a diſpoſition towards a friendly intercourſe, and the people of France and Britain had each of them virtues and good qualities which the other had liberality enough to acknowledge and to admire. To ſuppoſe that any two ſtates were neceſſarily enemies, was an opinion founded neither in the experience of nations, nor in the hiſtory of man. It was a libel on the conſtitution of political ſocieties, and ſuppoſed the exiſtence of diabolical malice in the original frame of man.

But after all, what reaſon was there to imagine that the treaty was not only to extinguiſh all jealouſy from our boſoms, but alſo completely to annihilate our means of defence? Was it to be ſuppoſed that the interval of peace between the two countries would be ſo totally unemployed by us as to diſable us from meeting France in war with our accuſtomed ſtrength? Did it not rather, by opening new ſources of wealth, ſpeak this forcible language:—that the interval of peace, by enriching the nation, would be the means of enabling her to combat her enemy with more effect when the day of hoſtility ſhould come?—It quieted no well-founded jealouſy; it ſlackened no neceſſary exertions; it retarded no provident preparation—but ſimply tended, while it increaſed our ability for war, to poſtpone the period of its approach. That we ſhould not be taken unprepared for war, depended in no degree on this treaty, but ſimply and totally on the ability and vigilance of the adminiſtration for the time being.

That France had, in the inſtant of our diſtreſs, interfered to cruſh us, was a truth which he did not deſire to blink; but when he recollected the whole of that dreadful controverſy, he thought it not impoſſible to reconcile the preſent conduct of France to more equitable and candid principles of policy than gentlemen ſeemed willing to attribute to our rival. When France ſaw the enormous combination againſt us, who were unſupported by a ſingle ally—and perceived that in ſuch circumſtances we not only ſaved our honour, but manifeſted ſolid, and, he was almoſt tempted to ſay, inexhauſtible reſources; when ſhe reflected, that though ſhe had gained her object in diſmembering our empire, ſhe had done it at an expence which involved herſelf in extreme embarraſsment; may we not be led to cheriſh the idea, that, feeling our ſteady and unconquerable vigour, and experiencing the inefficacy as well as ruin of hoſtility, ſhe is ſincerely deſirous to try the benefits of an amicable connection?

Mr. Pitt concluded with moving the

the first of his resolutions; viz. "That it appears to be expedient "that all the articles of the growth, "produce, and manufactures of "the European dominions of the "French king, which are not spe- "cified in the tariff of the treaty, "shall be imported into this king- "dom on payment of duties as "low as any which shall be pay- "able on the like articles from "any other European nation."

Mr. Fox followed Mr. Pitt, and in a speech of nearly the same length objected to several of his principles, as too narrow and partial for the great subject they were discussing, and to the conclusions he had drawn from them in favour of the treaty, in its three great points of view, policy, commerce, and finance, as fallacious and unwarranted.

Upon the first head he illustrated and enforced, by a variety of new topics, the arguments he had used in a former debate. He contended that the only situation in which Great Britain could stand in the general system of Europe with honour, dignity, or safety, was as a counterpoize to the power of France; that this had been our invariable policy in all the most flourishing periods of our history, if that of queen Elizabeth be excepted, when the Spanish empire held the same relative place that France has since held; and that of the protector Cromwell, whose conduct was evidently directed by a regard to the security of his personal power.

It was this circumstance of our policy, operating upon the restless ambition of France, not any inward antipathy of mind, not the memory of Cressy and of Agincourt, that made the two nations natural enemies. That France considered us in this hostile point of view, and as the only obstacle to her ambitious designs, was evident from her unceasing endeavours to diminish our power. To prove that this object was still the first in her contemplation and the nearest her heart, we had but to recollect her conduct towards us in the American war; and to prove that no assurances of her friendship were to be trusted, when that object was in view, we had only to read the correspondence between the French ministers and lord Stormont during the first years of that contest. And, when it was further considered, who the monarch was that then sat on the throne of France, a monarch of the most mild and benevolent character, and celebrated for his love of justice; and that the minister, who directed his councils, was far advanced in the last stage of life, of a feeble and timid disposition, and therefore unlikely to be led away by any new and visionary projects of ambition; not a doubt could be left in any one's mind but that the French nation was actuated by a regular, fixed, and systematic enmity to this country.

But it was said, that, convinced at length by dear-bought experience, that this empire was inexpugnable, and that notwithstanding the threatening contests in which we had been engaged we still firmly maintained our rank, she had opened her arms to us, adopted other sentiments, and courted a connection with us upon liberal and mutually advantageous terms. That she had changed her policy was probable; but what proof had we that she had changed her

her ſentiments? Was it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that her end was the ſame, though the means ſhe meant to purſue were different? that inſtead of force, which ſhe found would not avail, ſhe intended to employ ſtratagem to put us off our guard, to lull us into ſecurity, to prevent our cultivating other alliances, to leſſen the dependence of foreign ſtates upon us, to turn all our views to commercial profits, to entangle our capital in that country, and to make it the private intereſt of individuals in this rather to acquieſce in any future project of ambition ſhe might engage in, than come to a rupture with her? Theſe he was convinced were the deſigns of France in ſeeking to eſtabliſh a commercial intercourſe with us.

Having urged theſe and other topics of the ſame tendency with great energy and animation, Mr. Fox proceeded to conſider the treaty in a commercial point of view. He firſt adverted in general to the preſumption drawn from the ſilence of the trading part of the nation reſpecting it. The ſame preſumption, he ſaid, had been exactly drawn from the ſame circumſtance in the caſe of the Iriſh propoſitions, and yet they all recollected how the boaſting of the miniſter had turned out upon that occaſion.

But, in the preſent caſe, a petition had been preſented from the chamber of commerce, ſigned by ſome of the moſt conſiderable and the moſt reſpectable manufacturers of this country. Would any one, he aſked, aſſert, that he underſtood the intereſts of the cotton manufacture better than Mr. Walker of Mancheſter, or the intereſts of the woollen, better than the houſe of Milnes in Wakefield; and when perſons ſo deeply concerned in the buſineſs expreſſed their doubts upon the tendency of the treaty, it ſurely afforded ſufficient ground at leaſt for further deliberation and enquiry.

Mr. Fox then defended the objections made by the chamber of commerce againſt the anſwers of Mr. Pitt, and contended that at leaſt there was ſuch ſtrong ground for their doubts and apprehenſions, as to make it little ſhort of madneſs to proceed without further inveſtigation.

Mr. Fox proceeded in the laſt place to conſider the treaty as it might affect the revenues of this country. It had been admitted, he ſaid, that it would occaſion an annual defalcation to the amount of 200,000*l.* and upwards. This loſs Mr. Pitt had contended would in part be compenſated by the decreaſe of the contraband trade, in conſequence of the reduction of the duties. But the fallacy of this expectation, Mr. Fox ſaid, was manifeſt from his own principles. He had declared, when the commutation act was under diſcuſſion, that 40 per cent. was a ſufficient inducement for ſmuggling. Now the firſt price of brandy was not more than 2*s.* per gallon; the reduced duty was about 7*s.* 6*d.*; ſo that there remained a premium for the ſmuggler of about 400 per cent. ten times more than what had been eſteemed ſufficient to encourage a contraband trade.

Another article of compenſation mentioned was cambric. That this would produce a conſiderable revenue he was ready to grant; but the ſame advantage might have been gained to this country without

out the intervention of the treaty, by merely legalizing its importation.

An increaſe of the exciſe revenues, to ariſe out of the increaſe of our manufactures, had alſo been inſiſted upon; but as he had before expreſſed his doubts reſpecting the probability of that increaſe, or at leaſt of its amounting to any thing conſiderable; he muſt alſo put the other contingency out of the preſent queſtion.

Upon the whole Mr. Fox inferred, that the revenue of this country would ſuffer a very ſerious and uncompenſated loſs; and concluded with moving, "That the "chairman leave the chair, report "a progreſs, and aſk leave to ſit "again."

Mr. Francis followed Mr. Fox, and concurred in opinion with him upon the miſchievous political tendency of the meaſure under their conſideration. He went even farther: he dreaded the effects of an intimate political connection with France upon the character of the Britiſh nation. The firſt ſtep towards enſlaving a free people was to endeavour to corrupt them; and he was convinced that a freer intercourſe with France would produce that effect.

There were other reflections, he ſaid, which belonged to the ſubject, too obvious to require explanation, and too delicate to be expreſſed. There might be too ſtrict an union between the two crowns through the medium of an union between the two nations; and that union might be fatal to the liberty of Great Britain.

He reminded Mr. Pitt of the oppoſite opinions of the late lord Chatham, and lamented that the pomp of modern eloquence ſhould be employed to derogate from the merits of his adminiſtration. The polemical laurels of the father muſt yield, he ſaid, to the pacific myrtles which ſhadow the forehead of the ſon. The firſt and moſt prominent feature in the political character of lord Chatham was *antigallican*. His glory was founded on the reſiſtance he made to the united power of the houſe of Bourbon. The preſent miniſter had taken the oppoſite road to fame; and France, the object of every hoſtile principle in the policy of lord Chatham, was the *gens amiciſſima* of the ſon.

With reſpect to its commercial effects, he was alſo of opinion, that the conſumption of Britiſh manufactures in France would not be ſo great as was expected; and that our ſuperiority, in the articles of cotton and woollen eſpecially, was in its nature tranſitory, and from many circumſtances very precarious.

With reſpect to the revenue, he obſerved, that there was ſomething very extraordinary in the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer. He had declared the finances of the country to be in ſo flouriſhing a condition, as to afford an unqueſtionable ſurpluſs of a million and upwards annually. From what cauſe could a fact ſo full of conſolation and encouragement to this country ariſe, but from that long-eſtabliſhed, wiſe, and ſucceſsful ſyſtem of commerce, which the preſent treaty with France was intended to ſubvert?

Mr. Francis concluded with remarking, that there was a fourth point of view in which the treaty had not yet been conſidered; and that was, from the effect it might have upon our navy. One certain

effect, and indeed an avowed principle of the treaty, was, to ſubſtitute a near commercial market in the place of a remote one. Now what was the immediate operation of ſuch a ſubſtitution? A commercial intercourſe with France would be carried on by ſhort trips, and by ſeamen, perhaps even by landmen, who neither wanted much experience, nor could poſſibly gain any in ſuch a navigation. The whole of it would be performed by ſkippers, ſmugglers, and packet-boats, and juſt as eaſily by the French as the Engliſh.

Mr. Powys was of opinion, that the treaty was not ſafe in its policy, and that it put the commercial intereſts of this country unneceſſarily to hazard. He conceived the glaſs manufactory might be utterly ruined; and he greatly doubted whether in the end the cotton trade would not be injured conſiderably.

Mr. Baring, the member for Exeter, and himſelf a perſon of great commercial dealings, thought the treaty, as far as his conſideration of it had gone, had both its advantages and diſadvantages; but upon the whole, commercially conſidered, his opinion went in its favour. He expreſſed however great anxiety upon the ſubject of the treaty with Portugal: he did not think our trade ſo neceſſary to that country as was imagined; ſhe might ſupply herſelf with woollens and fiſh from France; and as to her wines, it was the opinion of many people in that country, that ſhe would profit by rooting up all her vineyards, and growing wheat, of which ſhe is now obliged to import a very great quantity.

The treaty was defended by Mr. Grenville upon the ground occupied by Mr. Pitt; and the queſtion being at length called for, Mr. Fox's amendment was negatived; and the reſolution moved agreed to by a majority of 248 to 118.

This day, the houſe having been engaged for a conſiderable time in other buſineſs, Mr. Pitt at a late hour propoſed, that the committee ſhould again be formed for the conſideration of the commercial treaty. This was ſtrongly oppoſed, as taking the houſe by ſurprize; but, upon a diviſion, Mr. Pitt's motion was carried by a majority of 145 to 59. Feb. 15th.

The houſe being accordingly reſolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt read, without any preface, his ſecond reſolution, "That the wines of "France be imported into this "country upon as low duties as "the preſent duties paid on the "importation of Portugal wines."

Mr. Flood, in a long and eloquent ſpeech, took this occaſion of delivering his opinion upon the general merits of the treaty. He concurred with Mr. Fox in conſidering Great Britain and France as natural rivals. They have been rivals, he ſaid, for more than a century, and they muſt continue rivals, unleſs France on the one hand had completely changed the principles of her conduct, and unleſs Great Britain had abandoned her character and condition as the guardian of the balance of power, and of the liberties of Europe, on the other. It has often been the aim of France to connect herſelf with this country by a commercial treaty; and it has ever been the uniform determination of this country to refuſe to enter into any ſuch connection. It followed then, as a neceſſary conſequence, that if the former

former conduct of Great Britain had been wise and prudent, its present conduct was weak and impolitic.

He then considered the treaty in a commercial point of view, and particularly the stress that had been laid upon the idea, that Great Britain was a country of manufactures, France a country of produce. The position, he contended, was incorrect; the fact being, that France at this time was one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world; and it was notoriously a country every way our superior in respect to the natural produce of the soil.

He observed, that it had been maintained that the silence of our manufacturers was a strong proof of their acquiescence, and of their being perfectly satisfied with the treaty. He denied the inference, and he also denied the fact upon which it was founded, namely, that the manufacturers had four months to consider the treaty, to examine its bearings, and to form a judgment on its probable effects. The treaty, he said, was not completely before the public till the convention came, and was printed. From that time it had been open to consideration only fourteen days, previous to its being brought forward in the house; and when the day came for his majesty's ministers to bring on the discussion, on that day a petition was presented from the manufacturers.

Mr. Flood said, that he had a right to assume, that if the manufacturers could be brought to the bar and examined, they would give their opinion against the treaty; and if he was asked, what induced him to entertain such a belief? he would answer, the evidence the manufacturers had already delivered on oath. If he was asked, where that evidence had been deposed? he would say, when the treaty with Ireland was under discussion. If the manufacturers were brought to the bar, and upon being interrogated, said they approved of the treaty with France, he would ask them, why they had been afraid of Ireland, and were not afraid of France? Was it that France was a manufacturing country, and that Ireland was not? Was it that France had four times the credit of Ireland, eight times the population, and forty times the capital? He pursued the comparison further, and shewed that France had every circumstance in her favour as a powerful rival and competitor in commerce with Great Britain, whilst Ireland had every thing against her. After putting this very pointedly, he proceeded to shew, that true policy would have chosen a commercial connection with Ireland, in preference to a commercial connection with France. The latter, being, as he had described her to be, a great manufacturing country, as well as a country eminent for its superiority in respect to its natural produce, was able to supply its own wants; whereas Ireland was not able to supply herself, but must be supplied from Great Britain. He contended, that a country that wanted much, not a country that wanted little, was that alone which was likely to prove useful to Great Britain in a commercial connection.

It was, he said, to be lamented, that the treaty with Portugal had not been settled before we treated with France, who, instead of being

the first, ought to have been the last power with whom we negociated. He argued very forcibly to prove this, and shewed, that Portugal was put into an unsafe situation with regard to us, by having been left as she was. The treaty with France put it out of our power to prove as useful to her as we had hitherto been. The reason of her connection with us was the character and station we had filled, of guardian of the liberties of Europe, and a protection against the inordinate ambition of France. That station we no longer filled, and consequently we could no longer prove that useful friend we had hitherto been to her.

He mentioned the trade which France was endeavouring to carry on with America;—America, he said, wanted long credit, and France could not give it her; but now she would take credit from the English merchants, and lend it to that country.

Mr. Wilberforce rose in answer to Mr. Flood. He said, that the right honourable member's speech abounded with false reasoning, and unwarrantable conclusions. He had asserted that the manufacturers disliked the treaty: of his own knowledge he could take upon him to assert the reverse was the fact. He had seen a great number of the manufacturers of different descriptions, he had conversed with them upon the subject, and they all highly approved of the treaty. He next addressed himself to Mr. Fox, and said, he heartily wished he would come down to that house coolly and dispassionately; that he would sometimes forget that he was a politician, and consider matters under discussion with a greater degree of attention to their particular merits. He asked, to what end it was to tell a poor cottager, groaning under a load of taxes and sitting with scarcely a snuff of candle to light him, while he was poring over a newspaper, containing a violent speech of the right honourable gentleman, so put together that the sense of it could scarcely be made out, that he was a balancer of the power of Europe, and a protector of its liberties! Was that, said Mr. Wilberforce, a proper language to be told to such a man? Was it likely to stimulate him to better exertions or industry? He declared he had been run away with frequently by the oratory of the right honourable gentleman, and obliged to appeal to his reason and his principles to prevent being declaimed out of his understanding. Lastly, Mr. Wilberforce addressed himself to Mr. Powys, as a country gentleman, and pressed it home to members of that description, whether the way to get rid of a four shillings in the pound land-tax was by holding the balance of Europe, or by extending our commerce, and encreasing the sale of our manufactures.

Mr. Fox rose to condemn the low and desponding arguments urged by the last speaker. He wished to know if that was the language meant to be maintained; he wished some persons in authority would stand up and say so, because he could then meet it fairly. Would the right honourable gentleman opposite to him declare, that we were no longer in a situation to hold the balance of power in Europe, and to be looked up to as the protector of its liberties? He should be glad to come at that point. As to the assertion, that a poor

a poor cottager was not to be talked to in that ſtrain, he muſt maintain that he was; and notwithſtanding the preſſure of taxes under which the lower order of people in this country laboured, yet it was a comfort to him to hear that ſhe was the balance of power, and the protector of the liberties of Europe. This it was that enabled him to bear his poverty with chearfulneſs, and to feel the ſatisfaction, amidſt all his diſtreſs, of reflecting on the thought of his being one of the ſubjects of a free country, whoſe characteriſtic it was to balance the power of Europe.

Mr. Powys alſo roſe in anſwer to Mr. Wilberforce's addreſs to him as a country gentleman, and ſaid, the country gentleman who ſhould govern his public conduct by mere conſideration of private intereſt, was a miſerable animal indeed. No impreſſion ariſing from the circumſtance of the land-tax being four ſhillings in the pound, or even more, ſhould induce him to vote upon a matter of great public importance differently from what he conſcientiouſly believed would be moſt for the good of the country. It was upon that impulſe that he had voted againſt the reſolution of Monday, and the ſame motive would direct his vote that night.

Mr. Alderman Watſon was againſt the treaty, as running too great an hazard when we had ſo much to loſe. He begged the committee to recollect to what an aſtoniſhing height of proſperity our commerce had riſen upon its old and eſtabliſhed principles. In the year 1677 we had but one veſſel, with lingering ſails, a ſingle ſolitary bottom, that went to the Baltic; in 1786 we had ſeveral hundreds. He commented on this difference, and argued that it proved in how flouriſhing a ſtate the trade of this country now is, and at the ſame time ſhewed how cautious we ſhould be in taking any ſtep that might affect it. He further remarked that France and America were in connection; that the latter ſent her produce to France, and was ſupplied from France. France, therefore, by the commercial treaty with Great Britain, might enable herſelf to fulfil all her American commiſſions at the expence of Britiſh credit. This, he conceived, deſerved their moſt ſerious conſideration.

On the part of adminiſtration, the treaty was defended by Mr. Dundas. He had heard, he ſaid, a great deal of excellent political ſpeculation, but he did not conceive in what manner thoſe arguments could be brought to bear upon the preſent treaty. He could not ſee what relation they had to it, being fully ſatisfied that there was nothing in the treaty that in the ſmalleſt degree tended to throw a difficulty either in the way of this country's taking any political part againſt France that ſhe thought proper, or of entering into an alliance with any other power. What was the treaty, but a meaſure calculated to enable her to circulate the manufactures of her own artizans in a much greater degree than ever ſhe could do heretofore, by opening to her one of the moſt extenſive markets in the world; and in doing ſo where was the danger? He contended that it was wiſe in this country, during a time of peace, to take advantage of the circumſtance and, by extending our commerce, to reduce her debts and to fill the coffers of the ſtate. It was the firſt object of a miniſter

of this country, that he ſhould not be afraid of ſaying to a French miniſter, "If you want to make war "with this country, begin when you "pleaſe, and where you pleaſe; if "in the eaſt, you will find an army "ready, and a full treaſury; the "ſame in the weſt, and the ſame "in Europe."

Before the queſtion was put, Mr. Fox moved, by way of amendment, that the following words be added to it: "That the duties on the "importation of Portugal wines "ſhould at the ſame time be low-"ered one-third." This, Mr. Fox obſerved, would be an effectual means of preſerving the Methuen treaty in full force, ſo far as related to our part of the obligation, and would enable government more advantageouſly to negociate the pending treaty with Portugal.

This motion was negatived without farther diſcuſſion, by 91 to 76, and the original reſolution put and carried.

Feb. 16th. The day following Mr. Fox made his laſt effort to induce the houſe to take ſome ſtep for ſecuring the continuance of the Methuen treaty and averting the danger, to which he contended it was expoſed by the reſolution they had come to the preceding night—a reſolution, which, if not followed by ſome correſpondent propoſition reſpecting Portugal, would manifeſt a diſregard to that nation little ſhort of a direct affront.

He had been deſcribed, he ſaid, on the former day, as a perſon fond of talking of alliances with foreign courts, of treaties, and of negociations. He did not conceive how he could avoid in that houſe frequently diſcuſſing topics of that nature, unleſs they were to take the advice that one member had given, and no longer to conſider themſelves as politicians. Till then he muſt be excuſed if he continued to think that it became him and every gentleman, who ſate within thoſe walls, to conſider himſelf as a politician, and to direct his opinions and conduct accordingly.

Mr. Fox then proceeded to ſtate the immenſe importance of the object he brought before them; a ſure market for our manufactures to the amount of near a million annually, and principally for a ſpecies of manufacture ſaleable in no other. He next adverted to her importance to us as an ally; and remarked, that but for her we ſhould not have had in the laſt war a friendly port from Gottenburgh to Gibraltar.

Having ſtrongly ſtated theſe facts, he contended, that if the houſe did not come to an immediate reſolution "That the duties on the wines of "Portugal ſhould be lowered one-"third," they not only virtually broke the Methuen treaty, but paid France a compliment at the expence of Portugal, by holding it out to all the world, that during the courſe of their proceedings France was preferred, and her intereſts firſt attended to.

"Nor was there, in due parliamentary form, any grounds whatever, upon which they could decently ſuſpend an act expreſſive of their readineſs to comply with the Methuen treaty. They had indeed heard of negotiations pending with Portugal, and they had heard of grievances complained of; but they neither knew the grievances nor the ſtate of the negotiations, and therefore, as a houſe of parliament, they had no grounds whatever to induce them

to

to act otherwise than as if no negotiation was pending, nor any complaints or grievances existing. He concluded with moving an instruction to the committee on the commercial treaty to the purport he had before mentioned.

The motion was supported with great ability by sir Grey Cooper, and opposed by Mr. Pitt, as interfering by a premature resolution in a matter delegated by the constitution to the executive government. With respect to what had been said of the house having no parliamentary knowledge of a pending negociation, he asserted that a declaration delivered by him in his place, and as a minister, that such a negotiation was pending, was entitled to be considered as formal parliamentary information. He concluded with repeating his declaration, that he had every reason to expect the negotiation would prove successful; if, however, it should not succeed, he would lay before the house, for their judgments, the grounds upon which it had failed.

Upon this issue, and the responsibility which the minister agreed to take upon himself, Mr. Fox consented to withdraw his motion; and the house being resolved into a committee, Mr. Pitt proceeded to move the several resolutions for imposing certain duties upon the various articles of merchandize specified in the tariff, as contained in the sixth article of the treaty.

When the reduced duty upon brandy was moved, Mr. Pitt was asked, whether he meant to accompany that alteration with a reduction of the duties on rum? He answered, that he did; and that it was intended to place them exactly in the same relation to each other in which they stood in the year 1778.

The resolution respecting a reciprocal duty of 30 per cent. upon beer occasioned some conversation, in which Mr. Whitbread, the most eminent brewer of this country, gave it as his opinion, that when it was considered that to this import duty were to be added the existing internal duties in each country, which in England were very high and in France very low, the terms upon the whole were in our favour.

The duty of 12 per cent. upon cottons was objected to, as not sufficient to protect the home manufacture, and more especially as so much of the raw material was purchased from foreigners, who might charge it with what duty they pleased. The French, it was said, had already shewn a disposition to throw this obstacle in our way, by a treaty they were endeavouring to negotiate with Portugal, to purchase all the Brazil cotton wool, and by laying an additional duty of five-pence per pound on that of her own colonies. In answer to these objections it was asserted, that the superiority of our manufacturers, both in industry and ingenuity, was so manifest, as to leave no room for any apprehensions of their suffering by any competition; and that the short duration of the treaty, which was only for twelve years, was a sufficient security against the dreaded emigration of our manufacturers. With respect to the raw material, our purse would always command it; and some gentlemen conceived we might soon be able to supply ourselves from our own islands.

With respect to the article of glass, it was objected by sir M. W.

Ridley, that it would entirely ruin the Britiſh plate-glaſs manufactory in England. For, he ſaid, a glaſs of ninety inches would coſt one hundred guineas, whereas in France a glaſs of the ſame dimenſions might be purchaſed for forty; to this if twelve and a half per cent. were added, it would ſtill leave the French almoſt one half cheaper than the Engliſh. Our home duties on glaſs were ſo high, that twelve and a half per cent. ſcarcely amounted to one fourth of the duty that would be ſufficient to protect that article.

Mr. Pitt obſerved in reply, that the twelve and a half per cent. were not the only duties that would be payable in future on French plate-glaſs imported, a right being reſerved by the treaty to lay on duties to countervail the internal duties of exciſe paid on the glaſs manufactured in the country into which the importation ſhould be made.

Mr. Fox allowed, that if France would conſent to underſtand the treaty in this light, and admit the diſtinction between the nominal and internal duties, it would do very well; but the treaty would not bear that conſtruction.

Mr. Grenville ſaid, that the two countries, intending to act with good faith and plain dealings towards each other, would take ſuch meaſures as ſhould remove all doubts on the ſubject.

Reſolutions upon the ſeveral articles of the tariff were then moved and agreed to.

Feb. 19th. On the Monday following the report of the committee upon the commercial treaty was brought up, and on the uſual motion being made, that the houſe do agree to the ſame, notice was taken of the omiſſion of the mention of Ireland both in the treaty and the tariff; and it was aſked, whether or no ſhe was underſtood to be included in it? To this queſtion Mr. Pitt replied, that Ireland was undoubtedly entitled to all the benefits of the French treaty; but it was entirely at her own option, whether ſhe ſhould chooſe to avail herſelf of thoſe advantages; for it was only to be done by her paſſing ſuch laws as ſhould put the tariff on the ſame footing in that country as it was ſtipulated ſhould be done in this. Had the adoption of the treaty by Ireland been a ſtipulation neceſſary to be performed before it could be finally concluded on by this country, then this country would have been deprived of all the benefits reſulting from it in the event of Ireland's refuſal.

This explanation did not ſatisfy Mr. Flood, who again aſked, what ſecurity Ireland had for her ſhare of the advantages which the treaty held out to Great Britain, if any advantages were likely to ariſe from it, any more than ſhe had that the court of Liſbon would extend to her the advantages of the Methuen treaty, of which it was well known ſhe had refuſed to ſuffer Ireland to participate, in violation of the ſpirit and meaning of that treaty; of which breach of treaty on the part of Portugal, although it had been five years in negotiation, no redreſs had yet been obtained for Ireland? Mr. Flood ſtated his conviction, that the commercial treaty was neither likely to be a benefit to Great Britain nor Ireland; and he thought a ſtronger proof of its defects could not be ſtated to the friends of Ireland (and every honeſt Briton muſt be the friend of Ireland, becauſe her intereſts

tereſts were ſo deeply involved and interwoven with the intereſts of Great Britain, that they were inſeparable conſiderations) than the extraordinary poſition in which it would place the two countries of France and Ireland, with reſpect to England and to each other; by entitling France to commercial privileges and advantages in Great Britain to which Ireland was not entitled, and by entitling Ireland to greater privileges and advantages in France than ſhe could obtain in Great Britain.

This ſpeech produced a warm reply from Mr. Grenville, who ſaid, that Great Britain had two years ago made a liberal offer to Ireland, which the parliament of that miſled and infatuated people had been perſuaded to refuſe; and that it ill became thoſe, who had principally ſtood forward to perſuade that aſſembly to reject the offer, to be afterwards among the foremoſt to endeavour to prevent this country from carrying into execution a treaty with France, which was concluded with a view to the benefit of Great Britain, and in which Ireland was alſo included, if ſhe choſe to avail herſelf of the benefit.

The report was finally agreed to, upon a diviſion, by a great majority.

Feb. 21ſt. We are now arrived at the laſt debate which this important meaſure gave riſe to in the houſe of commons. It was upon an addreſs moved by Mr. Blackburne, member for Lancaſhire, "to thank his majeſty for the ſolicitude he had been graciouſly "pleaſed to evince, in forming a "treaty of commerce between "Great Britain and France; aſ"ſuring him, that the houſe con"ceived that the moſt happy effects "would reſult from it to his faith"ful ſubjects, and that they would "take every neceſſary ſtep to render "the negotiation effectual."

In ſupport of the addreſs, he ſaid, that he had received letters from ſeveral of his conſtituents, informing him, that a numerous meeting of the cotton manufacturers had been held at Mancheſter, in conſequence of a kind of remonſtrance which they had ſeen in the public prints againſt the commercial treaty, from the chamber of manufacturers; and that, after a ſerious deliberation, and a full diſcuſſion of the ſubject, they conſidered the treaty as highly beneficial to this country in general, and to the cotton manufacture in particular. They deſired him alſo to inform the houſe, that they neither approved of the conduct of the chamber of commerce, nor had delegated any perſon to repreſent them in that body, when the petition, praying for time to conſider the ſubject, was carried.

The honourable captain Berkeley, (member for Glouceſterſhire) ſeconded the motion; and ſaid, that the treaty had met the approbation of many bodies of woollen manufacturers amongſt his conſtituents. It was in France only that it was condemned, as being too advantageous to England, and likely to ruin the French manufactures. The people of Abbeville in particular had already declared, that, if the treaty ſhould be carried into effect, they muſt be inevitably undone.

In oppoſition to the addreſs Mr. Grey, the repreſentative for Northumberland, made his maiden ſpeech, and aſtoniſhed the houſe by another of thoſe wonderful diſplays of oratorical abilities, which in the courſe of a few

a few years had burſt forth in ſuch torrents, on every ſide, amongſt its younger members. Mr. Grey was not inferior to any of thoſe, who preceded him, in copiouſneſs and elegance of diction, in ſtrength of argument, or in perſpicuity of arrangement, and ſuperior to them all in the graces of elocution. It is to be lamented that we are not able to give our readers a ſpecimen of his extraordinary talents; and muſt content ourſelves with a bare enumeration of the arguments he principally reſted upon.

He agreed with Mr. Fox in conſidering the general policy of the meaſure as by far the moſt important object it involved—he ſtated at large the relative ſituation and political intereſts of the two nations, and from thence inferred the wiſdom of that eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of our policy, in which France had always been regarded with the moſt ſuſpicious jealouſy at leaſt, if not as our natural foe. He confirmed theſe opinions by a reference to our unvaried experience; and aſked upon what grounds it was preſumed that ſhe had at once totally abandoned all her ancient political principles, and had no longer any object in view inimical to our intereſts?

He endeavoured to prove, that the preſent moment was perhaps that, of all others, in which our jealouſy ought to be the moſt awake, and in which we had the leaſt reaſon for repoſing any confidence in her. With this view he read a ſtate paper, which had paſſed between the French miniſter and the plenipotentiary of the United States of America in Paris. It contained a propoſition on the part of France to concede to that country, without ſtipulation, a great variety of commercial advantages detrimental to her own revenues, in which no other European nation, not even the Spaniards, were indulged. And was it to be ſuppoſed that France really expected no equivalent? She doubtleſs expected it in a monopoly of that trade, which we once enjoyed and which conſtituted two-thirds of our commercial marine:—ſhe expected it in the augmentation of her own navy and in the ruin of ours. Whilſt ſhe was enticing us by what had been juſtly called a tempting bait, to conclude a treaty of commerce with her for the ſupply of her own market, ſhe had been ſecuring cuſtomers to take the commodities off her hands; and thus not only to become the carrier, but to trade to an extent ſhe had hitherto been unable to aſpire at, upon the capital of this country.

Another object which he believed France had in view, was to render us as much politically inſulated, as we were inſulated in our local ſituation.—One effect which ſhe would look for in this tempting treaty was, to draw us off from ſeeking alliances with the reſt of Europe; it had already, in ſome degree, produced this effect, as was manifeſt from the coldneſs which miniſters diſcovered with reſpect to the Methuen treaty.

He earneſtly recommended, inſtead of the preſent treaty, a more intimate connection with America—ſuch an intercourſe would be the moſt eligible for Great Britain that could be deviſed, and entirely conſiſtent with her true political intereſts; and ſuch an intercourſe he had the beſt reaſons for believing America was both willing and eager to enter into upon fair and equitable terms.

He

He remarked upon the indecency as well as the impolicy of granting to France what we had refuſed to Ireland, and of giving to a rival and a natural enemy what we had withheld from our friends and fellow ſubjects. With reſpect to all the temporary advantages, ſome of which he believed might reaſonably be expected from the treaty, they were to him additional reaſons for rejecting it. Every offer of ſervice from France he regarded with ſuſpicion—

—— timeo Danaos & dona ferentes—
—— An ulla putetis
Dona carere doliſ Danaûm?

Capt. Macbride condemned the treaty as highly detrimental, in many particulars, to our marine. The goods deemed contraband in the 22d article were, he ſaid, ſuch as might be eſſential in a country whoſe army was its firſt object, but had ſcarce any reference to the preſervation of a navy. The 34th article he conceived gave ſuch advantages to privateers as would enable them to get ſeamen much ſooner than the king's ſhips; and he reminded the houſe that France, by the regiſter of her ſeamen, had an evident ſuperiority in point of expedition in filling her ſhips' complements; and he therefore warned them againſt throwing any additional difficulty in the way of manning our navy. Laſtly, he conceived, that the treaty in its general tendency went to increaſe the ſtrength of the French navy, by throwing a greater proportion of the carrying trade into her hands.

Mr. Burke alſo took this opportunity of delivering his opinion of the treaty. He took notice of the narrow and confined views upon which it was formed, and had been defended. It had been talked of as if it were an affair of two little counting-houſes, and not of two great empires. It ſeemed to be conſidered by its ſupporters as a contention between the ſign of the Fleur-de-lis and the ſign of the Red-Lion, which houſe ſhould obtain the beſt cuſtom. Such politicians, he ſaid, when in power, converted large cities into ſmall villages; while thoſe of more enlarged and liberal minds acted upon another ſcale, and changed ſmall villages into great cities.

It was alſo curious, he ſaid, to remark, how, with our policy, we had changed our language. Whilſt our tongues were let looſe in the fouleſt aſperity againſt other ſtates; —Ireland was a weak, an infatuated iſland; Portugal an unnatural, a baſe, a worthleſs, an ungrateful nation—nothing had been heard for ſome time paſt but panegyricks upon the French. And what were the topics we had choſen for our panegyricks? Did we commend the French gallantry, their valour, their ingenuity, their opulence, their wit? —No: it was their ſincerity, their moderation, their truth, their kindneſs and good-will to this nation, that we were ſo extremely taken with.

Mr. Burke then entered into a minute examination of the future and ultimate tendency of the meaſure; and from a full and judicious compariſon of the relative circumſtances and ſituations of the two countries, of which both ſides of the houſe joined in applauſe, he inferred that we riſqued much by it, and could gain but little.

He ſeemed to agree with the oppoſite ſide of the houſe, that there was no

no immediate danger to be apprehended from a free commerce with France, either to our trade or manufactures. He conceived that our manufacturers, in point of ingenuity, induſtry, and ſkill, had ſo far got the ſtart of our neighbours, that they could not, for a conſiderable time at leaſt, rival us in our commodities. But it was the ſuperiority we poſſeſſed in capital which enabled us, he ſaid, to ſet all their efforts to cope with us at defiance; a capital formed and ſupported by that general partnerſhip between the landed property, the monied property, and the commercial property of the nation, which, from the peculiar nature of our eſtabliſhments, exiſted in this country. The powers of this capital were irreſiſtible in trade; it enticed the ſtrong, it controlled the weak; it over-awed, it domineered, it even tyrannized, in all the markets of the world. This capital the treaty had a direct tendency to open gradually to France. The moment the prohibitions upon her trade were taken off, ſhe would begin to inſinuate herſelf into the partnerſhip, and in the end come in for a ſhare in the capital; and ſhe was content to ſubmit to any temporary loſs in trade, which might ariſe from the ſuperiority of our manufactures, for the ſake of greater and more permanent future advantages.

The ſame provident policy, he remarked, appeared to direct her conduct towards America, which it was evident could make no return at preſent for the bounties and free ports ſo liberally granted her; and was even unable to pay the debts ſhe had contracted with the French government and merchants.—When to theſe proofs of this evident line of policy were added many other circumſtances which he enumerated, ſuch as her negotiations with Portugal, her unceaſing attention to her navy, the ſtupendous works ſhe was erecting at Cherburg, and others of a like nature, by which ſhe appeared as it were ſtretching her arms all round to graſp and ſtifle us, he ſaid he conceived the ſtrange and unnatural deſire that had all at once poſſeſſed us of running into her embraces, to be nothing leſs than infatuation.

The treaty was ably ſupported by Mr. Grenville, Mr. Pulteney, Lord Mornington, and others, upon the grounds which have already been ſtated; but, at a late hour, an objection to the addreſs, of another nature, was ſtarted by Mr. Welbore Ellis. He contended that the motion for an addreſs in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs was premature, unprecedented, and unparliamentary, tending to deprive the houſe of its powers of deliberation, and to pledge them to paſs bills for carrying the proviſions of the treaty into effect.

The proceedings of parliament upon the treaty of Utrecht were referred to as a caſe in point, and as an uſeful leſſon to the houſe againſt haſtineſs and precipitation. That treaty was laid before the houſe by a meſſage from the queen. A committee of the whole houſe was appointed to take the 8th and 9th articles into conſideration. After a long debate in that committee, on the queſtion, that the houſe be moved for leave to bring in a bill to make effectual the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce, the queſtion was carried by a very large majority, greater than on any vote on the preſent treaty. The bill was brought in, and read a firſt time, at the diſtance of a fortnight

night from the vote in the first committee. There was an interval of a week between the first and second reading of the bill. Petitions now came in from all quarters; and the committee on the bill sat for many days to hear the petitioners by their counsel against the treaty. The report from this committee was received and agreed to. But on the question, that the bill with amendments be engrossed, it was carried in the negative by a majority of nine. No address was presented to the queen till after the rejection of the bill.

This proved the importance of a regular compliance with the forms of the house, and a due exercise of their deliberative powers. A large majority had thus been, by mere dint of debate and discussion, converted into a minority, and one of the worst, and most hostile treaties to the British constitution that ever was heard of, was put an end to and annihilated. The reason that the minister did not proceed in the same way now was obvious. Aware of the event of 1713, he was determined to proceed in another manner; and in order to ensure the success of his treaty, instead of risking the chance of deliberation, he had profited by the fate of the treaty of Utrecht, and had caused an address to be moved, to tie up the hands of the house, and preclude all debate and all danger of future opposition.

In answer to these objections, the chancellor of the exchequer insisted upon the address on the Irish propositions, but two years before, as a precedent in point, in favour of the mode of proceeding he had adopted.

As to the merits of the objection itself, he observed that the deliberative function of the house in the present case was confined to one general point, whether they should carry into effect the treaty at large; it left the discussion of the mode of doing it perfectly open and free. Such gentlemen as felt themselves prepared to decide in favour of the treaty, were certainly bound to vote for the address, as there could be nothing improper in any person's undertaking to do at a future period that, which, if circumstances were ripe, he should be willing at present to do.

The debate continued till near three in the morning, when the previous question, which was moved by Mr. Ellis, being put, the same was carried in the affirmative, by 236 to 160, and the address was afterwards agreed to without a division.

Feb. 23d. On the 23d the address was communicated, at a conference, to the lords, and their concurrence requested; and the first day of March was appointed by them for taking the subject into their consideration.

Whilst the commons were engaged in the discussion of the commercial treaty, the attention of the house of lords was called, by the viscount Stormont, to a question in which the constitution of that branch of the legislature, together with the rights of the Scottish peerage, were essentially concerned. It arose out of a circumstance, already mentioned, that took place during the late prorogation of parliament — the creation of two of the sixteen peers of Scotland to be peers of Great Britain; and it was simply this, whether or not, after such creation, they could continue to sit as representatives of the peerage of Scotland? The

The act of union was silent upon the subject; the only precedent that existed, that of the duke of Athol, upon whom, in 1736, being then one of the sixteen peers, the English barony of Strange devolved by inheritance, was for the affirmative; and it was well known that the lord chancellor's opinion was in favour of the same side of the question. On the other hand, the negative appeared to lord Stormont so strongly supported by every principle of equity, analogy, and fair construction, as to induce him to bring the question, in the face of all those difficulties, to a public decision.

Accordingly, on the 13th of February, the lords having been previously summoned, the house resolved itself into a committee of privileges, for the purpose of taking it into their consideration. The motion made by lord Stormont was as follows:

"That it is the opinion of this "committee, that the earl of "Abercorn, who was chosen to be "of the number of the sixteen "peers, who by the treaty of union "are to represent the peerage of "Scotland in parliament, having "been created viscount Hamilton "by letters patent under the great "seal of Great Britain, doth there-"by cease to sit in the house as a "representative of the peerage of "Scotland."

In support of this motion, he observed, that the question appeared to him to lie in a narrow compass, and was to be decided upon a few plain obvious principles, which he would endeavour to state to the committee.

It is provided by the act of union, that the peers of Scotland, who were thought too numerous to be admitted to hereditary seats in parliaments, should be represented by sixteen, to be chosen out of their own number. By this act the peerage is made to consist of two distinct orders of men, having different rights, and standing in very different situations. The one, together with all the other privileges of peerage, have individually a right to a seat in parliament, whose authority now extends over the whole united kingdom. The other has the inferior rights of the peerage throughout the whole kingdom also; but is abridged of the most valuable right of all, an hereditary seat in parliament. They are therefore in fact two distinct orders of men, the one having individually a share in the legislature, the other only a virtual share by representation. No line of distinction can be more strongly drawn.

The question then, fairly stated, is this, what, according to the true meaning and intent of the union, is to be the condition of him who passes from the one order to the other, from the representative to the individual class? Why clearly this;—he acquires all the rights of an hereditary seat as an individual, and of course the rights of representation cease, as appertaining exclusively to that condition in which he no longer remains. No one can appear in person, and at the same time be represented by his proxy. The one right being in lieu of the other, they cannot be coexistent.

The committee, he said, well knew that the right of representation is so far from being inherent in peers, that it was strenuously contended at the union, that it was inconsistent with and repugnant to the nature of peerage. It certainly is a right incidental

incidental to the change of ſituation made by that act. From the ſituation in which the union placed them, the two noble lords had emerged by the favour of the crown, and were raiſed to thoſe rights, to that condition in the Britiſh parliament, which in the parliament of Scotland they before enjoyed.

It was upon theſe principles that the houſe in 1709, in the caſe of the duke of Dover's vote, reſolved, "That a peer of Scotland, claiming to ſit in the houſe of peers by virtue of a patent paſſed under the great ſeal of Great Britain, and who now ſits in the parliament of Great Britain, has no right to vote in the election of the ſixteen peers." The determination was as ſolemn, as deliberate, as any that ſtands on the records of parliament. It rejected the vote of a perſon intimately connected with the lord treaſurer (Godolphin). The reſolution paſſed at a time when all that related to the union was freſh in every man's memory, and the true meaning and intention of that treaty were generally known. It paſſed in the preſence of many of thoſe who had been commiſſioners on both ſides, actors in that great ſcene; and the journals ſhew that there was not a ſingle proteſt. It has been conſtantly acted under, has ſtood unqueſtioned, unſhaken, for near fourſcore years.

It follows evidently, from this reſolution, that as a peer of Scotland, under the circumſtances deſcribed in it, cannot vote in the election; ſo neither can he be elected one of the ſixteen. For the act expreſsly directs, that he ſhall be choſen out of their own number, that is clearly out of the number of thoſe who chuſe; and to this concluſion their uniform practice had been conſonant.

But another queſtion ſtill remained behind. For though they could neither vote in the election, nor be elected, yet it may be urged, that having been elected previous to this diſqualification, they might retain their ſeats till the next general election. The act of union provides for no caſes except thoſe of death and legal diſqualification. That the circumſtances upon which the preſent queſtion is founded do not amount to a legal diſqualification, ſtrictly ſpeaking, cannot be denied; but they may come within the real intent and meaning of the act, which is to be collected from its general principles, applied to the particular caſe.

A virtual repreſentation in the Britiſh parliament was the compenſation given to the Scottiſh peers, for the ſurrender they made of their individual rights in the parliament of Scotland. But the chance of being actually choſen, and of ſitting as a repreſentative, is doubtleſs to be conſidered as a very material part of this compenſation; and of the chance of enjoying this part of his compenſation every peer is evidently deprived, ſo long as another perſon, who has no claim to any ſhare in it at all, is in poſſeſſion of it.

Again, an hereditary ſeat, and a temporary ſeat by election, are incompatible, for this obvious reaſon—the hereditary ſeat takes away the whole effect of the relation that ſhould ſubſiſt between the repreſentative and thoſe who chuſe him. This connection is ſtronger in ſome governments than in others; but it obtains univerſally in all, and is of the very eſſence of repreſentation. But

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe for a moment that the repreſentative is bound to obey the inſtructions of his conſtituents, what would be the condition of an hereditary peer, who was alſo a repreſentative? Claſhing duties might ariſe. His own judgment marks out to him one line of conduct, the orders of the electors another: which is he to follow? There is but one mode of obviating this difficulty, that of allowing him two voices; a mode, which the form of our conſtitution does not admit.

Again, the ſame prerogative that had raiſed two of the ſixteen to an hereditary ſeat, might extend the ſame favour to the whole number. What then would become of the Scotch repreſentation? This way of putting it makes the abſurdity more glaring; but there is no real difference between the one caſe and the other, the violation of the principle of repreſentation is the ſame in both.

He then ſtated particularly the caſe of James duke of Athol, upon whom an Engliſh honour devolved in 1736, and who continued to ſit in parliament as duke of Athol and baron Strange. He obſerved, that there never had been any deciſion, any queſtion, any even the ſmalleſt diſcuſſion upon the ſubject; the whole had paſſed *ſub ſilentio*. Why it did ſo is, perhaps, at this diſtant period, rather to be conjectured than known. It probably was thought a thing of little conſequence, as there was very little chance that a ſimilar caſe, that of an old Engliſh honour devolving upon a Scotch peer, ſhould happen again. The caſe now in queſtion could not happen under the then circumſtances. The Scotch peerage were then ſmarting under the wound which the raſh and violent hand of party gave in the caſe of the duke of Brandon, in 1711. In that ſituation of things the peerage of Scotland might think it a point of little moment; but the caſe is very different now. The Scotch peers are reſtored to their rights—the right of prerogative is reſtored. The royal favour may now flow in that channel, as freely as in any other.

I have purpoſely waved, ſaid he, all conſiderations of policy, as the cauſe ſtands in need of no ſuch collateral aid. But thus much I may ſay, the beſt, the wiſeſt, and moſt dignified policy will chuſe to do that, which is attended with no poſſible inconvenience, rather than hurt the rights and wound the feelings of a conſiderable and reſpectable body of men; and if there were any ſhadow of doubt in this buſineſs, which, he proteſted, after the fulleſt conſideration, he could not perceive; yet ſurely, even in that caſe, the faireſt and moſt upright mind might incline towards that deciſion, which is favourable to the intereſts of many, prejudicial to the real intereſts of none.

He concluded with ſaying, that he was perſuaded their lordſhips would upon all occaſions be diſpoſed to interpret every article of the treaty of union in the faireſt and moſt liberal manner, and eſpecially that which reſpects the peerage of Scotland. The change the union made in their condition is known to you all. I hope, ſaid he, you will keep in conſtant remembrance this day, that, before an event ſo beneficial to both countries could take place, the peers of Scotland had great difficulties to conquer: to the attainment of that deſirable end they made as large a ſacrifice as ever was made by men. Had they retained their hereditary ſeat in parliament,

liament, at the expence of half their property, they had made a happy and noble exchange. No man can deserve an hereditary seat in the great counsel of a free nation, who does not consider it as the first of all rights, the most valuable of all possessions. That right, that inestimable possession, for reasons of public utility, our ancestors were contented to forego. In a word, they did that which has ever been counted a mark of exalted virtue—they chose rather to be little in a great state, than great in a small one. Deciding on the rights of the descendants of men so circumstanced, you would be disposed rather to extend than diminish those rights. We ask no extension; we demand nothing but what the union gave. All we desire is, that you will not, in contradiction to the clear and obvious meaning of that agreement, to the sense entertained and declared of it by those, by whom it was framed, and in contradiction to the clearest principles of representation, abridge our rights, by curtailing the slender compensation allotted us for the greatest loss, which men, who have any dignity, can sustain.

With respect to the new-created peers, added he, when we chose them, they were in the same situation with ourselves; they were fellow sufferers. Being no longer in that situation, they can no longer be entitled to a share of that compensation, which was given to the aggregate body for the loss it sustained. They now sit here in their own right, they cannot sit in ours. We are proud of every connection with them, but what is incompatible with their condition and ours. We hope these two noble lords and all, who were formerly of our number, retain their former zeal for the maintenance of our rights. We hope they, who have reached the shore, will not be indifferent to the condition of those, whom they have left behind.

The motion was opposed by the earl of Moreton and the lord chancellor. It was contended by the latter that the present was of the nature of a judicial proceeding, and that they were bound not to listen to arguments grounded on supposed or real inconvenience to this or that set of men; nor were they entitled to consider what an act of parliament should have been, but were bound to take it as it was, and to comply with the letter of it. By the act of union nothing short of legal incapacity could put any of the sixteen peers out of the situation of representatives till the sitting of parliament should expire; and it seemed agreed on all sides that letters patent creating a Scotch lord an English peer induced no legal incapacity.

Lord Loughborough, in answer to the chancellor, observed, that though he had no objections to arguing the point juridically, yet the present was clearly not a judicial but a political proceeding; it had not one circumstance of a judicial proceeding attending it. With respect to their being bound by the letter of the act of union, the present was a case not directly provided for by it; and he would ever maintain, that the intention and spirit of every statute (penal statutes alone excepted) were to be looked to in the construction of it.

The motion was carried by a majority of 52 to 38, and was follow-

ed by another motion of the same kind respecting the duke of Queensberry created baron Douglas.

Previous to the discussion of the commercial treaty in the house of lords, two motions were made by the duke of Norfolk respecting the Portugal trade, to the same purport with those moved by Mr. Fox, and met with the same fate. On the 1st of March, the day fixed for going into the committee, lord Stormont begged leave to call the attention of the house, before they entered upon the business of the day, to the unconstitutional and unprecedented nature of the proceeding they were about to adopt.

Whenever, he said, both houses joined in an address to the throne upon any subject, the discussion of which was not concluded in both houses, it had been customary to form the address in general terms of thanks for the communication, and so as not to preclude the freedom of future debate; but the address sent up from the lower house was drawn up in such particular and precise terms, as to pledge parliament with respect to their future conduct in the subsequent stages of the business.

He contrasted this mode of proceeding with that used upon the treaty of Utrecht; and shewed that the minister of that day, notwithstanding his powerful party connections and personal authority, had shewn so much respect for the constitution as not to venture to adopt a proceeding like the present. To obviate therefore the dangerous consequences of such a precedent, if it should be adopted, he should move the house to come previously to the following resolution, "That no address to the throne, and no resolution of this house, can bind this house in its legislative capacity, or bar the subject's right of petitioning this house upon any bill depending in parliament, though such bill be founded upon and conformable to resolutions to which this house has previously agreed."

Though the doctrine laid down in this motion was not controverted by administration, but allowed to be just, yet they contended that it was by no means necessary to put it upon their journals, and therefore called for the order of the day; which being read, and the house resolved into a committee, the marquis of Buckingham opened the business in a long speech, in which he defended the treaty upon the same ground that had been taken in the other house, and concluded with moving the first of the resolutions that had been sent up for their concurrence.

The motion was opposed with great ability by the bishop of Llandaff. The arguments used by him were comprized in the two following propositions, which he concluded with stating to the committee as the sum of his speech.

1. That to abandon a commercial system, by which we had risen to our present height in the scale of nations, was a measure, abstractedly considered, dangerous and impolitick, and not to be justified except by some urgent necessities of the state, which necessities did not at present exist. 2. That to adopt a commercial system, which our ancestors from long experience had reprobated as detrimental to the kingdom, was an unwise measure, and not to be justified, except by a change in the relative situations of

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Great Britain and France; the certainty of which change having taken place had not been proved or rendered highly probable.

In ſupport of the firſt propoſition, he entered into a detail of our commerce with foreign nations; the reſult of which was, that we enjoyed a clear balance in our favour of at leaſt four millions a year. From the viciſſitudes incident to the current of all human affairs, a few obſtructions had of late years been formed in ſome of the channels through which this wealth flowed; but ſurely, he ſaid, the wiſdom of the nation would have been much better employed in removing theſe obſtructions, in widening and ſecuring theſe ancient channels, the advantages of which were known to our fathers and ourſelves, than in opening a new one, the rocks, and ſhoals, and whirlpools of which were unexplored; the dangers of which no mortal eye could foreſee; the advantages of which were certainly ſpeculative, might be deluſive, and, if deluſive, muſt be ruinous to our wealth, our conſequence, and our independence.

He would not aſſume, he ſaid, the prohibition of our commerce with France as an efficient cauſe of our commercial proſperity; two ſimultaneous events might exiſt together, without one being the cauſe of the other; but if it could be ſhewn, that our commerce did not flouriſh, when the trade with France was open, as clearly as it had been ſhewn that it did flouriſh, when our trade with France was ſhut, men of plain underſtandings would ſuſpect that there was ſome connection between thoſe two circumſtances.

In proof therefore of his ſecond propoſition, he read the preamble of the act paſſed in the time of Charles the Second, prohibiting an open trade with France, to the following purport: "Whereas it has "been by *long experience* found, "that the importing French wines, "&c. had much exhauſted the treaſure of the nation, leſſened the "value of the native commodities "and manufactures thereof, and "brought much detriment to this "kingdom in general—"

It might be objected, he ſaid, that in conſequence of the great improvements of our manufactures, the relative circumſtances of the two nations were much changed; but he doubted much of the weight of this obſervation. He entered into various particulars on the point, and ſaid, that after the moſt minute examination and enquiry, he could find no probable ground for admitting that the circumſtances of the two countries were ſo entirely changed as to render a trade, which in the time of Charles the Second was thought highly detrimental to this kingdom, and by which we loſt a million a year, lucrative and ſafe at preſent. Our manufactures were doubtleſs much improved, and ſo alſo were the manufactures of France and in the courſe of ſtill farther improvement; and if this were really the caſe, the argument from experience was concluſive againſt the treaty.

In a ſecond ſpeech, the biſhop entered into a further detail of the comparative excellence and cheapneſs of French and Engliſh manufactures. He mentioned the exertions they were making in the manufactory of iron, and particularly cutlery, and ſeemed to think that the importation of hardware into

France, one of the moſt favourite features of the treaty, would not at preſent amount to much, would ſoon be nothing, and might in the end turn againſt us. Upon this occaſion he alſo mentioned the diſcoveries that had been made of mines of pitcoal in almoſt all the provinces of that kingdom.

With reſpect to glaſs, he declared that he had ſeen a cut-glaſs cup, bought at a retail ſhop in Paris for 2s. 11d. and that for one of the ſame form a workman in London had charged 5s. for the cutting alone. With reſpect to cottons, he remarked that ſome years ago the uſe of Swiſs printed linens in France had nearly ruined their home manufactory: that this had excited the manufacturers to exert themſelves, and that they now made as beautiful printed linens and cottons as any in the world. Our coarſe woollens would be ſecure till the French learned how to manage their ſheep properly; but our ſuperfines would be beat out of the home market. Since the year 1760 this manufacture had been brought in France to the higheſt perfection, and did not fear a competition with the Engliſh: had there been the leaſt apprehenſion for its ſafety, the French miniſtry would never have ſuffered the importation of our woollens upon ſo eaſy a duty; they would cautiouſly have protected a manufactory which had been nurſed by their government at an immenſe expence for above a century. They might take a few more coarſe goods from us, in order to mix them with their own, for the American market; and this he thought would be their practice, much to our detriment, in other articles beſides our woollens. He allowed, after all, that theſe ſpeculations, on both ſides, were from their nature ſubject to error. It was the misfortune of the treaty that we could not judge of it but from experiment, and in making the experiment we might be undone.

He concluded by taking notice of two arguments that had been much relied upon in the defence of the treaty. It was ſaid that France opened to us a market of 24 millions of people, in return for ours of only eight millions: but to give this argument any weight it ſhould be ſhewn, which had never yet been done, that theſe 24 millions of people had as much occaſion for our commodities as we had for their's, and as much money to lay out in purchaſing them. It ſhould be ſhewn that they would as certainly clothe themſelves in our woollens and cottons, as we ſhould drink their wines and brandies.

The other argument was, that by extending our commerce and multiplying our manufactures, it would increaſe our reſources, and make us more able to contend with France in war. But this, he obſerved, was upon a ſuppoſition that it would not proportionably encreaſe the reſources of France. If it tended, as it manifeſtly did, to incite the French to become a commercial and manufacturing nation, their reſources would increaſe in as much a greater proportion as their population exceeds ours. If it were aſked, how it tended to incite France to commercial exertions, he anſwered, by opening to her our home market, the richeſt market in Europe; by exciting the induſtry and ingenuity of her own people to ſupport their own fabricks; and above all, by giving her every opportunity,

nity, she could wish for, of acquiring that manufacturing skill, by which we at present surpass her and all the world.

The bishop of Llandaff was answered by the marquis of Lansdown. He said, there were two fundamental points for the committee to decide upon: the first was, whether our old commercial system should be changed, as totally erroneous;—the second, whether, if it should be thought right to open our trade to the world, France, for any political reasons, should be excepted?

With respect to the first; before persons of their lordships enlightened understanding, he believed it would require very little discussion. In fact, truth had made its own way. Commerce, like other sciences, had simplified itself. He gave a short account of the change that had taken place in the opinions of mankind upon this subject, and shewed that the old system, with all its monopolies, prohibitions, protecting duties, balances of trade, and all the calculations formed upon them, was generally and justly exploded; and consequently, that with them all the learned prelate's arguments, which were grounded upon that system, fell to the ground. It was a proud day, he said, for the manufacturers of this country, to see them come down in a body from their strong holds, fenced in by prohibitions, and mixing with the world. Seated as they had been on the throne of monopoly, they generously chose to descend from it; and seeing the true policy of the measure, consented without a murmur to give up all their fences and fortifications, to meet the foreign manufacturer on equal terms at their own or at his market—to venture abroad with perhaps but one-eighth of the advantages of many other commercial countries—and to bring home wealth in one hand and revenue in the other.

The second point they had to consider was, whether, in case it should be thought right to remove all unnatural restrictions from our commerce, and to open it to the world, France should be an exception? The ground taken by those who contended for the affirmative was the invariable and systematic political enmity of that country to this. But he denied the fact: nothing, he said, could be less founded; and this he proved at large from the history of the two nations, from a view of the political state of Europe, and from his own conversations with several of the most eminent statesmen of France.

Having cleared these points, and declared that he heartily approved of the principle of the treaty, and was only sorry that it had not been carried to a greater extent; he said, there were some particulars upon which he was not entirely satisfied with the conduct of the negotiators. He was free to own that he thought greater advantages for this country might have been obtained. What floated in his own mind was something of this sort:—to have admitted freely, article for article, all manufactures, where the first materials were equally attainable, any momentary superiority, under such circumstances, being in negotiation of no account. Some unreciprocal articles would remain on both sides; wine, brandy, vinegar, and oil, on the side of France; coals, lead, tin, on ours. Theirs were luxuries, which we can get elsewhere;

ours are neceſſaries which they cannot, at leaſt, to advantage; we had conſequently a right to expect an equivalent for both. There was beſides, the political tendency of the treaty, in doing away prejudices, and removing the probability of war, which manifeſtly in the end tends to double the force of France by putting her at her eaſe. Compenſation therefore was due for theſe three points; and what occurred to his mind was, to get ſome advantage in point of navigation, and to have ſaid ſomething of this ſort to France: In proportion as we give up to you land, you muſt give up to us ſea.

Secondly, he thought a favourable opportunity had been neglected of doing ſomething for the ſettlement and ſecurity of India.

Thirdly, he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at ſeeing the neutral code recognized in the treaty. He was authorized, he thought, from what paſſed at making the peace, in giving it as his opinion and conjecture, that it was a point the French would never have inſiſted upon. It was not the intereſt of either country to ſuffer new marines to ſtart up and grow too powerful. Hitherto, at leaſt, theſe were the politics of France relative to Ruſſia.

Fourthly, no ſteps appeared to have been taken for putting a ſtop to the erections at Cherburg.

He laſtly adverted to Ireland, and ſaid it was ſcarcely credible that we had no ſettlement either made or in view with that country. It was idle to talk of the Iriſh propoſitions having been made and rejected, and that therefore nothing was to be done. Such language was much too humourſome to uſe towards a great country. If a miniſter were to tell the public and parliament of Great Britain, that they did not know their own intereſt, and muſt abide the conſequence, he would be looked upon as infatuated. He hoped therefore ſomething would be done without delay, and that Ireland would not be left to receive greater favour from France than from Great Britain.

He concluded with declaring his opinion, that if this country ſhould decline, it would not be on account of this treaty, but for other obvious cauſes. If we continued under a perpetual fluctuation of adminiſtrations and, in conſequence, of ſyſtems, as we had done for many years paſt, if we went on rotting in our corruption, and ſacrificing the army, the church, and the ſtate, to the paltry purpoſe of procuring majorities in the two houſes of parliament, we could never expect to be proſperous, wealthy, or powerful.

The defence of the treaty, during the whole progreſs of its diſcuſſion, fell almoſt totally upon Lord Hawkeſbury, who to the objections of its adverſaries oppoſed the various arguments which we have already ſtated in its favour, with great judgment and ability. The marquis of Buckingham alſo took a conſiderable ſhare in the debate on the ſide of government; and the duke of Mancheſter, the lords Stormont, Loughborough, and Portcheſter, on the ſide of oppoſition. The greateſt number that divided in the committee was upon the firſt reſolution, when there appeared contents 81, not contents 35.

In the courſe of theſe debates a ſingular altercation took place between the duke of Richmond and lord Lanſdown, relative to contradictory

dictory opinions, charged by the former to have been held by the marquis in different ſituations, upon his grace's plan of fortification *. It was aſſerted, on the one ſide, that when lord Shelburne was at the head of the treaſury, the plan had been communicated to him, and that he had expreſſed a direct approbation of it. This aſſertion was as poſitively contradicted by the marquis, who nevertheleſs acknowledged, that at the time the communication was made he had not had leiſure to conſult with thoſe of his friends, who were moſt capable of giving an authoritative opinion on the ſubject. That it happened at the moment of ſettling the preliminaries of the peace; when particular circumſtances, known he believed to moſt of their lordſhips (he meant the diviſions which ſubſiſted in the cabinet) might make it neceſſary for him to uſe ſome addreſs with the noble duke, and to be cautious of provoking a very irritable mind by a direct rejection of a favourite ſcheme. And as a proof that he had never given a direct approbation, he read a letter written to him by the duke, ſubſequent to the time of the ſuppoſed approbation, in which he requeſts him to turn the matter in his thoughts, and give him an anſwer thereon as ſoon as he conveniently could; adding, that when he knew his opinion, he ſhould form his ordnance eſtimate accordingly. To rebut this preſumptive evidence, the duke of Richmond read a letter from Mr. Pitt, who was preſent at the time the approbation was alledged to have been given, in which he declares, "That the impreſſion made upon his mind at the time was, and had continued ſo on every reflection ſince, that his lordſhip did ſignify his approbation of the plans of fortification."

On the 7th of March the concurrence of the lords in the reſolutions and addreſs was communicated to the commons; and the day following the addreſs was preſented by both houſes to the king.

* Our readers will recollect the decided and active part taken by the confidential friends of lord Lanſdown in the houſe of commons, upon the debate on the ordnance eſtimates of the laſt ſeſſion.

CHAP. IV.

Conſolidation of the duties of cuſtom and exciſe.—The ſpeech of the chancellor of the exchequer upon that ſubject—ſtates the origin of the duties of tonnage and poundage; the nature and inconveniences of thoſe duties—the methods hitherto adopted for remedying them—their inſufficiency.—Explanation of the new plan of conſolidating the duties of cuſtom, and of exciſe.—Proviſions to be made for the ſecurity of the public creditors.—Upwards of three thouſand reſolutions to be moved.—General concurrence of the houſe in this meaſure.—Mr. Burke's ſpeech on the occaſion.—Sir Grey Cooper mentions the progreſs made in it during the adminiſtration of Lord North.—Bill brought in for the conſolidation of duties.—Proviſions relative to the French treaty included therein—objected to on that account.—Motion for ſeparating the latter from the former, rejected.—Motion to the ſame effect, by Mr. Baſtard, rejected.—Warm debate, and motions on the ſame ſubject rejected in the houſe of lords.—Bill receives the royal aſſent. Innovation in the mutiny bill again carried, after much debate. Penſion of Sir John Skynner—Mr. Burke's ſpeech on that buſineſs. Motion in the upper houſe, by lord Rawdon, relative to the Spaniſh convention, and the evacuation of the Moſquito ſhore—ſpeeches of lord Carmarthen and the lord chancellor on the ſame ſubject.—Motion by Mr. Beaufoy, for taking the corporation and teſt acts into conſideration—endeavours to prove that the latter was never deſigned to include proteſtant diſſenters; and that the reaſons for the former had ceaſed—that no man ought to be puniſhed for opinions—that diſqualifications are puniſhments—that the diſqualifications were not defenſible by any ſtate neceſſity.—Diſſenters vindicated from the charge of republicaniſm, and of aiming at the revenues of the church—teſts, that would remain after the repeal, ſufficient.—Objection anſwered relative to the union.—Remark on the impiety of a ſacramental teſt.—Mr. Beaufoy anſwered by Lord North, and by Mr. Pitt—ſupported by Mr. Fox—his remarks on the late conduct of the diſſenters.—Mr. Beaufoy's motion rejected by 178 to 100. Budget—flouriſhing ſtate of the finances—controverted by Mr. Sheridan. Notice given by Mr. Alderman Newnham, of a motion relative to the embarraſſed ſtate of the affairs of the Prince of Wales.—Retroſpect of various matters relative to that affair—firſt eſtabliſhment of the Prince's houſhold—difference of opinions on the allowance to be made him—debt contracted—meritorious conduct of the Prince of Wales.—Application to the king for aſſiſtance rejected.—Reduction of all his eſtabliſhments and ſavings appropriated for payment of the debt.—Miſunderſtanding between the King and the Prince.—Generous offer of the duke of Orleans.—Application to parliament.—Converſation on the ſubject in the houſe of commons—numerous appearance of the Prince's friends.—Mr. Pitt's declaration, that he ſhould have to diſcloſe circumſtances of an unpleaſant nature.—Mr. Rolle's menace, to bring forward an enquiry concerning the connection between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert.—Prince of Wales demands to have the whole of his conduct enquired into—authorizes Mr. Fox to explain certain parts thereof.—Mr. Rolle's behaviour warmly cenſured, and defended by Mr. Pitt.—General diſpoſition in favour of the Prince.—The matter privately accommodated with the Prince the day before Mr. Newnham's

ham's motion was to be made.—Meſſage from the King—ſtate of the Prince's debts—addreſs to the King for their payment.

26 Feb. THE celebrated plan of conſolidating the duties of cuſtom, alluded to by his majeſty at the cloſe of his ſpeech from the throne, was brought forward in a committee of the whole houſe, by the chancellor of the exchequer, on Monday the 26th of February. In opening this buſineſs, Mr. Pitt began with obſerving, that a reform had been long neceſſary in the collection of the revenues, and could not be too ſoon introduced. Great and multiplied grievances exiſted both in the exciſe, the ſtamp office, and more eſpecially in the cuſtoms: but it was to the laſt department that he had principally directed his attention, becauſe in it the evil was moſt predominant.

The firſt inſtitution of the preſent ſubſiſting duties of cuſtom, was by a ſtatute of the 12th of Charles the ſecond, under the names of *tonnage* and *poundage*. The firſt of theſe was an impoſition on wines, laid on by the quantities imported; and the other was a proportionable duty calculated on the value of the ſeveral articles. This laſt duty of poundage, which was calculated on the value of the ſeveral articles, was of a nature liable to great inaccuracy and irregularity; the value of the goods was aſcertained by a book of rates, and was computed on the quantities of the goods, either with reſpect to gage, to weight, or to *taille*—it was not a real value that was fixed upon them, ſo that the duty ſhould bear a certain proportion to that real value, but an arbitrary value, perhaps according to their actual ſtandard at the time of impoſing the duty; but which, from the natural fluctuations of trade and manufactures, was neceſſarily liable to many changes and variations. This principle of taxation being once adopted, was purſued in every freſh ſubſidy that had been granted for the payment of the intereſt of the ſeveral loans that were raiſed from time to time. In ſome inſtances it was done by impoſing additional duties, calculated by a per-centage on the duty before paid; in others a further duty was laid upon a different denomination of the commodity, either with reſpect to its value, its bulk, its weight, or its number; and proceeding in this manner from period to period, it had at length, by the numerous additions ſo made, and the unbounded increaſe of the articles of commerce, produced that maſs of confuſion, that was now ſo univerſally complained of, was productive of infinite inconvenience and delay to thoſe, whom it was the intereſt of the country to have as free from all unneceſſary embarraſſments as poſſible, the mercantile part of the nation.

Two modes had been deviſed for obviating theſe evils. The firſt was, the forming of a compilation of the cuſtoms on each article. This was uſeful to the merchant, who perhaps had neither leiſure nor inclination to make ſuch extracts from acts of parliament. But from the various revolutions that had ſo frequently occurred in the cuſtoms, the ſyſtem had been ſo fluctuating, that in many inſtances it had undergone a change, before the compilations to which he alluded were publiſhed.

But even if this diſadvantage did not attend the cuſtom-houſe officer's book

book of rates, it yet only tended to relieve, in a very inconsiderable degree, the grievance complained of; for although the calculations contained in the book might have been ever so accurate, yet the merchant could not go to the custom-house and enter his goods immediately, by paying down the sum stated in the book of rates. For as almost all of the additional subsidies had been appropriated to some specific fund, for the payment of certain specific annuities, he was obliged to wait until all the usual calculations on each subsidy had been made, the several acts by which such subsidies had been granted having so directed; and thus, in point of time, nothing was saved by the merchant.

The other mode which had been employed, was to apply for information to the custom-house officers. This had, in many instances, been useful to the merchant, but it was certainly improper to leave the mercantile part of the country at the discretion of such persons. Nor was it less so that the officers themselves, who were intended to be a check upon the merchants, were forced to become their agents—a thing repugnant to every principle of reason and policy. Those abuses, which he had stated to exist in the customs, obtained also, though not to the same extent, in the excise, and in a certain degree in one other great branch of the revenue, the stamps. He should therefore include those last in his general plan.

The mode, by which he proposed to remedy this great abuse, was by abolishing all the duties, which now subsisted in this confused and complex manner, and to substitute in their stead one single duty on each article, amounting, as nearly as possible, to the aggregate of all the various subsidies already paid—only in general, where a fraction was found in any of the sums, to change the fraction for the nearest integral number—in general taking the higher, rather than the lower. There could, he said, be no great objection to this very trifling rise; for otherwise an equivalent diminution must take place, or the confusion consequent on fractions must still continue. This advance from the fractions to the integral would produce an increase of revenue to the amount of about 20,000*l.* per annum, and would lay upon the public a burthen most amply compensated by the great relief, which the merchant would experience from the whole of the plan.

These were the great outlines of his plan relative to the customs, a branch of the revenue in which reform was allowed on all hands to be the most necessary. It was impossible to enter into a regular discussion on each point; but, if he could convey a general idea of what he intended, he should, in a great degree, attain his end.

The next object that claimed attention was the excise. Here many of those evils prevailed, which had been the ground of complaint in the customs; and though the modes of collecting this part of the revenue were neither so complex nor multifarious as in the other, yet they stood much in need of new regulations. All the articles of excise, such as beer, candles, spirits, &c. &c. should be brought into one point of view, and the duties on each rendered so simple in the collection, that there could be no danger of mistaking them, and of trusting

truſting implicitly to the opinion of the officers of exciſe. This object he conceived would be attained by making one duty ſerve for all.

Having explained his intentions reſpecting the conſolidation of the duties, as far as the queſtion ſtood upon its own merits, he proceeded to obſerve in what degree it might affect the ſecurity of the public creditor. As many of the ſubſidies which it was propoſed to aboliſh were particularly appropriated to the payment of certain ſpecified annuities, and as ſome of the annuitants were entitled to a *valuable priority* of payment, it was doubted, whether ſuch right of priority might not be infringed upon by aboliſhing thoſe funds, from which ſuch prior payments were to iſſue, and conſolidating them all into one general maſs. But it was by no means his intention that this valuable priority ſhould be at all affected. The right of priority might as well be maintained by paying them all out of one general fund, as by paying firſt one ſet of annuities out of ſeveral funds, and the remaining annuities out of the ſurpluſſes of thoſe funds, provided that out of that general fund the firſt payments were actually made to the annuitants entitled to that priority. In fact this mode of proceeding at preſent actually prevailed. For the payments made to the annuitants were not out of the reſpective funds appropriated to the different annuities, but the whole of that buſineſs was, at this moment, conducted at the Bank nearly in the ſame manner, as it would be, when the whole of the revenue was to be conſolidated into one general fund. The ſtate he apprehended had a right, conſiſtently with its good faith to its creditors, to make ſuch alterations in the nature of its ſecurities as it ſhould ſee to be convenient and neceſſary, provided on every ſuch alteration it took care to ſubſtitute ſuch a ſecurity as ſhould be ſubſtantially equivalent to that which was ſo changed. But to put the public creditor perfectly at eaſe, he ſhould recommend, that not only all the ſeveral funds then conſolidated ſhould become chargeable with the public annuities, but that every other reſource of the country, of any deſcription whatſoever, ſhould be a collateral ſecurity for the payment of thoſe debts—even the aids of the current year.

Thus the demands of the creditor would be always ſatisfied; though at the ſame time he was of opinion, that the propoſed appropriation would never be neceſſary; and he mentioned it rather as an expedient fitted to remove apprehenſions and ſcruples, than as a meaſure to which neceſſity would ever oblige them to have recourſe.

The plan he had propoſed was not brilliant, but ſimple in its nature. It promiſed no flattering accumulation of revenue, but ſuch an arrangement as would relieve the officer of government from much trouble, and exempt the ſubject from embarraſſment and injuſtice. He had not adopted this ſcheme on the authority of his own judgment only: it had been ſubmitted to the conſideration of gentlemen connected with the cuſtoms and exciſe, and had obtained their approbation.

He would encroach no further on the patience of the committee than to remark, that the reſcinding of ſo many laws and regulations, as this extenſive ſyſtem demanded,

would require a variety of reſolutions. They amounted to three thouſand. With each of them, however, he would not at preſent trouble the committee; but would content himſelf with making a general motion to the following purport: "That all the duties of cuſtom and "exciſe, and certain duties of ſtamps "in Great Britain, do ceaſe and de-"termine, and that other duties be "ſubſtituted in their ſtead."

The plan thus offered by Mr. Pitt met with the general concurrence of the houſe. Mr. Burke, who roſe immediately after the miniſter, declared, that the meaſure propoſed was in itſelf ſo obviouſly neceſſary, beneficial, and deſirable, and the right honourable gentleman had opened it with ſuch extraordinary clearneſs and perſpicuity, that he thought it did not become him, or thoſe, who like him unfortunately felt it to be their duty frequently to oppoſe the meaſures of government, to content themſelves with a ſullen acquieſcence; but to do juſtice to the right honourable gentleman's merit, and to return him thanks on behalf of themſelves and the country.

Sir Grey Cooper alſo gave it his hearty concurrence, and ſaid, that its advantages were ſo obvious and indiſputable, that he could not avoid mentioning to the committee, that a conſiderable progreſs had been made in the ſame ſcheme during the time, in which a noble lord had preſided in the treaſury, under whom he had the honour to ſerve: that in the years 1780 and 1781 he had, by order of the noble lord, often ſeen and held correſpondence on the ſubject with a very able and intelligent commiſſioner of the cuſtoms.

He admitted that it was competent to the houſe to vary the ſecurity given to public creditors; but he thought, that no variation or ſhifting of the appropriation of ſecurity ought or could be made conſiſtently with the extreme delicacy, with which public faith to creditors ought to be preſerved, without the conſent of the public creditors, who were to be affected by any arrangement however advantageous to the public.

Mr. Fox roſe merely to aſk, whether due notification would be given to every public creditor, and that all ſuch as were afraid, and did not approve of taking the new ſecurity of the general fund, with the collateral ſecurity of the aids of the year, would have the option of the appropriated fund the right honourable gentleman had deſcribed? Mr. Fox added, that he ſhould always contend that the ſecurity given to the public creditor, when he lent his money, ought not to be changed without the conſent of ſuch public creditor.

The chancellor of the exchequer ſaid, he certainly meant that there ſhould be a full time allowed for notification to every public creditor of the intended change of the ſecurity, and that each public creditor ſhould have the option that had been mentioned.

7th March. As the duties to be impoſed upon French merchandize, in purſuance of the late commercial treaty, were neceſſarily a part of thoſe, which were to be regulated in the plan of a general conſolidation, the chancellor of the exchequer declared his intentions of including them in the ſame bill; and accordingly, on the 7th day of March, the houſe having

ing previouſly agreed to the various reſolutions propoſed, he moved, "That leave be given to bring in "a bill purſuant to the reſolutions "the houſe had come to relative "to the commercial treaty with "France, and to the conſolidation "of duties." This was objected to by Sir Grey Cooper, as unfair and unparliamentary. The reſolutions relative to the French tariff, though agreed to by the houſe, it had been agreed, were ſtill to be left open for further diſcuſſion, when the bills to be brought in upon them were debating. The manifeſt object therefore of mixing them with the conſolidating reſolutions, of which they made but fourteen out of three thouſand ſeven hundred, and of including them in the ſame bill, was to keep the treaty as much as poſſible out of the ſight and out of the mind of the houſe. He therefore propoſed, as an amendment to the motion, that inſtead of *a bill*, the word *bills* ſhould be inſerted. In anſwer to Sir Grey Cooper's objection it was ſaid, that the diſcuſſion of any matters relative to the commercial treaty was by no means precluded, ſince in the courſe of paſſing the bill, when thoſe parts came to be read which related thereto, members might then propoſe their amendments or objections to them. But on the other hand it was ſaid, that it threw an almoſt inſuperable obſtacle in the way, ſince it would oblige all the members, who wiſhed to bring forward ſuch objections, to attend the whole progreſs of a bill formed on near four thouſand reſolutions. Upon a diviſion the motion was rejected, by a majority of 137 to 64.

On the 21ſt, the bill having been twice read, and referred to a committee, Mr. Baſtard, member for Devonſhire, revived the objections made by Sir Grey Cooper, and moved, "That the committee "ſhould have power to divide the "bill into two bills, if they ſhould "think fit." He contended, that the conſolidation of duties, and the commercial treaty, being ſeparate and diſtinct conſiderations, upon which different opinions might and in fact had ariſen, members ought to have an opportunity of giving a diſtinct and ſeparate vote upon each ſubject; and that to ſubmit to the evaſion of this right by ſuffering two objects to be put into one bill, was treachery to their conſtituents, who had alſo a right to know their diſtinct votes upon every queſtion that might ariſe in parliament. In ſupport of the plan propoſed it was again urged, that it deprived no member of the opportunity of expreſſing his opinion diſtinctly upon any ſpecific regulation relative to the treaty with France, and that as to its general merits they had already decided upon them. The argument drawn from their being ſeparate objects would prove too much; ſince, if admitted, it would make it neceſſary to bring in as many bills as there were reſolutions. The motion was rejected by a large majority.

The bill having paſſed the houſe of commons, met with a warm oppoſition in the houſe of lords. On a motion for its being committed, the earl of Carliſle requeſted the ſerious attention of their lordſhips to a matter, which he conceived eſſentially affected the rights and indeed the very exiſtence of that houſe as a deliberative branch of the legiſlature. When the addreſs to his majeſty upon the commercial treaty

was

was agreed to, it was underſtood and allowed by every part of the houſe, that the proviſions to be made for carrying it into execution were ſtill left open for future diſcuſſion and debate. But by the mode of proceeding adopted by the miniſter in the other houſe, their lordſhips were almoſt totally precluded from any farther deliberation on the ſubject; they were put to the neceſſity either of conſenting to thoſe proviſions as they ſtood, whether they approved of them or not, or of rejecting a plan of regulation relative to another ſubject, which ſeparately might merit their warmeſt approbation.—He referred to the reſolution paſſed by that houſe in the time of Charles the ſecond, by which the bringing into parliament any bill, which connected with a money bill any matter in itſelf diſtinct from that money bill, was declared to be unconſtitutional and ſubverſive of the rights of that houſe. In the preſent caſe the bill purported to raiſe money by new taxes, to regulate the preſent ſubſiſting duties, and at the ſame time included proviſions for carrying into execution certain commercial treaties with France, Spain, and Portugal, a matter evidently of a high political nature. His opinion therefore was, that the bill ſhould be divided, that the treaty with France ſhould be the ſubject of a ſeparate bill, the conſolidation of duties of a ſecond, and the new taxes of a third.

Lord Hawkeſbury endeavoured to remove this objection, by making a diſtinction between bills of ſupply, which he contended were the only money bills to which the reſolution cited had a reference, and ſuch bills as the preſent, where money was not the primary object, but came in collaterally as a branch of a ſyſtem.—This diſtinction was ridiculed by lord Loughborough and earl Stanhope, and ſupported by the lord chancellor, who declared, that the preſent was not a money bill in any reſpect more than a turnpike or canal bill was a money bill.—The queſtion for committing the bill was carried by a majority of 70 to 29; and after paſſing through the remaining ſtages it received the royal aſſent.

The alteration introduced laſt year into the mutiny bill, by which brevet officers were made ſubject to martial law, being continued in the bill of the preſent year, was again warmly oppoſed in both houſes of parliament. We have fully ſtated in our laſt volume the arguments, by which this innovation was attacked and defended. Nothing new occurred in the debate upon the preſent occaſion. Lord Stormont moved in the upper houſe, that to the words "officers commiſ-"ſioned and in pay" ſhould be added "and in a ſituation of diſ-"charging military duty." This, he ſaid, was neceſſary, in order to confine the operation of the act to thoſe who alone could conſtitutionally be made amenable to the articles of war, and it would include the officers by brevet whenever they were actually engaged in the diſcharge of ſuch duty; but his motion was rejected without a diviſion.

This day a meſſage from his majeſty was delivered by the chancellor of the exchequer to the houſe of commons, in which he acquaints them "of his being deſirous of conferring a mark of his royal favour upon Sir John Skynner, late lord chief baron of the exchequer, in conſideration of his diligent

19th March.

diligent and meritorious services, and of his faithful and upright conduct in the execution of that office; and recommends to them to consider of enabling him to grant an annuity, clear of all deductions, of 2,000*l.* per annum, during the term of his natural life, to be paid out of the civil list revenues."—On the 21st Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill for the purposes above mentioned, and was seconded by Mr. Burke, who said, that having frequently interfered in matters of supply, he could not avoid expressing on the present occasion his conviction, that there never came a proposal for a grant on better grounds of acknowledged service and merit than the one before them; never was an office so exalted and laborious filled with more diligence and integrity, and resigned with more dignity.—The motion and the bill passed both houses unanimously.

26th March. On Monday the 26th of March, the lords having been previously summoned, lord Rawdon rose to call their attention to a matter which he conceived to be of no small importance, though it had hitherto apparently escaped the notice of the public. The subject which he had to offer to their consideration was that part of the convention concluded between his Britannic majesty and the king of Spain in July last, which related to the surrender of all the British possessions on the Mosquito shore, for the paltry consideration of a few miles in the bay of Honduras.

He stated, that the Mosquito shore had been in the possession of Great Britain for more than a century, and our right to it as valid as the right we had to Jamaica. It consisted of a territory of near 500 miles in length, and was nearly of the depth of 100 miles inland from the sea.—That there were on it various settlements, and that the residents at the time of its cession consisted of near 1500 British subjects, black and white—That a regular form of government had been established on it many years since; and that it was of great value and importance to this country, not only from the cotton, logwood, indigo, and sugar it afforded, but also from its being a protection to our other possessions in that quarter from the insults of the Spaniards.

But another circumstance in this business deserved, he said, a still severer censure. In the 14th article of the convention it was said, that "his "Catholick majesty, *prompted solely "by motives of humanity*, promises "to the king of England, that he "will not exercise any act of severity against the Mosquitos inhabiting any part of the countries "to be evacuated, on account of "the connections which may have "subsisted between the said Indians "and the English." He commented upon this article with great severity, contending that it was a most degrading humiliation of Great Britain, and such as called loudly for the censure of that house on those ministers, who had consented to suffer it to stand a part of the treaty.

His lordship concluded with moving, "That the terms of the con-"vention with Spain, signed on the "14th of July 1786, do not meet "the favourable opinion of this "house."

In answer to this charge the marquis of Carmarthen begged leave to observe, that if the Mosquito shore had been given up and

and evacuated upon a principle of exchange, as argued upon by the noble lord, who had brought this ſubject before them, he ſhould be moſt ready to acknowledge that miniſters deſerved every poſſible cenſure. But he well knew, that the convention had been formed on far different grounds than the mere exchange of territory. The 6th article of the definitive treaty of peace with the king of Spain rendered a convention neceſſary, and on that ground it had been negotiated and concluded. He was alſo ready to admit, that in peaceable times the Moſquito ſhore might be looked upon as a valuable poſſeſſion; but conſidering its ſituation, with a jealous neighbour at the back of it, we might have found ample reaſon to have regarded it otherwiſe. In this as in many other caſes, where, upon the face of the tranſaction miniſters might appear to be to blame, there was ſtrong and ſufficient ground of juſtification, if the diſcretion due from men in high executive offices did not teach them rather to riſque their own character, and to be contented with a conſciouſneſs of their innocence, than reſort to that mode of juſtification, which muſt neceſſarily reſt on a diſcloſure of facts, highly neceſſary, for the purpoſes of national ſafety, and the continuance of the public peace and tranquillity, to be kept conceal ed. On the preſent occaſion, he would not be the miniſter mean enough to juſtify himſelf by the betraying of any ſecrets, that ought not to be made public without the conſent of the crown, and which, if made public, might be attended with conſequences prejudicial to the country.

The duke of Mancheſter ſaid that he roſe in conſequence of the blame that might otherwiſe be thought imputable to him for the part he had taken in negotiating and concluding the definitive treaty, under the authority of one of the articles of which it had been declared, that the convention with Spain was neceſſary. He owned, he felt himſelf particularly embarraſſed in what manner to ſpeak on the preſent occaſion, ſince it was almoſt impoſſible for him to explain his own conduct without going into a variety of matters, that the houſe could not properly comprehend, unleſs they had all the papers before them, to which thoſe matters referred; the production of which his majeſty's miniſters might not think it prudent to permit. He would not therefore attempt to ſay any thing, that might be conſidered as betraying ſtate ſecrets; he would content himſelf with merely declaring that the convention went a great deal farther than the definitive treaty made it neceſſary to go. The duke wiſhed it to be thoroughly underſtood, that he felt no unwillingneſs to go fully into the matter, but was ready to do it, if the papers in queſtion could be brought regularly before the houſe.

The lord chancellor left the woolſack, for the purpoſe of anſwering the various arguments, that had been urged in ſupport of the motion. The Moſquito ſhore, he obſerved, had been talked of as a tract of country extending between four and five hundred miles, without the ſmalleſt mention of the ſwamps and moraſſes, with which it was interſperſed, or any allowance for the parts of it, that were actually impoſſible to be either cultivated or inhabited. With regard to ſettlements,

ments, it would be imagined by thoſe, who were ſtrangers to the fact, that there had been a regular government, a regular council, and eſtabliſhed laws peculiar to the territory; when the fact was, there neither had exiſted one nor the other. His lordſhip went into the hiſtory of the ſettlement, tracing it down from the year 1650 to the year 1777, mentioning lord Godolphin's treaty, and all its circumſtances, and deducing arguments from each fact he mentioned, to prove, that the Moſquito ſhore never could be be fairly deemed a Britiſh ſettlement; but that a detachment of ſoldiers had been landed from the iſland of Jamaica, who had erected fortifications, which had been afterwards, by order of the government at home, abandoned and withdrawn. He adverted to what paſſed on the ſubject at the peace of Paris in 1762, when governor Littleton governed Jamaica. He endeavoured to ſhew, that this country, by the peace of Paris, had renounced whatever claim ſhe might before that period have fancied ſhe had, and had given a freſh proof of her having done ſo in the year 1777, when lord George Germain, the ſecretary for the American department, ſent out Mr. Lawrie to the Moſquito ſhore, to ſee that the ſtipulations with Spain were carried fully into execution. With regard to the degradation of the country, which the 14th article was pretended to hold out, he denied the fact. The Moſquitos were not our allies; they were not a people we were bound by treaty to protect, nor were there any thing like the number of Britiſh ſubjects there that had been ſtated, the number having been, according to the laſt report from thence, only 120 men and 16 women. The fact was, we had procured a ſtipulation, or, if noble lords pleaſed, the king of Spain had gratuitouſly promiſed not to puniſh thoſe Britiſh ſubjects and Moſquitos, who had poſſeſſed themſelves improperly of the rights belonging to the Spaniſh crown, and in conſequence of ſuch irregular poſſeſſion had perſiſted for a courſe of time, but with frequent interruption, in the enjoyment of thoſe rights. His lordſhip repelled the argument, that the ſettlement was a regular and legal ſettlement, with ſome ſort of indignation; and ſo far from agreeing, as had been contended, that we had uniformly remained in the quiet and unqueſtioned poſſeſſion of our claim to the territory, he called upon any noble lord to declare, as a man of honour, whether he did not know to the contrary. Would they ſay the trade carried on from the Moſquito ſhore was any thing, either more or leſs, than a ſmuggling trade upon the Spaniards and their ſettlements? And would any noble lord ſay, that a Britiſh miniſter, in any given ſituation, ought to maintain and ſupport ſuch a trade in the face of parliament, or in negotiation with any one foreign court whatever?

Lord Rawdon roſe to confirm by additional proofs the arguments he had before uſed. He produced ſome documents ſigned by general Dalling, when governor of Jamaica, to prove that a ſuperintendant had been ſent over to the ſettlement on the Moſquito ſhore at that time, with a view to form a government. His lordſhip alſo quoted a ſtate paper, dated in the year 1744, as one proof that there had exiſted a council of trade, &c. publicly recognized by this

country so long since. With regard to there having been mutual claims equally urged by Great Britain and Spain, the ability of ministers, he said, would have been proved by their having made good our claims, and not by their having ceded them to the claims of Spain.

At length the question was put, and the house divided:

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28th March. On the twenty-eighth of this month Mr. Beaufoy, member for Great Yarmouth, at the request of the deputies of the dissenting congregations in and about London, made a motion for taking into consideration the repeal of the corporation and test acts.

The points which Mr. Beaufoy endeavoured, in a long and able speech to prove, were chiefly three. First, that the test act, which constitutes the most extensive grievance of which the dissenters complain, was not originally levelled against them; and that the causes which dictated the corporation act have ceased to operate.—The former act, which passed in the year 1672, at a moment when the first minister of state and the presumptive heir to the crown were professed papists, and the king himself generally believed to be one in secret, bears the express title of an *act for preventing dangers which may happen from popish recusants*. The minister, lord Clifford, who was a catholic, attempted to persuade the dissenters to oppose the bill, as subjecting them to penalties, who confessedly were not in any respect the objects of the law. The dissenters, on the contrary, through the mouth of alderman Love, member for the city, declared, that in a time of public danger, when delay might be fatal, they would not impede the progress of a bill, which was thought essential to the safety of the kingdom, but would trust to the good faith, the justice and humanity of parliament, that a bill for the relief of the dissenters should afterwards be passed.—The lords and commons admitted, without hesitation, the equity of the claim, and accordingly passed a bill soon after for their relief; but its success was defeated by a sudden prorogation of parliament. A second bill was brought in, in the year 1680, and passed both houses; but while it lay ready for the royal assent, king Charles the second, who was much exasperated with the dissenters for refusing to support the catholics, prevailed upon the clerk to steal the bill.

With respect to the corporation act, which passed in the year 1661, when the kingdom was still agitated with the effects of those storms that had so lately overwhelmed it, it was allowed to have had the sectaries of that day, who had borne a conspicuous part in the preceding troubles, for its object. But the dissenters of the present day were not responsible for them, and were as well affected and peaceable subjects as those of any other description.

The second point which Mr. Beaufoy endeavoured to prove was, that every man having an undoubted right to judge for himself in matters of religion, he ought not, on account of the exercise of that right, to incur any punishment, or to be branded with a mark of infamy; but that the exclusion from military service and civil trusts was both a punishment and an opprobrious distinction.—To prove that it was in strictness a punishment,

puniſhment, he obſerved that it was in fact that puniſhment which the laws inflicted upon ſome of the greateſt crimes. Has an officer, he ſaid, in the civil line of the public ſervice been detected in a flagrant breach of the duties of his truſt? Has he violated his oath wilfully and corruptly?—What puniſhment does the law inflict upon his deliberate perjury? It declares him incapable of ſerving his majeſty in any office of honour, emolument, or truſt: it impoſes upon him the ſame ſpecies of diſability which it inflicts upon the diſſenters. Thus the puniſhment which is annexed by the law to one of the greateſt crimes, the puniſhment of perjury, is inflicted upon a large proportion of his majeſty's loyal and affectionate ſubjects, not for any crime committed, not for any charge or ſuſpicion of guilt, but for opinions merely; for opinions that have no relation to civil intereſts; for opinions that weaken none of the obligations which bind the individual to the ſtate; for opinions that diminiſh none of the motives which urge him as a citizen to a faithful diſcharge of his duty—but for opinions purely religious.

The only queſtion he obſerved that remained to be conſidered was, whether the public good required that the diſſenters ſhould be ſubjected to theſe penalties and ſtigmas. He allowed that a regard to the general good ought to control all other conſiderations. But then conſiderations of general good can never juſtify any invaſion of civil rights that is not eſſential to that good; and therefore the third point he undertook to prove was, that the continuance of the acts which invade the rights of the diſſenters were not neceſſary to the general good of the kingdom, nor to the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed form of government, or of the eſtabliſhed national church. For this purpoſe he remarked, that being admitted without heſitation or reſerve to the higher truſt of legiſlative power, it was abſurd to ſuppoſe they might not ſafely be entruſted with the lower executive offices: it was abſurd to ſuppoſe that a ſtronger pledge ought to be taken from thoſe who are to execute laws, than from thoſe who are to make them; that greater ſecurity ſhould be required from thoſe who cannot change the eſtabliſhed conſtitution either in church or ſtate, than from thoſe who can. Mr. Beaufoy took this occaſion of vindicating the diſſenters from the charge of republicaniſm, by referring to the known principles of the Scotch nation, and to the conduct of the Engliſh diſſenters ever ſince the revolution. And with reſpect to the eſtabliſhed church, he ſaid, that her eſtabliſhment conſiſted in the excluſive enjoyment of her revenues, and not of civil or military offices; and that the diſſenters had never claimed, nor ever wiſhed to claim, a participation in the former. On the other hand he believed that the abolition of the penal law would give additional ſecurity to the church, by removing the only ground that exiſted of their reſentment againſt it, and the only bond of union by which they were induced, in their various denominations, to make a common cauſe, and ſupport each other.

Having cleared up theſe points, Mr. Beaufoy proceeded to obſerve, that he ſhould be aſked, what teſt he meant to eſtabliſh in the room of the ſacramental? He anſwered, thoſe

only which by the preſent acts would ſtill remain, the oath of abjuration and ſupremacy, and the declaration againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. The former being ſworn to upon the faith of chriſtians, would exclude all jews and infidels, the latter would exclude the Roman catholics. But it might, perhaps, again be aſked, why ſhould the Roman catholics be deprived of their natural rights, and ſubjected to opprobrious penalties, for an opinion ſo purely religious, and ſo harmleſs as to its political tendency, as tranſubſtantiation? To this he ſhould anſwer without heſitation, that if the catholics can prove, that though they are of the church they are not of the court of Rome; if they can give a ſufficient pledge of loyalty to the ſovereign, and of attachment to the laws and conſtitution of their country, he thought they ought to be admitted to the civil and military ſervice of the ſtate. He referred here to the examples of Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and the dominions of the emperor; in none of which, as he ſaid, were religious opinions made the ground of civil diſqualifications.

Mr. Beaufoy anſwered the objection that was ſometimes drawn from the treaty of union, which provides, that no alteration whatever ſhould ever hereafter be made in the eſtabliſhment of the two united kingdoms, either in church or ſtate. He contended, that the intention of the agreement was, that nothing ſhould be taken from Scotland, but what was then ſtipulated; but that it could never be meant, that nothing was ever to be given her. If, by an agreement with another perſon, I acquire a right of common on his manor, I certainly ſhall not violate that compact, by afterwards voluntarily giving him a right of common upon mine.

Laſtly, he dwelt much upon the impropriety and ſcandal of prophaning a moſt ſacred and awful ſacrament, by mixing it with concerns that were merely temporal; and noted the diſtreſſing ſituation in which it placed the clergy, who were under the neceſſity of giving it to all who offered themſelves for the purpoſe of qualification, or of ſubjecting themſelves to grievous proſecutions. He concluded with moving, that a committee of the whole houſe ſhould take into their conſideration ſo much of the acts referred to, as requires perſons, before they are admitted into any office or place in corporations, or having accepted any office, civil or military, or any place of truſt under the crown, to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the rites of the church of England.

Mr. Beaufoy was anſwered by lord North, who had lately had the misfortune of loſing his eye-ſight, and came down upon this occaſion, for the firſt time in the ſeſſion. He began with begging, that no one would draw any unfair concluſions from his oppoſition to the preſent motion, or believe upon that account that he was an enemy to toleration of opinion upon religious ſubjects. In the year 1778, when he had the honour of ſerving his majeſty in an high office, he thought that a finiſhing ſtroke had been put to the penal reſtriction upon religious opinions; and that as general a toleration had been then granted as was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed form of government. If, ſaid he, there remains any thing

that can operate as a burthen upon any man's conſcience, in God's name let it be done away; but let not the admitting of perſons of particular denominations into the offices of the ſtate be confounded with liberty of conſcience. If government finds it prudent and neceſſary to confine them to perſons of particular principles, it has a right ſo to do; it is a right belonging to all ſtates; and all have exerciſed it, all do exerciſe it, and all will continue to exerciſe it. If diſſenters claim it as their undoubted, their natural right, to be rendered capable of enjoying offices, and that plea be admitted, the argument may run to all men; the vote of a freeholder for a repreſentative to parliament is confined to thoſe who poſſeſs a freehold of forty ſhillings or upwards; thoſe not poſſeſſing that qualification may call it an uſurpation of their right, to prevent them from voting alſo.

We are told, that other countries have no teſt acts, and that their eſtabliſhed churches are not endangered for the want thereof. France has proteſtants at the head of her army and her finances; and Pruſſia employs catholics in her ſervice; but it muſt be conſidered that theſe are arbitrary governments, and conducted upon principles totally different from ours. Holland, indeed, admits men of all religions into her army, becauſe, not having ſubjects enough of her own, ſhe is obliged to have recourſe to foreign troops; but there is no place where they reſtrain their civil officers more to the eſtabliſhed principles of the country; and the ſame policy prevailed in Sweden.

It had been ſaid, that by the corporation and teſt acts, every man who refuſes to ſubmit thereto, is ſubject to the ſame puniſhment with thoſe who may be convicted of great and heinous crimes. That was not the fact. No man, becauſe he does not chooſe to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the uſage of the church of England, is ſubjected to any puniſhment whatever. The act holds out puniſhment to thoſe who fill offices; and they are puniſhed for wilfully flying in the face of an act of the legiſlature. Nor was any indignity offered to the diſſenters, by not admitting them to offices, unleſs they qualified by the teſt act. Have not the country reſolved that no king or queen ſhould ſit on the throne of the Britiſh empire, who refuſed to comply with the teſt act? — If the throne was offered to any prince who would not comply from motives of conſcience, the refuſal of the throne to him would be offering him no indignity, no inſult.

With reſpect to the intention of the legiſlature in thoſe acts, it was evident from their conduct, ſingular as it was, that they meant to include both papiſts and diſſenters. The corporation act clearly meant to exclude the ſectaries, and was not meant to extend to the papiſts; but it did exclude both; the teſt act was chiefly intended againſt the papiſts, but alſo included both; and when the parliament paſſed both theſe acts, they knew both papiſts and diſſenters were included. What was the opinion of parliament at the revolution? That parliament, taught by the miſeries they had experienced, and by the dangers they had eſcaped, deliberately went through all the acts, and repealed every one except the corporation and teſt acts, which they

conſidered as mere civil and political regulations; they preſerved them, and they thought them neceſſary for the ſafety of the church, and for the preſervation of the conſtitution. By that parliament a juſt line was drawn for the relief of conſcience on one hand, and for the ſafety of the church on the other. He conſidered the teſt act as the corner-ſtone of the conſtitution. King James, when he wiſhed to gain the prince and princeſs of Orange to his views, wiſhed to have their opinion on the propriety of repealing the teſt and corporation acts. The anſwer of the prince of Orange was, that he agreed to the removal of the corporation act, but not of the teſt act; and declared it to be the practice of Holland, to confine all civil employments to thoſe who profeſſed the principles of the ſtates, but the army could not be ſo reſtrained, on account of the want of troops. Nothing brought James ſo ſpeedily to the criſis of his fate as the teſt act, which reſtrained him, and rendered it impoſſible for him to fill all offices civil and military with thoſe of his own ſect, which he hoped to be enabled to do by gaining the repeal of the teſt act, and then there would have been an end to all liberty. He conceived it to be the duty of every member of that houſe, to prevent that which in a future period might ſubject the nation to the ſame dangers it had before experienced.

He next remarked on the arguments reſpecting the clergy of the church, who were forced to give the ſacrament to all who deſired it. He ſaid, ſo far from its being the wiſh of the clergy of England to gain a repeal of the teſt act, they were all alarmed at the intention of propoſing the repeal, and were determined to oppoſe it with their greateſt ſtrength.—Every miniſter is bound by his holy office to refuſe the communion to any unworthy perſon—if he refuſes according to law, by law he will be juſtified—the fear of an action ſhould not prevent a man from doing his duty. If the ſacrament, in many inſtances, was taken unworthily, he feared many falſe oaths were alſo taken; but could that operate as a reaſon for the abolition of oaths, which, in many caſes, are abſolutely neceſſary? The legiſlature is not to be anſwerable for the conſequences of the ſacrament being taken unworthily, any more than for falſe oaths.

He concluded by warning the houſe of the danger there might be in breaking down the barrier which had heretofore guarded the conſtitution. They all knew the perilous nature of the cry, "The church "is in danger;" and an incendiary watching his opportunity, might do as much miſchief by that cry, as by the cry of "No Popery." Though we owe much to the Brunſwick line for the bleſſings of liberty which we enjoy, much is alſo owing to the church for its promotion of harmony, by its ſubmiſſion to the government, and its liberal principles—principles which have encouraged bringing forward the preſent motion.

Mr. Pitt followed lord North, and took the ſame ſide of the queſtion. He ſtated fully the diſtinction which it was neceſſary to make, between a participation in the offices of ſtate, and liberty of conſcience. He obſerved, that there muſt be a reſtriction of rights in all ſocieties: that, for inſtance, in this nation, all the modes

modes of repreſentation neceſſarily included modes of qualification. But was a man to be conſidered as puniſhed or diſgraced, becauſe he does not vote for a city, a county, or a borough? The true queſtion was, whether there was any ſubſtantial intereſt which made it neceſſary that one part of the community ſhould be deprived of a participation in its civil offices? He ſaid, the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed church was an intereſt of this nature, and that he thought it would be endangered by the repeal propoſed. It had been, indeed, aſſerted, that the diſſenters had not a wiſh to encroach upon the eſtabliſhments of the church. But of this he muſt beg leave to doubt: he muſt look to human nature to find out the ſprings that moved their actions. If the danger was not certain, at leaſt it was not chimerical; it would afford ſufficient foundation for the fears of the members of the eſtabliſhed church; and their apprehenſions were not to be lightly treated. It was even reaſonable to conclude, without imputing any injuſtice to the diſſenters, that if they ſaw an opening fairly before them they would attempt changes: there is a natural deſire in all men to extend the influence of their religion; the diſſenters were never backward in this, and it was neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment to have an eye to them. There are ſome diſſenters who declare that the church of England is a relique of popery; others, that all eſtabliſhments are wicked and unlawful. Theſe may not be the opinions of the majority; but no means can be deviſed to admit the moderate part of the diſſenters, and to exclude the more violent; the ſame bulwark muſt be kept up againſt all. Mr. Pitt further remarked, that a corporation brought excluſively into the hands of diſſenters, which might not unfrequently happen in caſe the act was repealed, was a very different thing from a diſſenting member ſitting in that houſe. When a diſſenting repreſentative was choſen by members of the church of England, he was more likely to come in with ſentiments friendly to the eſtabliſhment, than if he was choſen by a majority of diſſenters: in this latter caſe it would be his intereſt to play the game of the diſſenters againſt the eſtabliſhed church. He concluded, with declaring, that the diſcretionary power wiſely lodged and liberally exerciſed every year in bills of indemnity by the legiſlature, left the diſſenters no reaſonable ground of complaint; and that they poſſeſſed as perfect a toleration as the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution in church and ſtate could admit.

Mr. Fox, in a long and able ſpeech, ſupported the motion for a committee, and went over all the arguments which, on former occaſions, he had urged in ſupport of the repeal. He concluded with remarking, that on the preſent occaſion he ſhould be ſuſpected of being biaſſed by any improper partiality towards the diſſenters. Their conduct in a late political revolution was well known; but he was willing to let them ſee, that though they loſt ſight of the principles of the conſtitution upon that occaſion, he ſhould not upon any occaſion loſe ſight of his principles of toleration.

The motion was alſo ſupported by ſir Harry Houghton, Mr. Smith, and ſir James Johnſtone; and oppoſed by ſir William Dolben; who, in proof of dangerous deſigns entertained

tertained by the diſſenters, read a paſſage from a book written by a diſtinguiſhed miniſter of their body, in which he obſerves, "That their ſilent propagation of the truth would in the end prove efficacious. They were wiſely placing, as it were grain by grain, a train of gunpowder, to which a match would one day be laid to blow up the fabric of error, which could never be again raiſed upon the ſame foundation." The queſtion being put, it paſſed in the negative: ayes 100—noes 178.

20th April. On the 20th of April, the houſe being in a committee of ſupply, the chancellor of the exchequer opened his budget for the ſervice of the current year. It was a matter, he ſaid, of great ſatisfaction to him, and the houſe, he doubted not, would be rejoiced to hear, that he had ſuch an account of the ſtate of the finances to lay before them, as would juſtify the ſanguine expectations which on ſeveral former occaſions he had ventured to expreſs before them. The ſervices of the year would be found amply provided for; and though it had not yet been practicable to reduce ſome of our moſt expenſive eſtabliſhments to the level which he had expected, and to what the committee of revenue in the preceding ſeſſion had fixed as an adequate peace eſtabliſhment, yet, without the impoſition of any additional burthens, the plan for the diminution of the national debt would be ſtrictly purſued, and the ſeveral quarterly payments of 250,000 l. regularly made.

He then proceeded to ſtate to the committee the ſeveral public charges, and the ways and means for defraying them.

The amount of the charge for the navy was - - - -	£. 2,286,000
For the army - -	1,881,169

The reduction, he ſaid, which had been intended in theſe eſtimates, was unavoidably defeated; the former exceeding the eſtimate of the committee 486,000l. the latter 231,000l.

The ordnance eſtimates were leſs than that of the committee, and amounted to -	£. 328,576
Miſcellaneous ſervices to - - - - -	328,000
Scotch roads, &c. &c.	96,760
For deficiencies, &c.	1,435,000

Some few other particulars made the total amount of the ſupply 6,676,000l.

The ways and means by which this ſum was to be raiſed were as follow:

The land-tax and malt duties - - -	£. 2,437,862
The ſurplus from the ſinking fund - - -	1,226,000
Increaſe of cuſtoms	250,000
Increaſe of aſſeſſments	400,000
Army ſavings - -	240,000
The ſavings from army accompts - - -	180,000
Revenue from conſolidating plan, and cambrics - - - - -	180,000
The ſum to be paid from the Eaſt-India company, and carried to the ſervice of the preſent year - - - - -	320,000

Such were the ſpecific ſums intended for the diſcharge of the public expences; and there were others which might be added, and which he would ſtate to the committee. Two principal circumſtances operated to the diminution of laſt year's receipts in the cuſtoms; one was, the

the failure of the crops in our Weſt India Iſlands, which, in the article of ſugars alone, occaſioned a defalcation of 320,000l.; the other was, the ſuſpenſion of trade, ariſing from the various negotiations that were pending, which, from the uncertainty to traders, cauſed alſo a conſiderable decreaſe in the cuſtoms. But theſe were circumſtances not likely to happen this year, nor, probably, to recur for a conſiderable time. No doubt then remained of the income of the preſent year equalling, if not conſiderably exceeding, the average of any one that preceded it. Theſe expectations were warranted by the increaſe of trade which, in conſequence of the treaty, muſt take place with France; and by the promiſe of the moſt exuberant crops in the Weſt Indies. From theſe, and other circumſtances, he ſhould take the whole of the ways and means at 6,767,000l. from which deducting 6,676,000l. there would ariſe a ſurplus to anſwer any extraordinary expence of 91,000l. After a few other obſervations, he ſaid, he would not trouble the committee further on the preſent occaſion, than by a motion for the diſpoſal of the ſurplus now in the exchequer; and by again intimating his intention of augmenting the duty on licences for the retailing of ſpirits. This, he conceived, might be attended with a collateral good effect, that of preventing the conſumption of ſpirituous liquors in an inordinate degree: however, as he did not mean to ſtate it as part of the ways and means, he would bring it forward on another occaſion. He had omitted giving notice that there would be a lottery, as that buſineſs had been formerly determined, and as the produce would undoubtedly anſwer the claims of the loyaliſts.

Mr. Sheridan obſerved, that the air of triumph with which the chancellor of the exchequer had ſet out, but ill became the humiliating and mortifying ſituation in which he ſtood, obliged to come forward and ſtate the finances of the country to be in ſo very different a condition from that in which he had laſt year ſo confidently aſſerted they would at preſent ſtand. The right honourable gentleman would be pleaſed to recollect, that he had again and again warned him of the fallacy of the principles upon which the ſelect committee had proceeded. He then read part of the report of the committee, and ſaid they had there aſſerted, that the receipts would amount to 15,397,000l. but he affirmed, that an actual deficiency of 900,000l. exiſted; as, from the 5th of January 1786 to the 5th of January 1787, the income was but 14,445,000l. To the expenditure of 15,563,000l. muſt be added the million for the purpoſe of reducing the national debt; the expenditure of the country would then amount to 16,563,000l. while the total income amounted to no more than 14,445,000l. Such was the real ſtate of the revenue. Preſſing the Eaſt India company for the money due from them was, in his opinion, a moſt dangerous reſource, and would, he apprehended, ſhake their very foundation. With reſpect to the increaſe expected on ſugars, from the proſpect of an abundant crop, he conſidered it as merely ſpeculative; and in the ſame light he could not but view moſt of the other plans of increaſe. They were at beſt but temporary, and to expect from them a permanent revenue was abſurd.

abſurd. New taxes muſt be levied, or ſome ſtrong meaſure adopted, to render the income ſuperior to the expenditure. A clear account ſhould have been laid before the public, who did not expect a ſurplus, and appeared convinced of the fallacy of the calculations of the board of revenue; and he doubted not but the committee would concur with them in opinion, if a fair ſtatement of the buſineſs were ſubmitted to their inſpection.

Mr. Grenville ſaid, he could not ſit ſilent when the board of revenue, of which he had the honour to be a member, was ſo ſeverely reprehended. He maintained, that every expectation which the board held out had been compleatly anſwered. He then read a part of the reports, and defied Mr. Sheridan to point out any paſſage that could be interpreted as an acknowledgment, that the average of the year 1785 was to be taken for ſubſequent years, as it was expreſsly ſaid, "that the taxes muſt always be liable to temporary variations." He agreed with the honourable gentleman, that the public ought not to be deceived by fallacious appearances of advantage; and he hoped that the honourable gentleman would agree with him, that their hopes ſhould not be damped by miſrepreſentations of a contrary nature. To him the ſtate of the revenue appeared particularly flattering, as well as that of the Eaſt India company, whoſe foundation could not be ſhaken by the payment of part of the ſum which they owed to government; for, perhaps, at no former period were their affairs in a happier ſituation; and this country might reaſonably conſider India as the moſt valuable part of its foreign poſſeſſions.

Mr. Fox begged leave to know from the miniſter, whether the report of the committee of revenue, ſtating 15,390,000 l. to be the income of the country, was the foundation of his appropriating a million annually to the diſcharge of the national debt? He inſiſted, that the manner of forming an average of the taxes by one year was fallacious; and contended, that the annual revenue was conſiderably leſs than the expenditure.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, that the baſis of the appropriation of the million was on the income of the country; and defended the report of the committee of revenue, whoſe ſtatement, he inſiſted, was fair and accurate. He then took notice of Mr. Sheridan's aſſertion, that the income ſhould be rendered ſuperior to the expenditure, even by ſtrong meaſures, or by new taxes. Theſe were principles of which he did not approve; for he thought it far better to make old taxes productive than to levy new ones. He concluded with ſaying, that a concurrence of circumſtances warranted the expectation of a large increaſe of revenue, particularly in the department of the cuſtoms.

Mr. Fox deſired to know what was to be done with the appropriated million, if the income fell conſiderably ſhort: if a loan were propoſed, unleſs in circumſtances of a very peculiar kind, he ſhould think it his duty to oppoſe it. He agreed that it was better to render old taxes productive, than to impoſe new ones; and it was fairer to make juſt eſtimates at once than to come afterwards. The publicity of the

finances of this country was its greateſt bleſſing, and had been the ſafeguard of the conſtitution. He concluded with recommending to miniſtry to come forward in a manly and ingenuous manner, and ſtate at once the real ſituation of the revenue.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, he did not intend to adopt the meaſure of a loan, if the revenues fell off; but to raiſe a permanent income to anſwer the fixed expenditure of government.

20th April. On the 20th day of April, previous to the opening of the budget, a ſubject was brought forwards in the houſe of commons by Mr. Alderman Newnham, which had for ſome time before ſtrongly engaged the attention and feelings of the public—namely, the embarraſſed ſtate of the finances of the prince of Wales. Our readers will be pleaſed to recollect, that the eſtabliſhment of his royal highneſs's houſhold took place upon his coming of age, in the year 1783, during the adminiſtration of the duke of Portland. It is well known that a great difference of opinion ſubſiſted at that time between the great perſonage, with whom the final ſettlement of the affair reſted, and the perſons, whoſe duty it was to give him their advice upon the ſubject, reſpecting the ſum to be allowed for that purpoſe. Upon a full conſideration of what was thought becoming the credit of the nation, and the exalted rank of the heir apparent to the throne, the great increaſe in the value of every article of expenditure, and the œconomy of ſuch a liberal proviſion as might totally ſuperſede the neceſſity of incurring debt, the miniſters of that day are ſaid to have propoſed, that an annual income ſhould be ſettled upon him by parliament of 100,000l. This propoſition is ſaid to have been not only entirely diſapproved of by the king, but rejected with expreſſions of ſuch marked reſentment, as to make the immediate reſignation of thoſe miniſters more than probable. In this emergency the prince of Wales, who had early manifeſted a favourable opinion of that party, interpoſed, and gave the world, upon this his firſt ſtep in public life, a ſtriking proof both of filial duty and public ſpirit. He ſignified his deſire, that the whole buſineſs ſhould be left to the king; and declared his readineſs to accept of whatever proviſion the king in his wiſdom and goodneſs might think moſt fit; and, at the ſame time, he expreſſed his earneſt wiſhes, that no miſunderſtanding ſhould ariſe between the king and his then miniſters, on account of any arrangement, in which his perſonal intereſt only was concerned. In conſequence of this interference the affair appears to have been accommodated, and an allowance of 50,000l. a year, payable out of the civil liſt revenue, was ſettled upon his royal highneſs.

A very few years experience made it but too manifeſt, that this proviſion was inadequate to the purpoſe for which it was deſigned. In the year 1786 the prince was found to have contracted a debt to the amount of about 100,000l. excluſive of 50,000l. and upwards expended on Carleton-houſe. Without preſuming to make any reflections upon this debt, we cannot avoid doing juſtice to the ſubſequent conduct of his royal highneſs. He was no ſooner acquainted with the embarraſſed ſtate of his affairs, and the great diſtreſs, in which it neceſſarily involved

involved a conſiderable number of his creditors, than he came to a reſolution of taking ſome effectual meaſures for their relief.

His firſt application was to the king his father, upon whoſe affection alone he wiſhed to rely, and to whoſe judgment he declared his readineſs to ſubmit his paſt and to conform his future conduct. By his majeſty's directions, a full account of the prince's affairs were laid before him; but (whether it was from any diſſatisfaction with thoſe accounts, or with any other parts of the prince's conduct, or from ſome other cauſe, has not tranſpired) a direct refuſal to afford him any relief was conveyed to his royal highneſs through one of his principal officers of ſtate.

In conſequence of this refuſal, the prince of Wales appears to have conceived himſelf bound in honour and juſtice to have recourſe to the only expedient, that was now left him. His determination was prompt and manly. The day after he received the meſſage from the king, he diſmiſſed the officers of his court, and reduced the eſtabliſhment of his houſhold to that of a private gentleman; he ordered his horſes to be ſold, the works at Carleton-houſe to be ſtopped, and ſuch parts, as were not neceſſary for his perſonal uſe, to be ſhut up.

From theſe ſavings an annual ſum of 40,000 l. was ſet apart, and veſted in the hands of truſtees for the payment of his debts.

This conduct, however laudable it may appear, did not eſcape cenſure. It was repreſented, eſpecially by the followers of the court, as precipitate, and diſreſpectful to the king, and was ſaid to have been a principal cauſe of that diſtance which, unhappily, has too long and too manifeſtly ſubſiſted between them. An event, which happened ſoon after, afforded a public proof of the diſpleaſure he had incurred; we mean the danger to which his majeſty's life was expoſed in the month of Auguſt 1786. Upon that occaſion no notice whatever of the accident was conveyed to the prince of Wales by the court—He learned it at Brighthelmſtone from the information of a private correſpondent. He immediately flew to Windſor. He was received there by the queen, but the king did not ſee him.

It was impoſſible that the ſituation, to which the heir apparent to the throne was reduced, ſhould be regarded with indifference either at home or abroad; and what made the indignity of his condition the more generally felt and lamented was, that no man was ever more highly qualified by diſtinguiſhed affability, amiable manners, and a noble and liberal diſpoſition, to adorn the ſplendour to which his exalted birth entitled him. It is reported, that the duke of Orleans, the richeſt individual in Europe, who was at this time upon a viſit in this country, preſſed him in the ſtrongeſt manner to make uſe of his fortune, till ſome favourable change ſhould take place in his circumſtances, to whatever extent he might find neceſſary. This offer, though doubtleſs generouſly intended, yet full of danger, in its poſſible tendency, to the public welfare, the prince of Wales, from a nice ſenſe of duty to the public, declined. The ſame public principle withheld him alſo from availing himſelf of thoſe reſources, which the

the usurious speculations of monied men are well known to keep constantly open in this nation to the temporary wants of the necessitous.

It was in these circumstances of private distress and public spirit, that the expedient was suggested to his royal highness by several respectable members of the house of commons, of appealing to the justice and generosity of the nation in parliament. To this measure the prince appears to have assented, not more from a natural wish to free himself from his pecuniary embarrassments, than from a desire to do away any bad impression, that the misfortune of having incurred the royal displeasure, and the consequent refusal of affording him any relief, might have left upon the minds of the public.

Accordingly on the day already mentioned Mr. Alderman Newnham demanded, in his place, of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether it was the intention of his majesty's ministers to bring forward any proposition for rescuing the prince of Wales from his present embarrassed and distressed situation? For though his conduct, under the difficulties, with which he laboured, reflected the highest honour upon his character, yet he thought it would bring indelible disgrace upon the nation, if he were suffered to remain any longer in his present reduced circumstances. To this question Mr. Pitt replied, that it was not his duty to bring forward a subject of the nature that had been mentioned, except by the command of his majesty. It was not necessary therefore that he should say more, in answer to the question put to him, than that he had not been honoured with such a command. Upon this Mr. Newnham gave notice of his intentions to bring the subject regularly by a motion before the house on the fourth day of May.

In the mean time the friends of the prince of Wales were indefatigable in their endeavours to procure the support of the independent members of parliament to the proposed motion; and at several meetings, which were held for that purpose, their numbers were so considerable as to give cause of serious alarm to the minister. On the 24th of April, Mr. Pitt, after requesting that Mr. Newnham would inform the house more particularly of the nature of the motion he intended to make, adverted to the extreme delicacy of the subject; and declared, that the knowledge he possessed of many circumstances relating to it made him extremely anxious to persuade the house, if possible, to prevent the discussion of it. Should however the honourable member persist in his determination to bring it forward, it would be absolutely necessary to lay those circumstances before the public; and however distressing it might prove to him as an individual, from the profound respect he had for every part of the royal family, he should discharge his duty to the public, and enter fully into the subject. At the same time Mr. Rolle, an adherent of the minister's, who distinguished himself greatly by his zeal upon this occasion, declared, that the question involved matter, by which *the constitution, both in church and state*, might be essentially affected; and that if the friends of the prince 24th.

of

of Wales perſiſted in their attempt, it would be neceſſary to enquire into thoſe circumſtances alſo.

What the circumſtances ſo ſolemnly adverted to by Mr. Pitt in this converſation were, the houſe was left, for the preſent, to conjecture. The menace thrown out by Mr. Rolle was well known to allude to ſome ſuppoſed connection between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady of a very reſpectable Roman catholic family, to whom he had for ſome time manifeſted a ſtrong attachment. For, notwithſtanding the poſſibility of a marriage between thoſe two parties was effectually guarded againſt by the royal marriage act, great pains had been taken, and not entirely without ſucceſs, to miſlead the ignorant, and to inflame the minds of the vulgar upon that ſubject; with what view, it would have been more eaſy to conceive in former times than at preſent, when all the enemies of the houſe of Brunſwick are ſuppoſed to have ceaſed from amongſt the nation.

27th. On the 27th of the ſame month Mr. Newnham, in compliance with the requeſt that had been made, ſignified to the houſe, that the motion he intended to make, would be to the following effect, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying him to take into his royal conſideration the preſent embarraſſed ſtate of the affairs of the prince of Wales, and to grant him ſuch relief as his royal wiſdom ſhould think fit, and that the houſe would make good the ſame." Several members on both ſides of the houſe having riſen to deprecate the further diſcuſſion of this buſineſs, and to expreſs their earneſt wiſhes, that it might be accommodated in ſome other manner, Mr. Sheridan got up to declare, that the inſinuations and menaces, which had been thrown out upon a former occaſion, made it impoſſible for the prince to recede with honour. He ſaid he had the higheſt authority to declare, that his royal highneſs had no other wiſh, than that every circumſtance in the whole ſeries of his conduct ſhould be moſt minutely and accurately inquired into; that no part of his conduct, circumſtances, or ſituation, ſhould be treated with ambiguity, concealment, or affected tenderneſs, but that whatever related to him ſhould be diſcuſſed openly, and with fair, manly, and direct examination; and that he was ready, as a peer of Great Britain, to give in another place the moſt direct anſwers to any queſtions that might be put to him.—Mr. Rolle obſerved, in reply, that he had acted and ſhould act as it became an independent country gentleman to do, when the deareſt intereſts of the nation were at ſtake, from the conviction of his own mind; and that if the motion propoſed was perſiſted in, he ſhould ſtate without reſerve his ſentiments upon the ſubject he had alluded to, according as the matter ſtruck him. Mr. Pitt declared, that he had been greatly miſunderſtood, if it was conceived that he meant to throw out any inſinuations injurious to the character of the prince of Wales. The particulars, to which he alluded, and which he might find it neceſſary to ſtate fully to the houſe, related only to his pecuniary affairs, and to a correſpondence that had taken place on that ſubject, and which he thought would

would satisfy the house of the impropriety of complying with the proposed motion.

30th. On the 30th Mr. Newnham rose again, to make a few observations upon what had passed on Friday preceding. He remarked, that much had been said of the tenderness of the ground upon which he trod, and of the dangerous consequences that might arise from his perseverance. He declared himself totally ignorant of the grounds of those apprehensions, with which others were so unaccountably filled. If there was danger in the measure, let those who gave occasion to it tremble at the consequences. He saw none; the prince saw none: and it was by his express desire that he now gave notice he should pursue his design. Highly honoured, as he conceived himself to be by the prince's confidence upon this occasion, he was not to be intimidated; and he could assure the house, that neither was his royal highness to be deterred from his purpose by the base and false rumours, which were spread abroad concerning him.

Mr. Fox, who had been absent on the former debate, came down this day with immediate authority from the prince of Wales, to assure the house there was no part of his conduct that he was either afraid or unwilling to have investigated in the fullest manner. With regard to the private correspondence alluded to, he wished it to be laid before the house, because he could take upon himself to assert, that it would prove the conduct of his royal highness to have been in the highest degree amiable, and would present as uniform and perfect a picture of duty and obedience, as ever, in any instance, had been shewn from a son to his father, or from a subject to his sovereign. With respect to the debt, which was the cause of his present difficulties, the prince was willing, if the house should deem it necessary, to give a fair and general account in writing of every part of it; and if any suspicion should exist, that this or that general article might comprehend sums of money improperly applied, he would give a clear explanation of the particulars to his majesty, or to his ministers. Lastly, with respect to allusions made by one member, to something full of *danger to the church and state*, he wished he had spoken more explicitly. If he alluded to a certain low and malicious rumour, which had been industriously propagated without doors, he was authorized to declare it to be a falsehood. He had thought that a tale, fit only to impose upon the lowest of the vulgar, could not have gained credit for a moment in that house, or with any one who possessed the most ordinary portion of common sense and reflection; but when it appeared that an invention so gross and malicious, a report of a fact, which was actually impossible to have happened, had been circulated with so much industry and success, as to have made an impression upon the minds of the members of that house, it both proved the uncommon pains taken by the enemies of the prince of Wales to depreciate his character and injure him in the opinion of his country, and ought to be a caution to the house, and to the nation at large, how they gave credit to any other scandalous and malignant reports that were circulated to his prejudice. Mr. Fox concluded with adding, that he was further authorized by

by his royal highneſs to declare, that he was ready, as a peer of parliament, to anſwer in the other houſe any the moſt pointed queſtions, that could be put to him reſpecting this report, or to afford his majeſty or his miniſters any other aſſurances or ſatisfaction they might require.

Mr. Rolle replied, that he was not ſingular in his fears for the church; other gentlemen had been equally alarmed, and he ſhould be happy to find that their apprehenſions were groundleſs. The right honourable member had ſaid, that the fact alluded to was impoſſible to have happened. They all knew, indeed, that there were certain laws and acts of parliament which forbade it, and made it null and void; but ſtill it might have taken place, though not under the formal ſanction of law; and upon that point he wiſhed to be ſatisfied. Mr. Fox obſerved, that though what he had ſaid before was, he thought, ſufficient to ſatisfy every candid and liberal mind, he was willing, if poſſible, to ſatisfy the moſt perverſe. When he denied the calumny in queſtion, he meant to deny it, not merely with regard to the effect of certain exiſting laws, but to deny it *in toto*, in point of fact as well as law. The fact not only never could have happened legally, but never did happen in any way whatſoever, and had from the beginning been a baſe and malicious falſhood. Mr. Rolle roſe again, and deſired to know, whether what Mr. Fox had laſt ſaid, was to be underſtood as ſpoken from direct authority. Mr. Fox replied, that he had direct authority.

It appears to have been expected, that upon this declaration Mr. Rolle would have expreſſed his full ſatisfaction; and being called upon by a member ſo to do, he ſaid that nothing ſhould induce him to act otherwiſe than to his own judgment ſhould ſeem proper. An anſwer had certainly been given to his queſtion, and the houſe would judge for themſelves of that anſwer. This conduct occaſioned ſome warm reflections from Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Grey, who ſaid, that the member, after having put a pointed queſtion for the ſolution of doubts exiſting in his own mind, and having received an immediate anſwer, was bound in honour and fairneſs either to declare that he was ſatisfied, or to take ſome means of putting the matter into ſuch a ſtate of inquiry as ſhould ſatisfy him. To remain ſilent, or to declare that the houſe might judge for itſelf, was neither manly nor candid: it tended to aggravate in a high degree the malicious falſhood that had been propagated, by admitting a ſuppoſition, that the prince might authorize a falſe denial of the fact. Mr. Pitt defended Mr. Rolle with great warmth, and declared, that what had been ſaid by the members who preceded him was the moſt direct attack upon the freedom of debate, and liberty of ſpeech in that houſe, that he had ever heard ſince he ſat in parliament. Mr. Rolle ſtated ſhortly the part he had taken, declared that he had been induced ſo to do by his affection for the prince; that he had not ſaid he was unſatisfied; and that he left the whole to the judgment of the houſe.

The favourable impreſſion, which this debate, the open and manly conduct of the prince, and the harſhneſs with which he had been treated

treated in his moſt private and perſonal concerns, left upon the minds of men both within and without the doors of parliament, appears to have given the miniſter a ſerious apprehenſion, that upon the queſtion itſelf he might be left in a minority—For the next day overtures were made to his royal highneſs to bring the buſineſs to a private accommodation. On Thurſday the 3d of May Mr. Pitt had an audience at Carleton-houſe, and the ſame night the prince was informed by his majeſty's command, in general terms, that if the motion intended to be made the next day in the houſe of commons ſhould be withdrawn, every thing might be ſettled to his royal highneſs's ſatisfaction. Accordingly on the 4th, Mr. Newnham being in his place in the houſe, in which upwards of 400 members were aſſembled, roſe and ſaid, he felt the higheſt ſatisfaction in being able to inform the houſe that his intended motion was no longer neceſſary.—Several members joined in expreſſing in the warmeſt terms the great ſatisfaction this information gave them.

1ſt May.

4th May.

In conſequence of the accommodation above mentioned, the accounts of his royal highneſs were ſubmitted to the inſpection of commiſſioners named by the king, and on the 21ſt of May the following meſſage from his majeſty was delivered to both houſes of parliament:

"It is with the greateſt concern "his majeſty acquaints the houſe "of commons, that from the ac- "counts which have been laid be- "fore his majeſty by the prince of "Wales, it appears that the prince "has incurred a debt to a large "amount, which if left to be diſ- "charged out of his annual in- "come, would render it impoſſible "for him to ſupport an eſtabliſh- "ment ſuited to his rank and "ſtation.

"Painful as it is at all times to "his majeſty to propoſe an addi- "tion to the heavy expences neceſ- "ſarily borne by his people, his "majeſty is induced, from his pa- "ternal affection to the prince of "Wales, to recur to the liberality "and attachment of his faithful "commons for their aſſiſtance on "an occaſion ſo intereſting to his "majeſty's feelings, and to the "eaſe and honour of ſo diſtinguiſh- "ed a branch of his royal family.

"His majeſty could not, how- "ever, expect or deſire the aſſiſtance "of this houſe, but on a well- "grounded expectation that the "prince will avoid contracting any "debts in future.

"With a view to this object, and "from an anxious deſire to remove "any poſſible doubt of the ſuffi- "ciency of the prince's income to "ſupport amply the dignity of his "ſituation; his majeſty has direct- "ed a ſum of 10,000 l. per ann, "to be paid out of his civil liſt, in "addition to the allowance which "his majeſty has hitherto given "him; and his majeſty has the ſa- "tisfaction to inform the houſe, "that the prince of Wales has "given his majeſty the fulleſt aſſu- "rance of his determination to "confine his future expences with- "in the income, and has alſo "ſettled a plan for arranging thoſe "expences in the ſeveral depart- "ments, and for fixing an order "for payment under ſuch regula- "tions as his majeſty truſts will "effectually

" effectually secure the due exe-
" cution of the prince's inten-
" tions.

" His majesty will direct an esti-
" mate to be laid before this house,
" of the sum wanting to complete,
" in a proper manner, the work
" which has been undertaken at
" Carleton-house, as soon as the
" same can be prepared with suf-
" ficient accuracy, and recommends
" it to his faithful commons to
" consider of making some provision
" for that purpose."

" G. R."

23d May. On the 23d the following abstract account of the debts and of the expenditure of the prince of Wales were laid before the house.

Debts.	£.
Bonds - - - -	13,000
Purchase of houses -	4,000
Expences of Carleton-house - - - - -	53,305
Tradesmen's bills -	90,804
	161,109

Expenditure from July 1783 to July 1786.

Household - - -	29,277
Privy purse - - -	16,050
Payments made by col. Hotham; particulars delivered to his majesty - -	37,203
Other extraordinaries -	11,406
	93,936
Salaries - - - -	54,734
Stables - - - -	37,919
Mr. Robinson's extra -	7,059
	193,648

The day following an humble address was ordered to be presented to the king, in which after the usual thanks to his majesty, they humbly desire, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to direct the sum of 161,000l. to be issued out of his majesty's civil list for that purpose, and the sum of 20,000l. on account of the works at Carleton-house, as soon as an estimate shall be formed with sufficient accuracy of the whole expence for completing the same in a proper manner; and assure his majesty, that his faithful commons will make good the same.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Motion by Mr. Fox, for repealing the ſhop tax; ſupported by Mr. Lambton; reply of Mr. Pitt; motion rejected. Bill brought in for farming the poſt-horſe duty; meets an early oppoſition; Mr. Pitt's defence of the meaſure, as not being repugnant to the conſtitution, nor dangerous as a precedent; oppoſed on the ſecond reading by Mr. Marſham, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Baſtard, and Mr. Wyndham; bill paſſed. Singular petition from debtors in Newgate. Inſolvent bill paſſes the houſe of commons; oppoſed and rejected in the houſe of lords; ſentiments of the chancellor upon meaſures of that nature; of lord Rawdon. Motion by Mr. Grey, relative to abuſes in the poſt office; facts from the report of the committee; animadverſion by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan upon Mr. Pitt's conduct; retort of the latter upon the coalition; ſtricture on Mr. Pitt's temporizing with lord North, by Mr. Adam; violent altercation between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grey; motion of cenſure reſpecting the poſt office by Mr. Grey; oppoſed by lord Maitland and Mr. Pitt; rejected without a diviſion. Motion in the houſe of lords, relative to the votes of the dukes of Queenſberry and Gordon, in the election of the ſixteen peers; oppoſed by the chancellor; ſupported by lord Kinnaird; opinions of lord Douglas, earl of Moreton, and duke of Richmond; motion carried. Motion in the houſe of commons, relative to the right of the ſons of Scotch peers to repreſent Scotch boroughs or counties; opinions of Sir John Sinclair, Mr. Dundas, Sir James Johnſtone, and Sir Adam Ferguſſon, in the negative; of lords Beauchamp, Maitland, and Elcho, in the affirmative; carried for the negative.

24th April. OUR readers will recollect that the tax impoſed upon retail ſhopkeepers in the year 1785, was ſtrongly oppoſed at the time by the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter, as partial and unjuſt in its principle, and peculiarly oppreſſive in its operation upon thoſe two cities. The following year their members were inſtructed to move for its repeal; and though the motion was rejected by a great majority, they continued, with unremitted perſeverance, to take the moſt active and vigorous meaſures for ſecuring ſucceſs upon ſome future occaſion. Meetings were held, aſſociations formed, committees appointed, and a correſpondence carried on with all the conſiderable towns and corporations of the kingdom; many of which, being proportionably ſufferers, readily joined the capital in another application to parliament for relief. The buſineſs was this year committed to Mr. Fox, who on the 24th of April moved the houſe for the repeal. He ſaid, he had never been forward in oppoſing taxes, becauſe he thought it the duty, in general, of members of parliament to ſupport government in the arduous and invidious meaſures of finance: but at the ſame time he thought there were limits to this duty, and that they were bound to inſiſt upon the abolition of any tax, which upon a fair trial was found to be oppreſſive and unjuſt. Such a trial the tax in queſtion had

undergone, and it was found by experience to be, what he had originally declared it would prove, a partial tax upon houſekeepers, whoſe houſes had ſhops annexed to them; it was to all intents and purpoſes a perſonal tax, unjuſtly levied from a particular deſcription of men. To perſiſt in ſaying that the conſumer paid the tax, when the ſhopkeepers knew and were ready to declare on oath, that they paid it themſelves and could not lay any part of it on their cuſtomers, was the moſt ridiculous obſtinacy. If the ſhopkeepers came to the bar, and ſaid, "We pay "the tax, and as it affects us ſolely, "we beg to be relieved from it," would the houſe ſay, "No, you do "not pay the tax, we pay it, "though you do not know it, and "we chuſe to continue to pay "it?"

The partiality of the tax, he ſaid, was in the higheſt degree glaring. The whole ſum aſſeſſed for the ſhop tax amounted to 59,000l. of which the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and the adjacent pariſhes, paid 43,000l. In ſome parts of the kingdom not above 100l. was aſſeſſed for a whole county, and not above fifty for a few. If, according to the opinions of ſome politicians, every place ſhould ſend ſuch a number of repreſentatives to parliament as was proportionable to their payment of taxes, the inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter would ſend not leſs than 350. Theſe facts, Mr. Fox contended, proved the tax to be ſo partial and unjuſt in its operation and preſſure, that he could not ſee how the miniſter could reſiſt the application for its repeal with any colour of reaſon or candour.

Mr. Fox was ſeconded by Mr. Lambton, a young member, who had juſt taken his ſeat for the city of Durham, and who declared that he rejoiced in the opportunity of opening his lips, for the firſt time within thoſe walls, with a remonſtrance againſt a partial, oppreſſive, and unjuſt meaſure; for as ſuch he was warranted, not only by his own conviction, but by the inſtructions of his conſtituents, to reprobate the tax in queſtion. Mr. Lambton ſtated his objections to the tax in a long ſpeech, with ſo much eloquence and ingenuity as to draw from the chancellor of the exchequer, who followed him, ſtrong expreſſions of his admiration. Mr. Pitt declared, however, that he was by no means convinced by his arguments; and that he muſt ſtill maintain, that the tax would fall not upon the ſhopkeepers but the conſumers. It was true, this would not take place through the means of any general and uniform addition to the prices of particular articles; but each ſhopkeeper would naturally conſider what article of his dealing was the moſt convenient for him to enhance, ſo as to bring him in an equivalent for the tax: and although the ſame article might not be choſen by another ſhopkeeper for the ſame purpoſe, yet there was no danger of the former loſing his cuſtom thereby; for if it were found that on the general average the prices of both were equal, the buyer would, from motives of convenience, reſort to the ſame ſhop. In addition to this and other arguments in favour of the tax, he begged the houſe to conſider, that in giving it up now they abandoned it for ever; and in any further emergency would be tied up and precluded from having reſort to it.

Upon a diviſion there appeared, for

for the repeal 147, againſt it 183.

26th April. On the twenty-ſixth of April a bill to authorize the commiſſioners of the treaſury to let out to farm the duty upon poſt horſes, was brought into the houſe of commons by the chancellor of the exchequer. A meaſure ſo totally without precedent in this kingdom, and adopted from the practice of countries, whoſe forms of government were leſs favourable to the liberty of the ſubject than ours, was received, as might be expected, with great jealouſy and ſuſpicion. Before the bill was ſuffered to be read a firſt time, the miniſter was called upon to ſtate the neceſſity upon which it was founded, the extent of the frauds it was deſigned to prevent, and the new powers that were to be given to the farmers of the tax, to enable them to put a ſtop to thoſe frauds in future.

In order to afford the houſe the information that was required, Mr. Pitt remarked, that the fraudulent evaſion of the tax was a matter of ſuch notoriety, that he believed it could not have eſcaped the obſervation of a ſingle member of that aſſembly. The extent of theſe frauds had not, he ſaid, been aſcertained, but he believed no one doubted of its being very conſiderable; and it was a circumſtance which added much to the grievance, that the tax for the moſt part was exacted with great ſtrictneſs from the public, but that a large proportion of it, through colluſion between the inn-keepers and the collectors, never found its way into the exchequer. To correct ſo great an abuſe, and to ſecure to the public the receipt of that money, which the individual was thus obliged to pay, it was neceſſary to put the duty under ſome regulation; and the only effectual mode, which had occurred to him, was that of letting it out to farm.

It was intended, he ſaid, to divide the iſland into diſtricts, each of which, a few inſtances excepted, would contain a county. Theſe were to be put up to public auction; and that the public might at leaſt be ſure of loſing nothing by the bargain, the bidders were to begin from that ſum, which the diſtrict, at its higheſt rate, had ever yet produced. There could be little doubt that many candidates would offer themſelves, and that the duty in each diſtrict would let nearly for what might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to be its full value. It was propoſed, that the agreement ſhould continue for three years, that the leſſee ſhould keep a regular account of his receipts, and that theſe accounts ſhould be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the treaſury. No greater powers were to be given to the farmers than had been given to the preſent collectors; and it was merely from the ſuperiour, becauſe the more intereſted, vigilance of the former, that they could derive any advantage.

He had heard it, he ſaid, objected, that there was ſomething in the principle of ſuch an eſtabliſhment repugnant to our conſtitution, and to the general ſyſtem of our revenue; but for this objection he ſaw no ſolid foundation. It was true, that ſuch a principle did generally obtain in ſome countries of more deſpotic and arbitrary forms of government than ours; and perhaps ſome degree of oppreſſion might ariſe from the manner, in which that principle was carried into effect.

But thoſe oppreſſions were not to be attributed to the ſyſtem of farming the revenues, but to the form of government, which of itſelf would naturally lead to arbitrary and oppreſſive modes of collection under any ſyſtem of revenue which might be adopted. In thoſe countries there was not, as in this, a parliament jealous of the rights and liberties of their fellow-ſubjects, and able to protect them; there the farmers were inveſted with their powers by the crown ſingly; whereas here, without the conſent of parliament, no ſuch powers could be given, even if a miniſter ſhould be deſirous to have them granted.

With reſpect to its being an innovation—that, he contended, was not, in fact, ſtrictly true. He referred to the turnpike duty, which, he obſerved, was of all others the moſt analogous in its nature and the mode of its collection to that under diſcuſſion; and which was almoſt univerſally let to farm. Another inſtance adduced by him was, that of the croſs-letter poſtage, which had been for many years let out to Mr. Allen, the gentleman who firſt ſuggeſted it.

A farther alarm had been taken, from an apprehenſion that the precedent might hereafter be followed up, and other branches of the revenue put under a ſimilar regulation. He denied that he had any ſuch intention; and he deſired the houſe to conſider, whether there was not ſomething in the poſt-horſe duty, which made it peculiarly proper to be placed under the new ſyſtem, and which might not be applicable to any other branch of the public revenue. He concluded with ſome obſervations upon the neceſſity of enforcing a vigorous and effectual collection of the revenue, as the only method of ſupporting the power and credit of the country.

Theſe arguments not appearing ſatisfactory to the minority, the houſe divided upon the queſtion, whether the bill ſhould be read the firſt time; when there appeared, ayes 76, noes 39.

The oppoſition was renewed upon the ſecond reading of the bill, and ſeveral ſtrong objections were made both to its principle and proviſions. It was urged by Mr. Marſham, that no proof had yet been afforded the houſe of the exiſtence of the frauds mentioned in the preamble, and not even an aſſertion, that the tax was declining in its produce. The reverſe indeed was the fact, it having increaſed in the laſt quarter upwards of 9,000l. Before the houſe adopted a meaſure of ſo new and important a nature, they ſhould at leaſt have the neceſſity of it eſtabliſhed by ſome ſort of evidence. He objected to the term of three years, for which time the farmers were to hold their contracts; he even doubted, he ſaid, whether the houſe could put the power of repealing a tax, or enacting neceſſary regulations reſpecting it, out of their reach for ſuch a ſpace of time.

Mr. Lambton ſtrongly condemned the bill, and the mode of proceeding upon it, as tending to eſtabliſh a dangerous precedent. The exiſtence of notorious frauds might be alledged in any other branch of the revenue, if no evidence or ſpecification of them was to be required by that houſe. It ought to be remarked, he ſaid, that the contractors were not to be deprived of their votes

votes at elections. This was the fruit which the minister looked forward to pluck from the tree he was planting; but he hoped the house would blast that fruit in its bud.

Mr. Bastard thought the bill in many respects unconstitutional. Besides the influence it tended to create, he thought the house could not delegate the powers of the executive government to others, who were not amenable to that house. The executive government, in adopting this measure, were getting rid of their responsibility, and the house was giving up their power of redress, which was the last thing they should part with. Provided the subject was aggrieved and complained, what could the house on such an occasion do?—Nothing, till the contract expired. The contractor knew this, and would be tempted to oppress by the security of his bargain. He was armed indeed with no other powers than what the government collectors possessed: but there would be an infinite difference in the execution of them between the avaricious rigour of a private person in the pursuit of his own interest, and the liberal proceedings of a board, who were only agents for the public.

Mr. Wyndham remarked upon the fallacy of the argument that had been used to prove that the public might gain, but could not lose by the bargain: the very reverse, he said, was the truth. It could not gain, because the produce of the tax being in a state of progressive improvement, and being put up to sale at its present rate, the farmers would take care not to raise the price beyond the certainty of reaping some profit from it: it might lose, because, upon a supposition that the present collection is 100,000l. and that the farmer consents to give 105,000l. yet if he, by an enforced collection, obtains 115,000l. we clearly give away 10,000l. for 5,000l. and the public pays the whole. Mr. Wyndham contended, that it was the duty of government to keep the collection in their own hands, and to try, by apt and proper regulations, to bring into the exchequer as much as possible of what was really paid, and not to put it in the power of grinding farmers of the revenue to make large fortunes at the public expence. He adverted also to the bad precedent, which the present bill would establish; and asked, whether any man ever introduced a precedent, of which a bad use might afterwards be made, in a manner glaringly objectionable in itself?

The bill was supported in its several stages by Mr. Grenville, the attorney general, Mr. Rolle, and Sir Richard Hill; and was finally carried, upon a division, by 162 to 95.

Early in the present session of parliament, a petition was presented to the house of commons from the debtors confined in the gaol of Newgate, in which, after representing the various hardships of their situation, and praying the house to take their case into consideration, they concluded in the following words: "At the same time they beg leave most humbly to remark, that by the breach of a civil contract (unless this honourable house pass a bill for their relief) they must linger away their unhappy lives in a loathsome gaol, while felons, who defy the laws of their country, suffer a less punishment, by enjoying their liberty

in a foreign country; they therefore pray they may be admitted to the privilege of chuſing the lot of felons, and be tranſported to New South Wales, if the wiſdom of this houſe ſhould not judge it proper to paſs a bill for their relief."

This ſingular petition was ſoon after followed by a bill for the relief of inſolvent debtors, which was introduced by Mr. Sawbridge, and paſſed, as bills of this kind have uſually done, through the houſe of commons, with little oppoſition. Upon the motion for the third reading, Mr. Gilbert begged leave to acquaint the houſe, that he had reaſon to ſuſpect, that the gaols were filling with priſoners, who, in order to take advantage of the inſolvent debtor's bill, made fraudulent aſſignments of their effects, and ſurrendered themſelves merely with a view to cheat their creditors; he ſhould therefore propoſe, that the third reading be deferred three weeks, for the purpoſe of enquiring into the fact. Mr. Alderman Le Meſurier (one of the ſheriffs of London) aſſured the houſe, that debtors had not come into the priſons that were under his authority faſter, or in greater proportions, than at other times. In fact, the chance of an inſolvent debtor's bill paſſing both houſes of parliament had of late years been ſo precarious, that no debtor in his ſenſes, who was at liberty, would caſt himſelf into priſon upon ſo uncertain a riſque as a ſpeedy delivery under the ſanction of ſuch a pending bill.

In the houſe of lords, upon the ſecond reading of the ſame bill, the lord chancellor, who had on all former occaſions uniformly expreſſed his opinion of the injuſtice as well as the inexpediency of acts of this nature, entered largely into the reaſons which induced him to ſtand forward in oppoſition to them. To break in upon that power of coercion of payment, with which the laws of this country had armed the creditor for the ſecurity of his property, was, he conceived, a manifeſt injuſtice. If there was to be ſuch a thing as impriſonment for debt, he ſaid, it ought to continue unchecked and unreſtrained, unleſs in caſes of flagrant oppreſſion and unneceſſary cruelty. The general idea, that humanity required the intervention of the legiſlature between the debtor and the creditor, was, he ſaid, a falſe notion, founded in error and dangerous in practice. He, who had frequent opportunities of knowing and witneſſing the temper of creditors, ſeldom found cauſe for complaint on the ground of their ſeverity, but, on the contrary, the lenity and kindneſs of the collective body of creditors, who daily came before him, were uniformly great, warm, and abundant. He had, in aid of his own obſervation, a great profeſſional authority (whoſe abſence, and the cauſe of it, every man muſt lament) for declaring, that for every twenty inſolvent debtors, there ſcarcely ever appeared in the courts of law one cruel creditor. Thoſe, therefore, who imagined the reverſe to be the fact, were egregiouſly miſtaken. It had been ſaid, that the laws reſpecting debtor and creditor, in meſne proceſs and in execution, ſtood in need of reviſion, with a view to alteration and amendment. Perhaps the aſſertion was in ſome degree founded; and he had no ſcruple to ſay, that he ſhould be extremely willing to pay every poſſible attention in his power to the conſideration of ſo weighty and important

portant a ſubject; but he earneſtly conjured their lordſhips not to countenance ſuch breaches of faith with creditors as occaſional inſolvent bills. With regard to the argument, that there were 3000 debtors in the different gaols, poſſibly there might be that number; but the number that could be ſtated under the circumſtances of an inſolvent bill, pending in parliament, was not the number that ought to be looked to as any guide to that houſe in forming and faſhioning their opinion with reſpect to the bill under conſideration. The number of priſoners in a gaol, including their ſuites, their families and attendants, was one number; the number of actual priſoners, either on meſne proceſs, or in execution, was another; and the number of priſoners on the ſpeculation of an inſolvent bill, was a third number; ſo that little argument was to be drawn from that conſideration, worthy of much reliance. A much greater evil than the loſs of liberty, he ſaid, was the diſſipation and corruption that prevailed in all our priſons; to that their lordſhips had better direct their attention, than to the defrauding the creditor of his chance of recovering his property, by letting looſe his debtor, and taking from him the hopes of payment. He drew the diſtinction between debtors in reſpect to trade, and debtors of other deſcriptions, and ſpoke of the ancient uſage by which a tradeſman, who could not pay his debts, was puniſhable. Afterwards, as the principles of trade became better underſtood, more enlarged ideas prevailed, and the bankrupt laws were inſtituted for the relief of thoſe traders who had, through unforeſeen misfortunes, incurred debts to greater amount, than their capitals and the ſums owing to them would ſatisfy. Theſe laws had ever been deemed a generous proviſion, as well as a wiſe protection, for caſes of that deſcription. On the other hand, thoſe who ran in debt, knowing that they ſhould never be able to pay, were certainly fit ſubjects of that ſeverity which the law, as it ſtood, empowered their creditors to exerciſe towards them. The preſent bill, he obſerved, made no ſort of diſtinction between the two deſcriptions, but provided equally for the liberation of all debtors of almoſt every deſcription; and conſequently, being indiſcriminate in its object, could not poſſibly be juſt. With regard to the clauſe, which related to commiſſioned and non-commiſſioned officers, he was very ready, he ſaid, to aſſiſt to extend the arm of the public to the relief of that deſerving deſcription of men; but then he could not conſent to extend the arm of the public to their relief at the expence of individuals. The clauſe extending the benefit of the act to fugitives beyond ſea, he conſidered as peculiarly objectionable. Such a clauſe would afford encouragement to bad-minded men to get into debt, go abroad, and after having there ſpent in diſſipation and at their eaſe, all the remains of their fortune, or rather of the property of others, which they carried off with them, to come back and take advantage of an inſolvent act, to enable them to begin their career of fraud over again.

After urging ſeveral other objections to particular clauſes of the bill, he took notice of the act commonly known by the name of the lords act, upon which he conſi-

dered

dered all such bills, as that now under consideration, to be unwarrantable intrusions. Besides, an alteration had been lately made in that act of considerable benefit to debtors. He had been prevailed upon two years ago by a noble earl (lord Effingham) to consent to extend the sum limited by that act from 100 l. to 200 l. which, considering the difference in the value of money now from what it was, when this act first passed, he thought not unreasonable.

Another argument urged by him against the bill was drawn from the preamble of the last insolvent debtor's act, which passed soon after the riots in 1780. That preamble was not, he said, of his drawing, but of a much abler man; and the plain meaning of it was, an intimation to creditors that it was not very likely that any more insolvent bills would be passed: now, though he would admit that one parliament could undo what a preceding parliament had done, he asked their lordships, whether they were willing so wantonly and rudely to trample on the authority of a former act, and break the fœderal compact, which by that preamble they had, as it were, entered into with creditors?

Having gone through these various objections, his lordship said, he was ready to allow, that the laws respecting debtors and creditors, as they then stood, were very imperfect and doubtless required a revision. He threw out several ideas of his own upon the subject, and expressed his hopes, that the business would without delay be seriously taken up by the legislature.

Lord Rawdon rose after the chancellor, in defence of the bill. He said, he saw the policy of imprisonment for debt in a very different light from that, in which his lordship had viewed it; and thought the abuse of the laws authorizing such a practice matter of serious complaint. After entering largely into the nature and history of those laws, he said, the learned lord had admitted that they ought to be revised; till their lordships therefore had the virtue and industry to institute such a revision, were they not bound in justice, as well as humanity, to afford a remedy against their abuse? He allowed that frequent insolvent bills were not perhaps the best remedy the case admitted; but he contended, that they were bound to apply such a remedy from time to time, so long as they suffered the law to remain in its present defective condition. He therefore felt himself obliged to support the bill then before the house: it was the cause both of humanity to the individuals, and of justice to the public. Three thousand debtors were at that moment locked up in prisons, and maintained in inactivity, whose services the public had a right to require at their hands. Upon a division the bill was lost, by a majority of 25 to 12.

On the 15th of this month, Mr. Grey requested the attention of the house of commons to certain abuses and corrupt transactions in the post office, which had come to his knowledge in consequence of the dismission of a noble relation of his (the earl of Tankerville) from the office of joint postmaster-general, and which were not likely to be remedied, otherwise than by a parliamentary enquiry, as the part taken by the minister in the business would clearly prove. The several facts, 15th May.

upon

upon which this accuſation was founded, as they afterwards appeared confirmed by the report of the committee appointed to enquire thereinto, were as follow:

Firſt, that in the year 1775 Mr. Lees, on receiving an appointment to be ſecretary to the poſt office in Ireland, entered into ſecurity to pay the ſum of 350 l. a year out of the profits of that office to a perſon deſcribed by the letters A. B. but whoſe real name, when the earl of Tankerville firſt attempted to examine into this tranſaction, Mr. Lees conſidered himſelf bound to conceal. It afterwards appeared that this perſon was a Mr. Treves, an intimate friend of lord Carteret, who was, at the time of the above appointment, joint poſtmaſter-general with lord Le Deſpencer and privy to the whole tranſaction. It appeared from the evidence of Mr. Todd, ſecretary to the poſt office, that lord Carteret was greatly diſpleaſed and diſquieted by the diſcovery of this buſineſs, and that he, Mr. Todd, had at the time expreſſed his diſapprobation of it to both poſtmaſters-general.—Secondly, it appeared that the payment of an annuity of 200 l. had been exacted from a Mr. Daſhwood, appointed poſtmaſter-general of Jamaica, as the condition of his appointment, and had been regularly paid by him to Mr. Treves; and that the ſaid Mr. Treves had never performed any public ſervice in the poſt office, or in any other public department, to entitle him to any public reward.—Thirdly, Mr. Molyneux, agent to the packets at Helvoetſluys, had been permitted, with the knowledge of lord Carteret, to diſpoſe of that office to a Mr. Hutchinſon, for a ſum of money; and it appeared that complaints had been made againſt the ſaid Mr. Hutchinſon for miſconduct in his office.—Fourthly, it had appeared that none of theſe tranſactions were entered in the books of the office, but, on the contrary, had been kept concealed.—Fifthly, an undue preference had been ſhewn to a Mr. Staunton, poſtmaſter at Iſleworth, whoſe place was worth 400 l.; in addition to which he was appointed comptroller of the bye and croſs road letter office, to which a ſalary of 500 l. a year, and the perquiſites of coals and candles, are attached, and 100 l. was afterward granted him in lieu of an houſe.—Sixthly, various and extraordinary abuſes were ſtated to exiſt in the management of the packet boats, particularly that no deduction had been made from the hire of any veſſels whilſt under repair, ſeizure for ſmuggling, or when unemployed; and that they were frequently for many months together in that ſituation.—Seventhly, the undue receipt of perquiſites and incidents, particularly in coals, candles, tin ware, and various articles of furniture, by the poſtmaſters-general, and others having appointments in the poſt office, were ſtated as being ſhameful and exceſſive.—Laſtly, to bring theſe matters home to the miniſter, it was ſtated by Mr. Grey, that lord Tankerville, while in office, had buſied himſelf attentively in endeavouring to correct the abuſes in queſtion, had ſuggeſted ſeveral plans for their prevention in future, and had communicated thoſe plans to the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer; that he had received great commendation for his zeal and attention, and had been promiſed ſupport: but that his colleague, lord Carteret, not viewing theſe abuſes in the ſame criminal light that he did,

did, and refuſing to concur in the neceſſary ſteps for preventing them, a quarrel had enſued between the two noble lords, and it became impoſſible that they ſhould continue joint poſtmaſters-general any longer. This being the fact, an ordinary obſerver, he ſaid, would have imagined, that the right honourable gentleman would not have diſmiſſed the poſtmaſter-general, who had ſhewn himſelf anxious for a reform and had taken ſo much pains to effect it; but the other poſtmaſter-general, who was a protector of the abuſes in queſtion, and the oppoſer of the neceſſary reform. Inſtead, however, of diſmiſſing lord Carteret, the right honourable gentleman had ſuddenly diſmiſſed his noble relation in a manner the moſt unexampled and extraordinary. — Mr. Grey reaſoned upon theſe circumſtances and ſaid, that it was clear there could be no motive for diſmiſſing the earl of Tankerville, but that noble lord's having preferred doing his duty to every other conſideration. He conceived, therefore, that the right honourable chancellor of the exchequer had acted in a manner deſerving of cenſure; and with a view to eſtabliſh that fact, as well as the other charges againſt lord Carteret, which he had ſtated in the courſe of his ſpeech, he concluding with moving, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into certain abuſes in the poſt office."

Mr. Pitt replied, that as the honourable gentleman had not only brought a charge of abuſes in the poſt office, but alſo a charge againſt the noble lord, who preſided in that office, and againſt himſelf for having removed his noble relation, he conceived it would not be for the honour of either to make any objection to the motion; he therefore gave it his aſſent, and hoped the honourable gentleman would uſe all poſſible diligence to bring forward a report before the cloſe of the preſent ſeſſion. As to the charge made by the honourable gentleman, that he was inclined to wink at abuſes in the poſt office, or in any other public eſtabliſhment, it was a charge wholly unwarranted by fact, and unſupported by any reaſonable preſumption. So far was he from being backward in his endeavours to promote official reforms, that he had ſuggeſted a meaſure for the general reform of all thoſe very abuſes relative to ſhipping and other matters which the honourable gentleman had mentioned, as might be ſeen by a reference to the office reform bill.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan attacked Mr. Pitt, upon the ground of the facts brought forward by Mr. Grey, as a magnificent promiſer of reformations in the ſtate, but a miſerable performer, and as a miniſter, who had made as prudent and intereſted an uſe of the influence of the crown in the diſtribution of places and emoluments, and particularly in beſtowing titles and honours, as any other whatſoever. With reſpect to the diſmiſſion of the earl of Tankerville, it was not, they obſerved, to be imagined, that any merits of his could ſtand a moment in competition with thoſe of the diſtinguiſhed perſon, who ſucceeded him, (Mr. Jenkinſon) now a peer of Great Britain, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter, and firſt lord of the new board of trade; a perſon, againſt whoſe intereſt the diſmiſſion of an whole adminiſtration did not weigh a feather. Mr. Sheridan concluded by reminding Mr. Pitt of his clamorous oppoſition to lord North, and

and particularly of his celebrated triumph over that noble lord on the ſubject of kitchens, tape, and whip-cord.

Theſe obſervations brought on, as topicks of that kind uſually did, a diſcuſſion of the coalition; againſt which Mr. Pitt inveighed in reply, with great ſeverity. He afterwards remarked, that he had made the ſpeech alluded to, reſpecting whip-cord, &c. while the noble lord was in office, and himſelf on the other ſide of the houſe, and that he had ſtated them not as charges againſt the noble lord in the blue ribband, but as a proof of the want of regulation and check in the particulars to which they alluded. With regard to nothing having been done in the way of reform, let any man, he ſaid, look at the ſtate of the country before the time that he came into office, and let him look at it then, and ſee if nothing had been done. With reſpect to the uſe he had made of the influence of the crown in adviſing the appointments to places, and the beſtowal of titles and honours, he had done that which he ſhould ever do; he had adviſed the crown ſo to exerciſe the royal prerogative in both thoſe inſtances, as ſhould beſt contribute to give luſtre, vigour, and firmneſs to his majeſty's government, and therefore the honourable gentleman had paid him a much greater compliment than he intended.

Mr. Adam remarked, that the right honourable gentleman was correct in ſtating that he was in oppoſition and not in office, when he made the charges relative to whip-cord, the new kitchens in Downing-ſtreet houſe, &c. againſt lord North. He would not have preſumed to have ſaid a ſyllable of that nature, while the noble lord was out of office, and whilſt any hopes remained of forming a coalition with him. The noble lord had ſince joined himſelf to men of the firſt genius, ability, and virtue in the nation, and the right honourable gentleman had taken the only part that was left him, he had given vent to his chagrin in illiberal abuſe, and to make himſelf ſome amends for his diſappointment, had taken into his ſervice thoſe former dependents on the noble lord, who, by their conduct, had proved how much his confidence had been miſplaced.

Mr. Fox, in corroboration of the remark made by Mr. Adam, obſerved, that when the preſent miniſter ſtood up in 1782, after the noble lord had been driven from his poſt, and declared againſt any retroſpective cenſures againſt that adminiſtration, it was underſtood and believed that he wiſhed to court the noble lord with a view to a junction.—Mr. Pitt ſaid acroſs the table, "Who underſtood ſo?" Mr. Fox replied, I did for one, and ſo I have reaſon to believe did many others, from the converſation I then held with them. Certain it was (he added) that before the coalition the right honourable gentleman never expreſſed himſelf with that acrimony, which he had ſince uſed when ſpeaking of the noble lord.

Mr. Pitt denied the fact, and concluded, that the right honourable gentleman choſe to forget all that had paſſed previous to the coalition. He choſe, however, to date *his* recollection from his firſt appearance in that houſe, and to appeal to all who had witneſſed his conduct, whether he had not uniformly perſiſted in declaring, that he thought the noble lord a bad miniſter, and that he never would act with him in any public ſituation as a miniſter.

Some

Some expreſſions having fallen from Mr. Pitt, which Mr. Grey conſidered as reflecting injuriouſly upon the motives, which had led him to undertake the preſent enquiry, the latter roſe with great warmth, and ſaid, that conſcious as he was of being actuated by fair and honourable conſiderations, no man ſhould dare to impute unworthy motives to him. Mr. Pitt remonſtrated againſt this tone of defiance; and declared he ſhould call his motives in queſtion whenever his conduct appeared to warrant it. If the honourable member choſe his motives ſhould not be queſtioned, he muſt take care that his conduct was ſuch as not to make it neceſſary. Mr. Grey anſwered, that he ſhould never act in that houſe upon any principle, which did not appear to him honourable, and therefore he ſhould not ſuffer any perſon to impute diſhonourable motives to him; and if he could not obtain that indulgence in the houſe, he had thoſe means in his power to which it would then be proper to reſort. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Sheridan riſing together, the latter obtained a hearing firſt, and endeavoured to appeaſe the heat that had ariſen, by obſerving, that he believed his honourable friend had miſunderſtood the words of the chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Pitt declared that he had not before ſpoken with heat, nor ſhould there be any heat in what he was going to ſay. He then repeated the argument of his former ſpeech; and added, that with reſpect to any other means the honourable gentleman might wiſh to reſort to, he ſhould reſerve his anſwer for the occaſion.

The queſtion was carried without a diviſion, and on the 23d of May the report was brought up from the committee. A motion for printing it was rejected, and it was ordered to be taken into conſideration on the 28th. On that day Mr. Grey roſe, and ſaid, that the accuracy of the report of the committee rendered it unneceſſary for him to trouble the houſe with a minute detail of the ſubject of their inveſtigation. Entertaining therefore no doubt but the facts he had ſtated would appear fully proved, it was for the houſe to conſider firſt the nature of the offence, and ſecondly the degree of cenſure or puniſhment it deſerved. Mr. Grey, after diſcuſſing theſe two points with great ability, declared that he conſidered the chancellor of the exchequer as the perſon the moſt culpable in the whole buſineſs; firſt for having neglected, after his many vaunting promiſes of the reformation he ſhould make, to correct the ſmalleſt abuſe; ſecondly, for having diſmiſſed lord Tankerville after giving him reaſon to believe, that he ſhould be ſupported in the attempts he was making to check the enormous abuſes of the poſt office; and laſtly, for having ſacrificed that noble earl to his own perſonal intereſt, by accommodating with his place the perſon, who had ſeated him in his preſent ſituation, and who he knew could diſmiſs him with a nod. Mr. Grey concluded with moving, "That it appears to this "houſe that great abuſes have "prevailed in the poſt office, and "that the ſame being made known "to his majeſty's miniſters, it is "their duty, without loſs of time, "to make uſe of ſuch meaſures as "are in their power to reform "them."

Lord Maitland undertook the defence of the poſt office. He ſaid the

the facts contained in the report were of the moſt ſtale, trivial, and unimportant nature, that had ever engaged the attention of a houſe of parliament. The grant of 350l. a year to Mr. Treves, an intimate friend of lord Carteret, was no charge whatever to the public, nor any impediment to the public buſineſs, but was, with the conſent of the party moſt intereſted, paid out of the exiſting emoluments of the office of ſecretary of the poſt office in Dublin. That ſuch a meaſure was not ſtrictly juſtifiable he was ready to admit, but it was by no means unprecedented; and, compared with the tranſactions that took place in every public office only ten years ago, it was purity itſelf. Nor indeed had it been even inſinuated, that it originated in any thing like a corrupt motive in lord Carteret. The next tranſaction was that of Mr. Daſhwood, poſtmaſter of Jamaica, which was, as the honourable gentleman had ſtated it, exactly ſimilar to that of the 350l. and therefore required no new obſervations. With regard to the permiſſion of Mr. Molyneux to reſign the agency of the Helvoetſluys packet boats to Mr. Hutchinſon, that was a tranſaction founded in a charitable intention to relieve an unfortunate man from priſon; and, if there were any criminality in the tranſaction, it was as much imputable to the earl of Tankerville as to lord Carteret, ſince the noble earl had taken as great a part in it as the noble lord; but, in his opinion, there was no criminality imputable to either. He then went into the other facts ſtated in the report, and commented upon each, with a view to ſhew that it was either not perſonal to lord Carteret, or of a trivial nature. With reſpect to the two one-half per-centage allowed to the perſon, who managed the packet boats, and the other abuſes in that department, as ſtated in the report, they appeared to him to be the moſt important, and to require a thorough reform: but he did not conceive them to be fit ſubjects for parliamentary cenſure, and therefore he ſhould firſt move the previous queſtion, and afterwards that the farther conſideration of the report ſhould be put off for three months.

Mr. Pitt obſerved, that the motion could not be deſigned to provide for a reform of the abuſes complained of, ſince that had been effectually done already by a bill, which he had himſelf the honour of bringing into that houſe three years ago: it muſt therefore be meant for the purpoſe of throwing blame upon the conduct of the noble lord at the head of the poſt office, and of cenſuring himſelf for the part he had taken in the arrangement, by which the noble earl had been removed from it. With regard to the former point, the conduct of lord Carteret had, he conceived, been ſufficiently juſtified by the honourable member who preceded him. With reſpect to the latter, he apprehended that the houſe ſeemed to feel the impropriety of entertaining ſuch a diſcuſſion, as it certainly belonged ſolely to the executive government to diſpoſe of all public employments; and parliament ſhould be very cautious how it attempted to controul or queſtion the diſcretion with which that power was exerciſed. It certainly had been found neceſſary to remove one or other of the noble lords, as their differences had riſen

riſen to ſuch a height that they could not even ſit in the ſame room with ſatisfaction; and that diſcretion, with which government was inveſted, had led them to determine the alternative againſt the earl of Tankerville. The neceſſity of removing one of thoſe noblemen, and the vacancy which muſt follow from ſuch removal, had afforded an opportunity of accommodating a noble lord who had been alluded to, and to whom gentlemen might allude as often as they pleaſed, in the way in which they did, ſo long as he was perſuaded that every favour which had been conferred upon that noble perſon, ſince he had any ſhare in his majeſty's councils, had been fully earned by the moſt able and meritorious ſervices. But the vacancy was not made for the ſake of accommodating the noble lord, as it was evident that the two noble lords could not poſſibly continue to act together; and whether the noble earl (Tankerville) or lord Carteret had been removed, it would have made no difference with reſpect to lord Hawkeſbury; for, in either caſe, there would have been an opening for him. Beſides, there certainly was nothing perſonal intended againſt the noble earl of Tankerville; for, at the very moment of his removal from the poſt office, there was an arrangement ſet on foot for the purpoſe of accommodating him, but his lordſhip would not liſten to it. Other matters, he ſaid, had fallen from the honourable member, of which he believed the houſe did not expect he ſhould take notice, and which indeed nothing but the ſhortneſs of the time which that gentleman had ſat there, and his conſequent ignorance of parliamentary uſages, could juſtify.

Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the gravity with which this reproof, totally unmerited as he conceived, was beſtowed upon his friend by the right honourable gentleman, the veteran ſtateſman of four years experience, the Neſtor of twenty-five.—Mr. Fox declared, that he thought the whole proceeding on the part of adminiſtration moſt extraordinary, and to the gentlemen, who brought the enquiry forward, extremely unfair. He had not failed in eſtabliſhing his facts by proof; and if it was meant to do nothing in conſequence, why did they ſuffer the committee to be appointed at all? It was clear, that when the miniſter conſented to the committee, he thought that no proofs could be obtained, and that it would end in the diſgrace of thoſe, who deſired an enquiry. Now that the honourable member had made good his charges, and preſented a report, the whole buſineſs was repreſented to be trifling and frivolous. In reply to an obſervation of Mr. Pitt's, that Mr. Grey's conduct ſhewed him to be a party man, Mr. Fox ſaid, that the honourable gentleman was not at preſent of that deſcription, but he hoped by degrees he might become a party man: he defended the term, and maintained, that as long as there were great conſtitutional queſtions, reſpecting which there were differences of opinion, to be a party man was to act the moſt honourable part. In this country there were known differences of opinion upon great queſtions, and upon none more, than on the manner in which the right honourable gentleman himſelf came laſt into office.—

The previous queſtion being carried in the negative, the ſecond motion was agreed to without a diviſion.

On the 18th of May, a queſtion, ariſing out of the late deciſion of the houſe upon the 13th of February, relative to the repreſentation of the Scotch peerage, was brought before the lords by the earl of Hopetoun. It was ſtated by his lordſhip, that at the election for two peers to ſupply the places of the two noble perſons lately created peers of Great Britain, the votes of the dukes of Queenſberry and Gordon had been received by the lord regiſtrar, contrary to the reſolution of that houſe of January 1708-9. The reſolution being read, to the following effect, "That at any election of the ſixteen peers of Scotland to repreſent the Scotch peerage in the Britiſh parliament, or of any one or more of them, no Scotch peer who had been created a Britiſh peer by patent ſince the union, ſhould be entitled to vote"—lord Hopetoun moved, "That a copy of the ſaid reſolution be tranſmitted to the lord regiſtrar of Scotland, as a rule for his future proceeding in caſes of election."

The duke of Queenſberry objected to this motion, as materially affecting his rights; and deſired, on his own part and that of the duke of Gordon, who was out of England, to be heard by counſel, before the houſe proceeded to a deciſion.—This was objected to as irregular, ſince the queſtion was not, whether the houſe ſhould come to any new reſolution, but whether they ſhould not notify to an officer concerned a reſolution already agreed to.

The lord chancellor took this opportunity of again cautioning the houſe how they proceeded precipitately to decide a queſtion of much greater importance, than might, upon the firſt bluſh of it, appear. He ſtated, that a reſolution of either houſe of parliament, however unanimouſly carried, did not conſtitute law: and as a proof how little they were to be conſidered as legal deciſions, he ſtated, that on the 20th of December, 1711, two years after the former reſolution, the houſe paſſed another, by which two Scotch dukes, who had been created Britiſh peers, were declared incapable of ſitting in that houſe as Britiſh peers. He then reaſoned upon the palpable injuſtice and abſurdity of theſe two reſolutions. The firſt took away the votes of the noble dukes as Scotch peers, and the other deprived them of their ſeats as Britiſh peers. The reſolution of 1711 was, undoubtedly, a very great hardſhip and it had lately been done away; but how? Not by a reſolution, but by an act of parliament. In like manner, if, upon mature conſideration and deliberate diſcuſſion, it ſhould be thought right to make the reſolution of 1708-9 effectual, let it be done by due courſe of parliamentary proceeding; let a bill be brought in, and paſs through its regular ſtages, but by no means let the houſe, acting judicially, decide a matter, that involved in it the private rights of individuals. Whenever the queſtion, whether the right of a Scotch peer, who had been created a Britiſh peer by patent, to vote at the election of Scotch peers to ſerve in parliament, came to be finally decided, there were other important conſiderations to be decided at the ſame time. For inſtance, ſuppoſe a Scotch peer was made a biſhop; did he, in that

caſe, loſe his right to vote at an election of any of the ſixteen peers? When a Scotch peer was created a Britiſh peer by patent, ought his ſons to be deemed ineligible to ſit in the other houſe? Theſe, and a variety of other queſtions, intimately connected with the reſolution in diſcuſſion, which preſented themſelves to his mind, conſiderably increaſed the importance of the caſe, and pointed out the propriety of not deciding upon the ſubject precipitately.

The motion was ably defended by lord Kinnaird, who ſaid, that the queſtion ſeemed to him confined within very narrow limits, as its obvious purport and intent was to give full effect to a ſolemn determination and reſolution of that houſe, as a conſtruction of law, and which conſtruction had been put upon that law within a few months after the different acts relative thereto had paſſed that houſe. He perfectly agreed with the noble and learned lord, that a reſolution of that houſe could not conſtitute or make a law; but he could not help believing that a ſolemn conſtruction of the exiſting ſtatutes by the only court of judicature, before which the ſubject could be agitated, and ſuch conſtruction adopted by the very perſons, who had been themſelves framers of the ſtatutes, entitled him to aſſert that to be law, which otherwiſe it might have been poſſible to have entertained doubts of.

The hiſtory of mankind had not furniſhed our anceſtors with any example of the union of two countries circumſtanced as England and Scotland were in the year 1706, by which the reſpective rights and franchiſes of the individuals of Scotland were to be finally ſettled and arranged, though exceedingly diſſimilar to thoſe of the ſubjects of the country with which Scotland was to become united; and therefore it was not ſurpriſing that ſome of the terms of the treaty might be liable to miſinterpretation, and particularly thoſe which related to the peerage.

An elective peerage was a thing perfectly novel in its nature, and though much praiſe is due to the accuracy with which this ſtatute of the 6th of queen Anne is drawn up, yet it is not very ſurpriſing that the firſt election in 1708 ſhould have given birth to a great variety of queſtions relative to the mode of conſtruing the acts for regulating the manner of elections. Accordingly on that occaſion a petition was preſented to the houſe, complaining of a great variety of irregularities; and the houſe, anxious to preclude the poſſibility of future cavil and doubt reſpecting the true intent and meaning of the treaty, and of the different acts on that ſubject, adopted a mode the moſt ſuited to its own dignity and the ſolemnity of its proceeding, and the beſt calculated to effect the object it had in view.

A ſtring of abſtract queſtions were ſtated to the houſe, ariſing out of the circumſtances, which had happened at the election, and counſel having been heard thereon, it came to ſolemn reſolutions on each, and after having ſo done, ordered a committee to report as to the number of votes for each candidate, according to the applications of thoſe reſolutions. The reſolution which their lordſhips had heard read that day was one of them, and was the only one, which any attempt had been made to infringe, although it had been held and conſidered completely as law for near fourſcore years; their

their lordſhips therefore could not be offended with him for affirming that ſuch is the law, when he is ſanctioned by the weight of their own authority and the acquieſcence of all thoſe who were intereſted for 79 years.

He could not therefore admit, that the intereſt of the two noble perſons, to whom it was reſerved to diſcover that theſe ſolemn reſolutions of their lordſhips were founded on a miſconſtruction of law, were now before them. He muſt affirm, that the matter was already ſettled; and the only object of this motion was, to prevent theſe noble perſons from adopting a mode of making their claim, which was injurious to thoſe, who thought their rights protected by this reſolution.

The duke of Queenſberry admitted, that if the reſolution of 1708-9 was good for any thing, he had no ground to ſtand upon; but he ſhould ſtill contend that a reſolution of that houſe was not final and concluſive; and therefore, if the preſent motion were carried, his rights were injured materially, becauſe, if the preſent motion ſhould paſs, and he ſhould afterwards offer to vote at any future election, his vote would be refuſed, and conſequently he ſhould not ſtand in the ſituation he then did, as ſeveral noble lords had contended.

The earl of Morton ſaid, that he ſaw no reaſon to prefer one reſolution of the houſe to another. As that of 1711 had been conſidered as unjuſt, why might not the other reſolution of 1708-9 be deemed liable to the ſame imputation. At leaſt till he heard ſome good reaſon to the contrary, he ſhould hold himſelf entitled ſo to conſider it. The act of union directed that ſixteen Scotch peers ſhould be choſen by all the Scotch peerage, to be their repreſentatives in parliament; why therefore were they to ſet up diſtinctions contradictory to an expreſs act of parliament?

The duke of Richmond obſerved, that it appeared to him unjuſt to paſs the preſent motion in the abſence of one noble duke, whoſe rights would be materially affected by it; and when another noble duke ſtanding in the ſame ſituation, deſired to be heard by his counſel in defence of his rights. The duke contended, that no judicial court ever took upon themſelves, upon their own mere motion, and without a new caſe before them, to promulgate a judgment long ſince delivered. He recommended a procedure by bill, in preference to the propoſed motion, becauſe it would remove all ground of complaint of injury, and afford the parties, who conceived their rights infringed upon, abundant opportunity of making out their claims in the progreſs of the bill through its various ſtages.—The motion made by lord Hopetoun was at length carried by a conſiderable majority.

Soon after the deciſion of this queſtion in the houſe of lords, viz. on the 23d of May, another queſtion, reſpecting the conſtruction of the act of union, was agitated in the houſe of commons. It aroſe in conſequence of the ſucceſſion of the preſent earl of Wemys to that earldom, whoſe eldeſt ſon, Francis Charteris, now lord Elcho, repreſented the boroughs of Lauder, &c. in Scotland.—By the ancient parliamentary law of Scotland the eldeſt ſons of peers could not ſit in the houſe of commons; and by an article in the act of union it is provided,

that the two kingdoms ſhould participate reciprocally in the benefits, advantages, rights, and immunities of each other. The motion made by ſir John Sinclair was to the following purport, "That a new writ ſhould "be made out for electing a mem- "ber for the diſtricts of Lauder, &c. "in the room of Francis Charteris, "eſq; now become the eldeſt ſon "of a peer of Scotland, and there- "by incapable of repreſenting the "ſaid diſtricts in this houſe."

In ſupport of the motion the journals of the 3d December 1708 were referred to, in which it appeared, that on the petition of Alexander Irvine and others againſt the election of lord Haddo, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Aberdeen, the ſame, after a diſcuſſion in a full houſe, was declared null and void by a conſiderable majority; as was alſo about the ſame time that of lord Charles Douglas. It was urged that theſe proceedings, which were clear and decided, occurred within a year of the ſettlement of the union; at a time when the true intention of the parties who negotiated it could be readily aſcertained; and therefore the precedents were to be conſidered as the rule of conduct laid down by the houſe upon the moſt unqueſtionable principles. With reſpect to the reciprocity of advantages, rights, and immunities provided for in the act of union, it would be found to exiſt in its true ſenſe, without any infringement upon the peculiar uſages of Scotland.—A noble member (lord Maitland) the eldeſt ſon of a Scotch earl, had by his merit obtained a ſeat in that houſe for an Engliſh borough; and there was no hindrance to an Engliſh nobleman under the ſame circumſtances obtaining a ſeat for a Scotch townſhip or county.

On the other hand it was urged, that there was no precedent for diſpoſſeſſing the ſon of a Scotch peer of his ſeat, when he had been legally elected, and the title had devolved to the father pending the ſeſſion of a parliament.—It was further urged, that the precedents referred to were all caſes, which had occurred in times of great party violence; and the words of biſhop Burnet were quoted, who, ſpeaking of that period, ſays, "The court and whigs had joined, "and were determined to carry "every thing their own way; ſo "that the whigs unbluſhingly de- "cided elections without regard to "juſtice or any other conſideration "but their own party feelings "againſt the tories."—In the next place it was contended, that the reciprocity of advantages ſtated in the act of union was deſtroyed by depriving the eldeſt ſons of Scotch peers of any rights poſſeſſed by the ſons of Engliſh peers; and the houſe was reminded, that there had been a period when the ſons of Engliſh peers had been in like manner diſabled from ſitting in that houſe. The ſpeakers for the motion were ſir John Sinclair, Mr. Dundas, ſir James Johnſtone, and ſir Adam Ferguſſon; againſt it the lords Beauchamp, Maitland, and Elcho.—The motion was carried without a diviſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Accuſation of Mr. Haſtings. Celebrated ſpeech of Mr. Sheridan on the third charge, reſpecting the Begums of Oude; its remarkable effects; houſe adjourn thereon; debate reſumed; opinion of Mr. Pitt reſpecting the matter of the charge—voted by a large majority. Mr. Burke propoſes to come directly to the queſtion of impeachment; oppoſed by Mr. Pitt. Converſation relative to the evidence and proſecution of Sir Elijah Impey. Fourth charge, relative to the Nabob of Farruckabad, opened by Mr. T. Pelham. Reaſons of Mr. Dundas for voting for the charge. Speech by lord Hood in favour of Mr. Haſtings; anſwered by Mr. Pitt. Difficulties under which the accuſers of Mr. Haſtings laboured. Fifth charge, relative to contracts and ſalaries, opened by Sir James Erſkine. Mr. Pitt objects to a great part of the charge—moves to have it confined to three points. Mr. Burke moves, that two others ſhould be added. Mr. Burke's amendment carried. Altercation between Mr. Francis and Mr. Pitt. Sixth charge, reſpecting Fyzoola Khân, opened by Mr. Wyndham. Criminal parts of the charge ſtated by Mr. Dundas. Explanation by Mr. Burke. Propoſal of Mr. Pitt for bringing forward the queſtion of impeachment; acceded to by Mr. Burke. Seventh charge, relative to bribes and preſents, opened by Mr. Sheridan; ſupported by Lord Mulgrave and Mr. Grenville. Report from the committee on the charges read a firſt time. Converſation reſpecting the mode of proceeding. Opinion of Mr. Fox—of Mr. Pitt—of Mr. Burke. Motion to read the report a ſecond time, objected to by Major Scott. Paper read containing the ſentiments of Mr. Haſtings reſpecting the proſecution. Committee to prepare articles of impeachment. Eighth charge, reſpecting the revenues of Bengal, opened by Mr. Francis; he vindicates himſelf from ſuſpicions of perſonal enmity to Mr. Haſtings. Mr. Pitt's obſervations on the eighth charge. Converſation between Mr. Barwell and Mr. Burke, reſpecting his impeaching the former. Articles of impeachment read a firſt time; motion for reading them a ſecond time oppoſed by Lord Hood, Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Smith, lord advocate for Scotland, and Mr. Alderman Townſhend—ſupported by Mr. Pitt—carried by a great majority. Queſtion of impeachment oppoſed by Mr. Sumner—carried without a diviſion. Mr. Montagu moves, that Mr. Burke do impeach Mr. Haſtings at the bar of the Houſe of Lords—ordered. Motion for taking Mr. Haſtings into cuſtody oppoſed by Mr. Nicholls—ordered. Lords acquainted therewith. Mr. Haſtings delivered to the Black Rod—brought to the bar—articles read—admitted to bail—ordered to give in his anſwer the ſecond day of the next meeting of parliament. Speaker's addreſs to the King. King's ſpeech. Parliament prorogued.

HAVING related in their order the principal matters that occurred in the ordinary proceedings of the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, we muſt go back to that great object, which engaged in a peculiar manner the attention of the houſe of commons during the ſame period—the accuſation and impeachment of Mr. Haſtings. No

time was loſt at the commencement of the ſeſſion in bringing forward this buſineſs with all poſſible expedition. On the firſt day of the meeting, Jan. 23d, Mr. Burke gave notice that he ſhould renew the proceedings on the firſt day of February following. That and the following day were ſpent in examining Mr. Middleton and Sir Elijah Impey; and on Wedneſday the ſeventh Mr. Sheridan opened the third charge againſt Mr. Haſtings, viz. the reſumption of the jaghires, and the confiſcation of the treaſures of the princeſſes of Oude, the mother and grandmother of the reigning nabob.

The ſubject of this charge was peculiarly fitted for diſplaying all the pathetic powers of eloquence; and never were they diſplayed with greater ſkill, force, and elegance, than upon this occaſion. For five hours and an half Mr. Sheridan kept the attention of the houſe (which from the expectation of the day was uncommonly crowded) faſcinated by his eloquence; and when he ſat down, the whole houſe, the members, peers, and ſtrangers, involuntarily joined in a tumult of applauſe, and adopted a mode of expreſſing their approbation, new and irregular in that houſe, by loudly and repeatedly clapping with their hands. Mr. Burke declared it to be the moſt aſtoniſhing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there is any record or tradition. Mr. Fox ſaid, "All that he had ever heard—all that he had ever read, when compared with it, dwindled into nothing, and vaniſhed like vapour before the ſun." Mr. Pitt acknowledged, that it ſurpaſſed all the eloquence of antient or modern times, and poſſeſſed every thing that genius or art could furniſh to agitate and control the human mind. The effects it produced were proportioned to its merits: after a conſiderable ſuſpenſion of the debate, one of the friends of Mr. Haſtings with ſome difficulty obtained, for a ſhort time, a hearing; but finding the houſe too ſtrongly affected by what they had heard, to liſten to him with favour, ſat down again. Several members confeſſed, that they had come down ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the perſon accuſed, and imagined nothing leſs than a miracle could have wrought ſo entire a revolution in their ſentiments. Others declared, that though they could not reſiſt the conviction that flaſhed upon their minds, yet they wiſhed to have time to cool before they were called upon to vote; and though they were perſuaded that it would require another miracle to produce another change in their opinions, yet for the ſake of decorum, they thought it proper that the debate ſhould be adjourned. Mr. Fox and Mr. M. A. Taylor ſtrongly oppoſed this propoſition, contending that it was not leſs abſurd than unparliamentary to defer coming to a vote for no other reaſon that had been alledged than becauſe the members were too firmly convinced; but Mr. Pitt falling in with the opinions of the former, the debate was adjourned a little after one o'clock.

The day following the debate was reſumed by Mr. Francis, in ſupport of the charge; and by Mr. Burgeſs, Major Scott, Mr. Nicholls, Mr. Vanſittart, and Mr. Alderman Le Meſurier, in defence of Mr. Haſtings. After having heard the arguments on both ſides, Mr. Pitt roſe to deliver his ſentiments. He began

began with declaring, that he had from the firſt day of the charges being agitated within thoſe walls, conſidered the matter as of a moſt ſerious and important nature, in which the honour and character of that houſe, and the honour and character of the individual accuſed, were both deeply involved. It therefore behoved the committee to deliberate with the greateſt temper, and not to decide in any one ſtage of the buſineſs without having previouſly made the fulleſt inveſtigation of every fact ſtated in each particular charge, and a careful compariſon of the whole of the evidence adduced, both in favour of the accuſed, and in ſupport of the accuſation brought againſt him; ſo that on whichever ſide they ſhould finally give their votes, it might be on the fulleſt conviction, that they had diſcharged their duty honeſtly, impartially, and conſcientiouſly. He had the ſatisfaction to know, that this had been the line of conduct that he had purſued from the moment that the ſubject had been firſt ſubmitted to the conſideration of parliament; and as he had ever been of opinion, that the charge relative to the princeſſes of Oude was that which of all others, bore upon the face of it the ſtrongeſt marks of criminality and cruelty, ſo had he been particularly careful to guard againſt the impreſſion of every ſort of prejudice, and to keep his mind open for the reception of whatever could tend, on the one hand, to eſtabliſh innocence, or on the other, to bring home conviction of guilt; and in order the better to enable himſelf to decide with ſafety, he had with the utmoſt minuteneſs and attention compared the charge, article by article, with the evidence adduced at the bar in ſupport of each, and with the various minutes and letters that had been brought before the houſe, or were any where to be found within his reach. Mr. Pitt then declared, that although, for reaſons he ſhould ſtate, he thought himſelf bound to vote with the gentleman who brought the charge, yet he wiſhed it to be underſtood, that he did not accede to the whole of the grounds of the accuſation contained in the charge, or the inferences that had been drawn from them. He then ſtated the two great points in the charge, in which he thought the criminality of Mr. Haſtings had been fully proved. The reſumption of the jaghires was a meaſure which in his opinion might, in certain ſituations, have been juſtified; but the ſituation of the India company, as guarantee of the treaty, laid them under the ſtrongeſt obligation, perhaps, to have poſitively and at all events reſiſted, but, at leaſt, not to have prompted it. The ſeizure of the treaſures being neither ſupported by any formal proceedings of juſtice, nor by any ſtate neceſſity, it was, he ſaid, impoſſible not to condemn it; and it was greatly aggravated by making the nabob the inſtrument; the ſon the inſtrument of robbing the mother. The crime of Mr. Haſtings he thought ſtill farther aggravated by his ſtifling the orders of the court of directors, which expreſsly commanded a reviſion of the proceedings againſt thoſe princeſſes. With reſpect to many other collateral circumſtances, urged in aggravation of the charge, he thought them either not criminal, or not brought home to Mr. Haſtings. The queſtion being at length called for, and the houſe dividing, there appeared for the motion 175, againſt it 68.

On the 19th Mr. Burke begged

leave to call the attention of the houſe to the preſent ſtate of the accuſation of Mr. Haſtings, which was attended with many awkward circumſtances, owing, as he conceived, to their having originally departed from the uſual courſe of proceeding in matters of that nature. The deliberate caution, with which they had hitherto proceeded, would however be attended with ſome advantages in their future proceedings towards obtaining judgment; but he thought, that having now ſolemnly declared upon two charges of high and atrocious delinquency, that they contained fit grounds of impeachment, the ſooner they reſorted to the antient mode of proceeding, by a vote of impeachment, the better. The proper ſteps might then be taken for preventing the party impeached from quitting the kingdom, removing his property, alienating any ſums of money, or taking any other ſteps to evade the ends of juſtice. There was one circumſtance, he ſhould mention, that pointed out this, or ſome other proceeding of that ſort, as abſolutely neceſſary, viz. that it was confidently reported, that another gentleman from India, ſtrongly implicated in the tranſactions of Mr. Haſtings, and againſt whom proceedings of a ſerious nature would ſoon be inſtituted, had, within a ſhort time, ſold out of the public funds property to the amount of £. 50,000. Major Scott, miſapprehending that it was intended to inſinuate that this property belonged to Mr. Haſtings, got up to aſſure the houſe that he had no concern in it; and to declare upon his honour, that from the information he poſſeſſed relative to the affairs of Mr. Haſtings, he could take upon him to aſſert that his whole fortune did not exceed £. 50,000.—Mr. Pitt defended the mode of proceeding adopted by the Houſe, and did not conceive that they could with propriety reſort to any other.

The day following, the houſe being in a committee on the charges, Mr. Dundas roſe and ſaid, that as notice had been given that a charge of a ſerious nature would be brought forward againſt Sir Elijah Impey, he would ſuggeſt to thoſe concerned in the proſecution, that it would be inconſiſtent with the juſtice, the candour, and the benevolence of that houſe, to call and examine a gentleman as a witneſs at their bar, and then to make his evidence the ground of future crimination againſt him.

Sir Gilbert Elliott ſaid, that though he had determined, from a review of his general conduct, to move for an impeachment againſt Sir Elijah Impey, yet the houſe could not think of waving the advantage of any information it could poſſibly obtain. The ſubject of the preſent examination, however, did not come, as far as he knew at preſent, within the limits of his intended charge, although the latter went to affect nearly the whole of Sir Elijah's conduct, as he looked on him, by his extra-official interference, to have had a ſhare in ſome of the moſt guilty tranſactions that had taken place in India.

Mr. Burke obſerved, that it was impoſſible for thoſe who had brought forward the proſecution of Mr. Haſtings, to think of loſing the advantage of that perſon's teſtimony, who had been the intimate confident of the principal culprit. Sir Elijah Impey knew undoubtedly too much

of

of law to anſwer any queſtions which might tend to criminate himſelf; and thoſe who were to examine him would never inſiſt on his anſwering queſtions of ſuch a tendency.

Mr. Pitt agreed in the opinion, that to ſuppreſs the teſtimony of ſuch a perſon would be to diſarm the hand of juſtice; yet he thought, that delicacy and propriety demanded, that the witneſs ſhould have ſuch notice of the intended charge, as might tend to put him on his guard. Mr. Burke immediately aſſented to this propoſition, and accordingly offered a motion to the following effect, which was put and carried, "That Sir Elijah Impey be called in, and that the chairman be inſtructed to inform him, that it was poſſible that a criminal enquiry may be inſtituted againſt himſelf, on the ground of extra-official interference, and his general conduct in India; and that the ſubject, on which he was then to be examined, may lead to proceedings connected with ſuch an enquiry."

Sir Elijah was then called in, and on receiving this notice from the chairman, ſaid, "That as he was conſcious of no guilt, and as there was no part of his conduct which he would wiſh to ſecrete, this notice would make no difference in his wiſhes to give the committee the fulleſt information."

He then underwent a long examination reſpecting the tranſactions with the nabob of Farruckabad.

On the ſecond of March Mr. T. Pelham opened the fourth charge, the ſubject of which was the corrupt and oppreſſive conduct of Mr. Haſtings towards the nabob of Farruckabad. After Mr. Pelham had gone through the charge, and Major Scott had been heard in reply, Mr. Dundas roſe and ſaid, there were two points neceſſary to be cleared up, before he could bring himſelf to vote for Mr. Haſtings on the preſent queſtion. The firſt related to the breach of the treaty of Chunar. This treaty he confeſſed that he never liked, and always regretted its having been made; his prejudice therefore againſt the treaty might naturally operate in reconciling him to the breach of it, provided it could be plauſibly defended. It was not impoſſible but there might have been ſome deſirable object in view in the making of the treaty, which might juſtify that meaſure, notwithſtanding it was evident that a neceſſity would occur of breaking it. If this was the caſe, he ſhould then admit that it was a *bad* way of doing a *good* thing, and be induced to excuſe it, particularly if the ſame good end could not have been obtained by more direct means. But what this deſirable object was, and how it happened to be only attainable by ſuch indirect, circuitous, and objectionable means, he expected to have fully explained before he could bring himſelf to look upon the tranſaction as innocent or excuſable; and as yet he had never heard any ſuch explanation attempted. He ſhould alſo expect to hear of ſome actual neceſſity having exiſted for the recall of Mr. Shee, ſeeing that Mr. Haſtings knew, and expreſsly acknowledges, that by ſuch recall either the nabob of Farruckabad muſt be ſacrificed to the nabob vizier, or elſe be abandoned to the dangerous and deſtructive management of his own family and ſervants. Unleſs he ſhould receive a full anſwer to thoſe two points, he ſhould certainly feel himſelf indiſpenſably bound to vote for the motion,

motion, provided it was perſiſted in; yet he could not but give a caution to the gentleman who had brought forward the charge, to reflect whether it would be worth while to proſecute it to the other houſe, as it appeared not likely, if ſubſtantiated, to add much to Mr. Haſtings's criminality or puniſhment, and would require a vaſt volume of evidence to prove it. This he only ſubmitted to his diſcretion, for if the queſtion were to be put, he muſt vote for it, unleſs he ſhould receive complete ſatisfaction on the two points he had already ſtated.

The cauſe of Mr. Haſtings met, this day, with ſupport from a new quarter, which, if it had been brought forward before the examination into his conduct had proceeded ſo far, might perhaps have proved more effectual. As it was, it ſerved only to draw from Mr. Pitt declarations, which left Mr. Haſtings no other hope than that of an acquittal in Weſtminſter-hall.

Lord Hood, in a ſolemn manner, called the ſerious attention of the houſe to the conſequences of proceeding with too ſcrupulous a nicety to canvaſs the conduct of thoſe who had filled ſtations abroad of high difficulty and important truſt. Certain actions, which appeared to thoſe at a diſtance in a very criminal light, were yet, on a nearer inveſtigation, perfectly juſtifiable on the grounds of abſolute and indiſpenſable neceſſity. — Should the fear of an impeachment by parliament be hung out to every commander, in whoſe hands was placed the defence of our national poſſeſſions, it muſt neceſſarily operate as a dangerous reſtraint to their exertions, when it was conſidered that no general or admiral had ſcarcely ever been fortunate enough to conduct himſelf in the performance of his duty, without occaſionally falling into circumſtances, in which the public ſervice compelled him to do things in themſelves not pleaſing to his feelings, nor ſtrictly legal; but from the indiſpenſable neceſſities of their ſituation perfectly juſtifiable. The example ſet by the houſe of commons, in the preſent inſtance, would for ever ſtand before our future commanders, and create a great and dangerous clog to the public ſervice. For his own part, at his time of life he could have no proſpect of being again employed in any foreign active command, and therefore he had no perſonal inducements for the part he ſhould take in giving his negative to any farther progreſs in this proſecution, but he ſpoke for thoſe, who were to come after him; his regard for his country made him anxious to prevent a precedent, by which all her ſervices would for the future be greatly impeded; and this he was confident would be the effect of puniſhing any harſh and ſevere, but perhaps neceſſary and indiſpenſable acts of power, which the ſaviour of India had, for the public good, been found to commit.

Mr. Pitt roſe immediately after lord Hood, and ſaid, that he ſhould have been ſatisfied with giving a ſilent vote for the queſtion, ſo evident to his mind were the grounds on which that vote was ſupported, were it not that he felt himſelf called upon to give an immediate anſwer to the arguments uſed by the noble lord, leſt, from the weight of his authority, and more eſpecially on ſuch a ſubject, they ſhould blind and miſlead the judgment of the committee. He admitted,

mitted, that in the case of every servant of the public, to whom vast and momentous concerns were entrusted, it was but just that when a complaint was made, the grounds of that complaint ought to be weighed with the situation in which he stood. If he suffered the necessities of his service to carry him no farther than was absolutely necessary, and endeavoured, though it could not be done in its full extent, to reconcile his duty to his country with that he owed to individuals; he had then the double merit of discretion as well as zeal;—nay, even if in his exertions for the public, he suffered himself to be carried beyond the line of strict and urgent necessity, provided that it was evident that his intentions were fair and upright, God forbid that he or any man should deny him his due merit, or say that the abundance of his zeal ought not to be allowed to make ample atonement for the error of his judgment. But he asked, was the conduct of Mr. Hastings, in that part of it now before the house, correspondent to such principles? Was the crime that day alledged against him justified by necessity, or was it of such a size and complexion as any existing necessity could justify? Where a departure was made from justice and right, it was not sufficient to say, that such a step was necessary; it was incumbent on the party to point out and prove the necessity, and the consequences likely to attend a too rigid observance of strict justice and propriety. A comparison might then be formed between the object to be gained, and the sacrifice to be made, and a judgment of censure or approbation founded on the result of such comparison. But in the present instance no state necessity whatsoever was attempted to be shewn, and therefore there was no ground whatsoever for those who saw a criminal tendency in the transaction to refuse their consent to the motion.

Besides this topic of the necessities of his situation, the noble lord had resorted to another in favour of Mr. Hastings, namely, his general merits in the course of his service. There had been a period, he confessed, in which such an argument might have been urged with some force, but that period was now past. The committee was then called upon to determine not, upon a general view of facts, the general merits or demerits of the person accused, but, upon a particular investigation of a particular transaction, the criminality or innocence of that single transaction.

With respect to the particular charge then under discussion, it was not necessary for him to say much. He begged leave to refer the committee to that part of Mr. Hastings's correspondence, where, in speaking of the recall of Mr. Shee from Farruckabad, Mr. Hastings acknowledged, "that by so doing he must give up nabob Muzuffer Jung to the oppression of the vizier," so that he could not justify himself for such a step by any plea of wanting sufficient warning of the consequence, having evidently foreseen it; nor had there been any grounds of necessity alledged to palliate the measure. But besides thus letting loose the vizier on the nabob of Farruckabad, the consequence of which he knew would be the ruin and oppression of that unfortunate prince, and that this was done without any necessity, what could excuse his

his accepting of a preſent of ſuch magnitude as that, which he had received from the nabob of Oude? Could ſuch a tranſaction be excuſed by any degree of neceſſity? Was there a fleet in want of her neceſſary ſupplies; was there any army waiting for ſubſiſtence; or did any one branch whatſoever of the public ſervice render ſo extraordinary a reſource requiſite?—No; it was juſtified by no neceſſity—it could therefore be accounted for by nothing but corruption. But he had chiefly riſen, he ſaid, to interpoſe as ſpeedily as poſſible between the high authority of the noble lord and the feelings of the houſe, leſt they might be led by his arguments to confound the two caſes; that of a man ſtruggling againſt a violent neceſſity, and at length obliged to give way to the exigency of the public ſervice, and to deviate into a neceſſary injuſtice; and that of a perſon wantonly committing acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, for which not even a pretence of public ſervice had been alledged.

The committee divided upon this queſtion; ayes 112—noes 50.

On the ſeventh of March, Mr. Burke roſe to beg the attention of the houſe to the many difficulties, with which the gentlemen, who had to furniſh the houſe with the evidence neceſſary for ſubſtantiating the charges againſt Mr. Haſtings, had to labour. It was well known that the ſervants of the company were under an obligation to ſend over copies of their proceedings, minutes, and correſpondence to the court of directors at home. This was undoubtedly a neceſſary and wiſe precaution; but in the caſe of Mr. Haſtings, the moſt glaring inſtances of diſobedience of this rule had occurred. Whenever the late governor general thought proper, he mutilated, garbled, or ſuppreſſed his correſpondence, and one of the great difficulties of carrying on the proſecution againſt that gentleman aroſe from this circumſtance; a circumſtance involving in itſelf a charge of very conſiderable weight and importance. Another difficulty originated from their ignorance of the titles of the papers they wiſhed to call for. Mr. Burke, inſtancing the late charge, ſaid, that he had called for the Farruckabad papers, and he thought that all of them had been preſented; but a very reſpectable member of that houſe had afterwards called for others under another name, and had by thoſe means furniſhed the houſe with the Perſian correſpondence, which proved to be very material. He next obſerved, that the attorney of Mr. Haſtings was the attorney of the Eaſt-India company, in defence of whoſe rights, and for the puniſhment of whoſe ſervants, that houſe was now carrying on a proſecution! He begged leave to point out the manifeſt advantage which this circumſtance gave Mr. Haſtings over the houſe, for while they were groping in the dark, and gueſſing at what papers they ought to call for, Mr. Haſtings's attorney, who had daily acceſs to all the company's papers, might lay his hand on any of them, and come to the bar of the houſe of lords, and there produce ſome paper or other, to overturn the whole of the evidence which they had been able to come at, and aſſiſt Mr. Haſtings to laugh at the proſecution. It appeared, that a correſpondence was kept back which would ſhew the remonſtrances of the nabob of Oude againſt

againſt many of thoſe meaſures which were alledged to be taken at his expreſs ſuggeſtion; and what was more, there was alſo a ſuppreſſion of the whole of the Perſian correſpondence, which, with reſpect to this point, was undoubtedly very material. As a proof of the very incorrect and ſuſpicious manner in which theſe papers were diſpoſed of, Mr. Burke inſtanced the circumſtance of many of them being in the poſſeſſion of the chief juſtice, Sir Elijah Impey, inſtead of Mr. Middleton, the reſident, to whoſe department they moſt properly belonged. The houſe then would perceive the many inconveniences, under which the gentlemen laboured, who were engaged in the proſecution. Mr. Burke ſubmitted theſe matters to the conſideration of the houſe, and concluded with moving for a great variety of papers, which were granted.

On the 15th of March the charge relative to contracts and ſalaries was opened by Sir James Erſkine. Mr. Pitt immediately followed, declaring that he roſe ſo early in the debate for the purpoſe of bringing the queſtion within a narrower compaſs, and of conſequently ſhortening the debate. The charge, he ſaid, might be divided into three diſtinct parts; the firſt relating to the extravagant terms of the contracts, and the violation of the company's orders in making them; the ſecond, to the increaſed ſalary to Sir Eyre Coote; and the third, to the unwarrantable exceſs of the civil expenditure during his adminiſtration.

With regard to the contracts, he thought ſome of them too inſignificant to be entitled to any diſcuſſion whatever in parliament, with a view to impeachment; and others were ſo circumſtanced in point of time, as to be extremely unfit to be made a ground of criminal charge againſt Mr. Haſtings. Out of theſe therefore he ſhould only except two, the contract for bullocks in the year 1779, and the opium contract in 1781; in both of which there appeared evident circumſtances of criminality, and ſtrong ground for ſuſpicion of corruption.

The ſecond article appeared to him of more prominent magnitude than any other part of the charge, viz. the increaſed ſalary given to Sir Eyre Coote, in avowed and unqualified diſobedience of the company's orders, and the impoſing the payment of that additional ſalary on a prince cloſely connected with the company, and who already paid to the Bengal government a fixed and ſtipulated tribute, which, he ſaid, was a groſs and manifeſt violation of the faith of the company, and a perverſion of the power entruſted to him by his office. His continuing this ſalary in an underhand and covert manner, after a particular prohibition from the directors, was a ſhameful and diſgraceful evaſion of his duty, and one which highly merited the cenſure of parliament; and that part of the charge ſhould conſequently have his moſt hearty concurrence.

As to the third branch of the charge, that relating to a corrupt profuſion in the civil expenditure, it was a ſubject, which he ſhould by no means conſent to make any part of a criminal charge, becauſe it did not appear ſubſtantiated upon grounds ſufficiently ſtrong to warrant the houſe to include it in a matter of impeachment.

This led him to ſuggeſt a few conſiderations

conſiderations to thoſe gentlemen who had taken the lead in the proſecution. After what had already paſſed, he believed there was no one who had any regard to the dignity of parliament, or to the ends of public and ſubſtantial juſtice, that could have any wiſh but to forward it as much as poſſible, and to bring it before the other houſe, in the moſt unqueſtionable ſhape. But he conceived that it was by no means the beſt way to the end they had in view to clog it with uſeleſs, unneceſſary, and impracticable matter. To ſtrip it of all ſuch was the moſt adviſeable thing for the houſe to endeavour; and he wiſhed the right honourable gentleman who had taken ſo active a part in the buſineſs, would, on ſome early day, aſcertain and determine on ſuch charges as he intended to bring forward; as there were many of thoſe already before the houſe, that he was certain could never be made out in proof, or if they could, were not of ſufficient criminality to excuſe and warrant the preſent mode of proceeding. For the ſeveral reaſons therefore which he had given in the courſe of his ſpeech, he ſaid, he ſhould propoſe an amendment to the preſent motion, which, if it ſhould be adopted by the houſe, would leave him at liberty to vote for the general queſtion; his amendment was, to add the following words to the motion: "In reſpect to the contract for bullocks in the year 1779; that for opium in the year 1781; and to the increaſed ſalary of Sir Eyre Coote."

Mr. Burke roſe, and declared, that he conſidered the propoſition made by the right honourable gentleman, as a propoſition founded in amity and friendſhip; that for his part he ſhould be exceedingly happy to be able to ſtate what other of the charges he ſhould think it neceſſary to go into, as containing criminal facts too ſerious and important to be diſpenſed with, or paſſed over; that in truth he thought every one of the charges did contain matter of that deſcription, and the great difficulty was, to determine what could be beſt ſpared. He reſembled, in his preſent ſituation, a ſhipmaſter, who, in order to lighten his veſſel, was under the neceſſity of throwing ſome of the cargo overboard. But what articles he was to commit to the waves he was perfectly at a loſs to determine. Nay, he was afraid to enter on this office, leſt gentlemen ſhould afterwards tell him, "You, indeed, at firſt furniſhed yourſelf with an excellent cargo; many of your articles were of the very beſt quality; but whilſt you have retained trifles, you have conſigned thoſe, which were of the greateſt value, to the waves."

Mr. Burke then adverted to the amendment moved by Mr. Pitt, which, he ſaid, he conceived himſelf indiſpenſably bound to endeavour to re-amend, by inſerting ſeveral other material parts of the charge. The committee divided, firſt upon Mr. Burke's amendment, which was carried by a majority of nine; and then upon the main queſtion, which was carried by a majority of 34.

On the 22d of March, after a warm altercation between Mr. Francis and Mr. Pitt, relative to the production of ſome improper and irrelative evidence before the committee by the former, Mr. Wyndham opened the ſixth charge reſpecting Fyzoola Khân, the rajah of Rampore. Major Scott followed Mr.

Mr. Wyndham; after which Mr. Dundas roſe, and ſtated the principal point, in which he thought the conduct of Mr. Haſtings criminal, viz. the violation of the guarantee of the company to the treaty of 1774. To that treaty he conceived Fyzoola Khân had every right to conſider the company as guarantee, in conſequence of colonel Champion's ſigning his name as an atteſtation of it, and of the ſubſequent public authorized atteſtation of it at Rampore. By the treaty of Chunar, in 1781, that guarantee was violated, and the Britiſh name brought into diſgrace, as by an article of that treaty Fyzoola Khân was declared to have forfeited the protection of the Britiſh government, and permiſſion was granted to the nabob vizier to reſume his lands. That that permiſſion was never intended to be ſuffered by Mr. Haſtings to be carried into execution, Mr. Dundas declared, he verily believed; and in that circumſtance conſiſted, in his mind, a great part of Mr. Haſtings's criminality; as he thereby made uſe of the credit of the Britiſh name to delude the nabob vizier, and at the ſame time to hold out to Fyzoola Khân an idea that the Britiſh government, which was the guarantee to him for the quiet poſſeſſion of Rampore, Shawabad, and ſome other diſtricts, had ſtipulated by treaty to aſſiſt the nabob vizier in diſpoſſeſſing him of thoſe territories. He commented on the extreme criminality of this conduct; but as it certainly differed materially from the conſtruction that might be put on the charge, viz. that it had been the intention of Mr. Haſtings really to aſſiſt in diſpoſſeſſing Fyzoola Khân of his territories, he could not agree to the motion, unleſs it was modified and tempered ſo as to reſtrict it to the points in which the matter of impeachment, in his opinion, really conſiſted. The better to convey his meaning to the committee, Mr. Dundas ſaid, he would produce the amendment he had deſigned to offer to the motion. It was, in ſubſtance, to ſtate, that in the charge there was matter of impeachment, as far as related to that part of the treaty of Chunar which went to a breach of the guarantee of the treaty of Rampore. Mr. Dundas ſaid, he did not mean to preſs his amendment, if it ſhould appear to be diſagreeable to gentlemen on the other ſide. He was aware he ſhould have another opportunity of ſtating it, and enforcing its reception, when the queſtion of impeachment came to be agitated.

Mr. Burke obſerved, in reply to Mr. Dundas, that he believed, upon a more attentive conſideration of the charge, the learned member would find, that in the charge preferred by him there was not a ſyllable amounting to an inſinuation, much leſs a direct charge, that it had been Mr. Haſtings's real intention to aſſiſt in diſpoſſeſſing Fyzoola Khân of his jaghire; and the reaſon was, becauſe he had neither direct legal, nor ſufficiently ſtrong preſumptive evidence to ſupport ſuch an inſinuation. The great charge againſt Mr. Haſtings in this caſe was, that he had kept Fyzoola Khân in a fever for ten years together, in which that father of agriculture (for ſo Mr. Haſtings calls him) was put into a perpetual ſeries of hot and cold fits, not knowing whether he was to look up to the Britiſh government in India as his protectors

or

or oppreſſors. The committee divided; for the queſtion 96, againſt it 37.

The houſe being reſumed, the chancellor of the exchequer roſe to expreſs his wiſh, that before the houſe adjourned, a day might be fixed for bringing up the report of the committee. He ſhould certainly, he ſaid, give ſuch a vote on the general queſtion of the impeachment as would correſpond with the part which he had already taken; but he muſt at the ſame time obſerve, that having only partially acquieſced in the propriety of ſeveral of the charges, particularly in thoſe concerning the affair of Benares, and the contracts, he ſhould endeavour to bring the matter before the houſe in ſuch a way, as would relieve him from the unpleaſant alternative of being obliged either to diſſent *in toto* from a propoſition, to ſeveral parts of which he wiſhed to give his concurrence, or to vote for one, which contained ſome circumſtances to which he was adverſe. But whether he ſhould for this purpoſe make a ſeparate motion, or only move an amendment when the buſineſs was brought before the houſe by thoſe who conducted the proſecution, he was not as yet prepared to determine.

Mr. Burke declared, that he approved of the right honourable gentleman's propoſition; and with regard to what he had ſaid reſpecting the difference of opinion which ſubſiſted between them upon certain parts of the charge relative to Benares, and that relative to the contracts, he truſted he would have the candour to keep his mind open upon thoſe points, as he had no manner of doubt but that he ſhould be able, at a fit opportunity, to convince him, that they might both of them readily concur in the ſame vote. Monday the 2d day of April was then fixed upon for bringing up the report.

Upon that day, previous to the bringing up of the report, Mr. Sheridan opened the ſeventh charge, relative to the corrupt receiving of bribes and preſents. Major Scott in his defence having, amongſt other arguments, urged the favourable reception, which Mr. Haſtings, after the ſuppoſed commiſſion of all theſe crimes, had met with on his return home both from his maſters, the directors of the company, and ſeveral members of adminiſtration, lord Mulgrave roſe to reprobate what he termed, this ſhabby ſpecies of defence. There were, he ſaid, many parts of Mr. Haſtings's conduct of which he highly approved, and which he always had and ever ſhould applaud; but it was not enough to ſay, in anſwer to charges, the moſt ſerious and important in every point of view, that ſince Mr. Haſtings's return the directors had commended his conduct; that they had entertained him at a dinner, and that ſome members of the Indian government had dined in the ſame room. Lord Mulgrave then obſerved, that he could with greater confidence ſpeak his ſentiments on the ſubject of the preſent charge than on any which had preceded it. On the charge of contracts, as on ſome others, it was difficult to draw the line between what might be deemed tolerated patronage, and a corrupt exerciſe of power: but in the charge under conſideration there was no difficulty; the facts which it contained were not involved in doubt, nor perplexed with being ſubject to a variety of interpretations. He then proceeded to ſhew

that

that Mr. Haſtings was fully and perfectly acquainted with the meaning and extent of the act for preventing the receipt of preſents, which he had ſo daringly violated.

Mr. W. Grenville declared his concurrence with the honourable member who opened the charge in almoſt every point that he had urged. He added, if in this illegal proceeding Mr. Haſtings had exerciſed peculation and extortion to ſupply the exigencies of the public ſervice, this, though not a juſtification of his conduct, would be at leaſt a diminution of his offence. But no ſuch palliation as this appeared in any of the tranſactions; and though it was not abſolutely proved, that Mr. Haſtings had not employed this money for the public ſervice, yet there was very ſtrong ground for ſuch ſuſpicion, from his avoiding to give any explanation of many parts of his conduct, though ordered to do ſo by the court of directors. Upon a diviſion, there appeared, for the queſtion 165, againſt it 54.

The houſe being reſumed, the report from the committee was brought up by their chairman, Mr. St. John; and upon the queſtion "That it be now read a firſt time," the chancellor of the exchequer obſerved, that in a buſineſs of ſuch conſequence as that in which they were engaged, he felt every ſucceſſive ſtage become more and more important, and could not therefore repreſs his anxiety to preſerve that degree of formality and regularity in the proceeding, which ſhould leave him and other members at full liberty to deliver their votes, without heſitation, ſingly and excluſively, on the merits of the grand deciſive queſtion of impeachment, and free from any objections that might be made to the form in which that queſtion ſhould come forward. He therefore wiſhed to know how the right honourable gentleman intended to proceed. For his part, having in ſome of the articles gone only a certain length in his aſſent, and by no means admitted a degree of guilt equal to that imputed in the charges, he could not think himſelf juſtified in joining in a general vote of impeachment, which might ſeem to countenance the whole of each ſeveral charge, thoſe parts which he thought really criminal, as well as thoſe which were of an exculpatory nature. The method, which it was moſt adviſeable, in his opinion, to purſue, was to refer the charges to a committee, in order to ſelect out of them the criminal matter, and frame it into articles of impeachment; and then, on thoſe articles, when reported to the houſe, to move the queſtion of impeachment. If, on the contrary, the mode adopted was, to move the impeachment immediately, he ſhould find himſelf under a neceſſity of moving, on the report from the committee which had already ſat on the charges, ſeveral amendments, confining the effects of each charge to that degree of real guilt, which he thought appeared in it.

Mr. Fox declared his opinion to be, that the report ſhould be firſt taken into conſideration, and if agreed to by the houſe, that the queſtion of impeachment ſhould immediately follow. This, he ſaid, was moſt agreeable to the ancient conſtitutional mode, and beſt adapted to carry the views of every part of the houſe into execution. Thoſe gentlemen who meant to urge the argument of a ſet-off would have

a full opportunity of putting their favourite mode of defence to the teſt upon the general queſtion; and thoſe who had objections to the extent of the report, might propoſe their amendments when the ſpecific articles came finally to be agreed to: whereas, if the houſe appointed a committee to draw the articles of impeachment before they had reſolved to impeach, it would lay that committee under great difficulties, and abridge their diſcretion, by obliging them to look at the various ſentiments and criticiſms of different parties in the formation of the articles; and perhaps their taſk might at laſt prove fruitleſs. For the proſecution itſelf might be loſt in the differences that might ariſe upon the particular form and ſhape of the articles, or from what was ſtill more to be dreaded and guarded againſt in a proceeding of that kind, the influence of improper interference, to which that mode was particularly obnoxious.—He ſaid, he did not ſee why the amendments, which had been hinted at, need at all prevent their firſt coming to a general queſtion. Excepting only in one charge, that of contracts, had the right honourable gentleman made any diſtinction ſo ſtrong as to preclude him from voting generally with the reſolution moved upon each of the charges. If therefore he had not objected, notwithſtanding the various diſtinctions which he had taken upon ſeveral matters in thoſe charges, to vote that they contained grounds of impeachment, why could he not conſent to impeach, and in framing the ſpecific articles, take the ſenſe of the committee upon each of his wiſhed-for amendments?

Mr. Pitt anſwered, that he ſtill continued of opinion, that the mode propoſed by him was the moſt eligible. The peculiarity of the preſent caſe aroſe from this one circumſtance, that the friends of the perſon accuſed wiſhed, upon the general queſtion of impeachment, to ſet off his ſervices againſt his crimes. But how was it poſſible to form a compariſon between the offences and merits of Mr. Haſtings, except by firſt aſcertaining the extent of each? The extent of his tranſgreſſions then could only be ſet forth in the final articles of impeachment; for it was the opinion of many members, that the whole of the matter contained in the preſent articles of charge, even on thoſe which the committee had voted, was not criminal nor ſufficiently ſubſtantiated, and that a great part of them conſiſted of facts incapable of proof, or which, if proved, could not be imputed to Mr. Haſtings as delinquencies. What then was the houſe to do in order to bring the queſtion of compariſon between his crimes and his deſerts fairly before them, except to ſeparate and analyſe the charges, ſo as to diſtinguiſh the real guilt from that which was unfounded, and then, having a clear view of a certain degree of aſcertained guilt, determine how far that guilt would weigh againſt whatever degree of merit might be alledged and proved in his favour?

Thus, as far as reſpected the peculiarity of the caſe, from the intention of arguing by way of ſet-off in favour of Mr. Haſtings, there was the ſtrongeſt reaſons for adopting the method he propoſed. But the right honourable gentleman dreaded the eſtabliſhment of a precedent which might be attended with bad conſequences in future. But how could any danger ariſe from the preſent

inſtance? In proceedings of this nature the houſe ought to govern itſelf by the circumſtances of the particular caſe; and ſome exiſted, which certainly might require the moſt deciſive diſpatch, and in which it would prove dangerous to delay the great and binding reſolution for the impeachment a ſingle moment. If, for example, a miniſter had been guilty of any act directly repugnant to the conſtitution, to the rights of parliament, or to the intereſts of the ſtate, in ſuch a caſe it would be highly expedient to come to an immediate vote of impeachment, before they allowed time for drawing up the articles; even though by ſo doing they ſhould ſacrifice the proper and regular forms of proceeding, and perhaps loſe ſomething by that ſacrifice. It would generally happen that in every ſuch inſtance, where the party accuſed was poſſeſſed of a power and influence ſo great as to render any delay in proceeding dangerous, that the offences of which he was guilty muſt be in themſelves of ſo great, ſo public, and of ſo very palpable a nature, that no doubt could poſſibly ariſe as to his criminality; and there could therefore be no injuſtice in that ſummary and deciſive mode of proceeding. But the ſame courſe ought by no means to be followed in caſes ſo widely different as the preſent, when the accuſation conſiſted of ſo very diffuſe and complex a maſs, of many charges, which had not been ſubſtantiated, and of many facts, which could not in any degree be conſidered as criminal, though he was ready to declare that it alſo contained much of proved and moſt heavy delinquency. In ſuch a caſe, there could be no danger in following the fair and obvious method of firſt ſelecting and aſcertaining the guilt, and then proceeding to the impeachment.

Mr. Burke roſe to expreſs his willingneſs to accede to this propoſition: for although, he ſaid, if he gave any preference, it muſt be to the conſtitutional mode recommended by his right honourable friend, yet he conceived that the difference between the two, each being ſupported by precedents, was not of ſo eſſential a nature, as to make it neceſſary, by an obſtinate adherence to either, to break in upon that unanimity, which had, ſo much to their credit, and to the credit of the cauſe they were engaged in, hitherto diſtinguiſhed their proceedings.

The day following, before the reſolutions of the committee were read a ſecond time, major Scott roſe and ſaid, that much diſcuſſion having taken place relative to *ſetting off* the merits of Mr. Haſtings againſt his ſuppoſed delinquencies, he begged leave to inform the houſe, that neither Mr. Haſtings nor his friends had the moſt diſtant idea of having recourſe to ſuch a mode of defence. The ſentiments of Mr. Haſtings upon that ſubject he was authorized to ſubmit to the houſe; and begged permiſſion to read, as part of his ſpeech, the following paper, which had been put into his hands for that purpoſe.

"Though it might be deemed
"preſumption in me to declare
"any wiſh or expectation concern-
"ing the mode in which the houſe
"of commons may, in its wiſdom
"or juſtice, determine to proceed
"in the proſecution of the inquiry
"into my conduct, now depending
"before them; yet as it has been
"reported, that many gentlemen,
"members of that honourable aſ-

" ſembly, who have not choſen to " give their conſtant attendance on " the committee holden on this " buſineſs, have expreſſed their de- " termination of oppoſing the ge- " neral queſtion of impeachment, " when it ſhall be brought before " the collective body of this houſe; " I hope I may, without irregula- " rity, or the imputation of diſre- " ſpect, intimate my ſenſe of ſuch " a determination, both as it may " reſpect that queſtion, and the " claim which I conceive I poſſeſs " to attendance on the queſtion " upon the report, which in the " due order of buſineſs will pre- " cede it.

" I preſume, that in the preſent " examination of my public con- " duct, there are two leading, and, " as it appears to me, excluſive " objects, of equal and reciprocal " obligation; namely, that juſtice " may be done to the nation, in the " redreſs or puniſhment of wrongs, " which it may be eventually " proved that it has ſuſtained by " my acts; and that juſtice may " be done to an individual, who " may be eventually proved to " have been wronged by unfound- " ed accuſations, and who even " thinks that he has a claim to " the applauſe of his country, for " thoſe very acts which have been " drawn into crimination againſt " him.

" If it ſhall be reſolved by the " honourable houſe of commons to " agree to the report of the com- " mittee, that is to ſay, if it ſhall " be reſolved that there is ground " for impeaching me for high " crimes and miſdemeanors, on " the charges on which the com- " mittee have already paſſed that " deciſion, I preſume that the reſo- " lution for the impeachment ought " to follow of courſe, as the only " means which can ſatisfy the " juſtice of the nation in the ſup- " poſition of my guilt, or clear my " character in the ſuppoſition of my " innocence. With regard to the " firſt of theſe concluſions I have " no claim: but for the laſt, I " may, in common with the meaneſt " of the ſubjects of this realm, aſſert " my right to the benefit and pro- " tection of its laws; and I truſt, " that the honourable houſe of " commons, which has ever been " conſidered as the guardian and " protector of the laws, will not " ſuffer my name to be branded " with the foulest and blackeſt im- " putations upon their records, " without allowing me at the ſame " time the only legal means of " effacing them, by transferring " them for trial to the houſe of " peers in the form of an impeach- " ment.

" To this opinion I humbly beg " leave to add my requeſt, and it " is the only requeſt or application " which I have hitherto permitted " myſelf to make to any of the " individual members of the houſe " on the proceſs of this buſineſs, " that if it ſhall be reſolved on the " report, that there is ground to " charge me with high crimes and " miſdemeanors, they will afford " me the benefit of their votes, " though united with thoſe of my " proſecutors, that I may be " brought to legal trial for the " ſame.

" WARREN HASTINGS."

The reſolutions were afterwards read and agreed to; and Mr. Burke moved, that they ſhould be referred to a committee to prepare articles of impeachment upon the ſame, and that

that the committee consist of the following persons:

Edmund Burke, Esq.
Right Hon. Charles James Fox
Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq.
Sir James Erskine
Right Hon. Thomas Pelham
Right Hon. William Wyndham
Hon. St. Andrew St. John
John Anstruther, Esq.
William Adam, Esq.
M. A. Taylor, Esq.
Welbore Ellis, Esq.
Right Hon. Frederick Montagu
Sir Grey Cooper.
Philip Francis, Esq.
Sir Gilbert Elliot
Dudley Long, Esq.
Lord Maitland
Hon. G. A. North
General Burgoyne
Mr. Grey.

A division took place upon the nomination of Mr. Francis, against whom it was objected, that in India he had been personally at variance with Mr. Hastings; and he was rejected by a majority of 96 to 44. It was afterwards moved in the usual forms, that the committee might be invested with the customary powers of calling for papers and witnesses, sitting where they pleased, &c. &c.; and it was agreed, that it must necessarily be a secret committee.

On the 19th day of April, Mr. Francis opened the charge relative to the revenues of Bengal.—He took this occasion of vindicating his character against certain malicious insinuations which had been industriously circulated both within and without the house, and to the effects of which he attributed the rejection of his name in the appointment of the committee the day before. It had been insinuated, he said, that through the whole of his conduct in the prosecution of Mr. Hastings, he had been actuated by private personal motives of hostility and hatred. In justification of himself, therefore, he should beg leave to state to the committee the origin and grounds of that hostility.—After stating the circumstances which recommended him to the appointment of one of the council with general Clavering and Mr. Monson, in the year 1773, he solemnly protested that they did not go out, as was generally imagined, with sentiments hostile to Mr. Hastings; but on the contrary that they *all* entertained the highest opinion of that gentleman's public character, insomuch that general Clavering, previous to their sailing, obtained a private audience of his majesty for the purpose of humbly soliciting him to send out some mark of honour to Mr. Hastings, in order to induce him to continue in the government. With this high opinion of Mr. Hastings they landed at Calcutta; but soon found their error: it was upon public grounds, as all who were acquainted with the transactions of India well knew, that their opposition to Mr. Hastings commenced, and it was upon those grounds that his had continued to the present moment. Another circumstance of a more delicate nature had indeed occurred, which it was necessary to explain to the committee. He had, it was true, fought a duel with that gentleman at Calcutta; but here too there was no private cause of quarrel, their difference had been a public difference. Mr. Hastings had entered a minute upon the records of the council so injurious to his character in his public capacity, that it left him no

other alternative than that which he embraced; they met, and he was ſhot through the body; he did not imagine that he ſhould ſurvive; he gave Mr. Haſtings his hand, and declared he forgave him—But what was it he forgave him? Why, the inſult he had offered him, and the being the cauſe, as he then imagined, of his death. He did not renounce the opinions he held of his public conduct; he did not promiſe to abandon thoſe opinions in caſe he ſurvived; he did not engage to deſiſt from proſecuting an enquiry into his conduct, if he lived to come to England, which he had always declared to Mr. Haſtings himſelf he would endeavour to cauſe to be inſtituted.

Mr. Francis was anſwered by Major Scott. After which Mr. Pitt roſe, and ſaid, that the obſervations he had to make upon the preſent charge lay within ſo limited a compaſs, as not to require him to take up much of the time of the committee; and in fact, he ſhould only call their attention to one particular point, upon which alone he thought they could with any degree of propriety concur with the honourable gentleman in the motion which he had made; nor did he think, that even on that point the houſe would act conſiſtently in voting the preſent charge, becauſe it was included in another charge, to which the houſe had already aſſented.—This circumſtance was the fact of Mr. Haſtings having received preſents from Kelleram and Cullian Sing, on the ſettlement made with the zemindars, farmers, and collectors, in 1781. The houſe therefore having voted a ſpecific article on that head, he ſhould by no means vote another merely on the ſame ground; and he was perfectly ſatisfied that there was no other foundation for a criminal charge againſt Mr. Haſtings in the article which the honourable gentleman had opened, except that which he had now ſtated—the accepting of preſents. Still, if it could be made appear that the charge, as it ſtood, would tend to throw any freſh or neceſſary light upon the receipt of the preſents—would eſtabliſh it more ſtrongly in point of fact, or elucidate and prove the guilt of the tranſaction more forcibly—he ſhould then be ready and willing to give the motion his hearty ſupport. As to the other matters contained in the charge, and ſtated by the honourable gentleman, he either looked upon them as not criminal, or, if criminal, as not ſufficiently proved, or capable of being ſubſtantiated at the bar of the other houſe.

In the courſe of this debate, Mr. Barwell, the member for St. Ives, who had been an aſſociate with Mr. Haſtings in the government of Bengal, obſerved, that a right honourable gentleman having frequently introduced his name with ſome inſinuation of blame, he could not avoid expreſſing an earneſt deſire, that if there was any charge of delinquency againſt him, it might be brought forward, and he was ready to meet it in that houſe, or elſewhere. Mr. Burke, who was the perſon alluded to, replied, that he did not mean to bring forward a charge againſt the honourable member, as his hands were ſufficiently full already; but if he was really anxious to be accuſed, he would, when at leiſure, apply himſelf to the ſubject; for if he were compelled to ſpeak the truth, he muſt ſay, that he did not think the whole of the gentleman's conduct unexceptionable

ceptionable whilſt he was in India. —At length the queſtion was put, and the committee divided; ayes 71, noes 55.

On the 25th of April Mr. Burke brought up from the ſecret committee the articles of impeachment, which being read a firſt time, were ordered to be printed, and to be taken into conſideration on the 9th of May. Upon that day, on a motion that they ſhould be read a ſecond time, lord Hood roſe to give his determined negative, and went over the arguments he had urged upon a former occaſion. He was followed by Mr. Alderman Wilkes and Mr. Smith, who were of opinion that many facts, upon which the charges were founded, were unſupported by evidence, others juſtifiable by ſtate neceſſity, others again actually juſtified by the approbation of his maſters and of the public, others defenſible from the difference of manners and government in that country, and others highly meritorious. The former inſiſted ſtrongly on the ſilence of the natives of India upon the ſubject of the dreadful oppreſſions ſaid to have been practiſed amongſt them; and attributed the greateſt part of what appeared criminal in the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, to the craving and avaricious policy of this country, whoſe demands had in ſome inſtances driven Mr. Haſtings to the uſe of means not ſtrictly juſtifiable. The amount of the charges, he ſaid, ſuppoſing the facts true, was this, that Mr. Haſtings, by oppreſſion, by injuſtice and corruption, has obtained for the company nine millions and a half ſterling. He thought that all the acts complained of were wiſe, politic, and juſt. But were he of a contrary opinion, he could not, as an honeſt man, lay his hand upon his heart, and vote for the impeachment of Mr. Haſtings, while he baſely and infamouſly benefited by his miſdeeds. And how gentlemen, who condemn theſe acts, ſuffer a day to paſs without moving retribution to the ſufferers, was to him incomprehenſible.

The lord advocate for Scotland (Mr. Ilay Campbel) ſaid, that conſidering the houſe as ſitting in the capacity of a grand jury, and conſequently that they ought to be thoroughly perſuaded of the truth of the indictment, ſo far as the evidence went, and not to reſt ſatisfied merely with remote probabilities, he could not conſcientiouſly give his vote for the impeachment. He then took a view of the different articles of charge, and pointed out the parts in which he conceived the evidence to be eſſentially defective. He conſidered the neceſſities of the company, and the dangerous criſis of their affairs, as grounds of juſtification for the ſtrong meaſures purſued by Mr. Haſtings, in order to extricate them. The company having actually reaped the benefit of them, and ſo far approved of them, as never to have ſignified any intention of reſtitution, he could not conceive with what propriety Mr. Haſtings could be impeached for them. He further obſerved, that Mr. Haſtings had been moſt unjuſtly blamed for various acts of adminiſtration, in which he had only concurred with others—that the order of dates, as well as the ſtate of the council at different periods, ought to have been more diſtinctly attended to in the charges. Mr. Haſtings had enjoyed the caſting voice in the council only for a very ſhort time, and even then Mr.

Barwell was equally responsible with him. Afterwards, Mr. Wheler, Sir John Macpherson, Sir Eyre Coote, and Mr. Stables, came gradually into the council. At one period a coalition took place between Mr. Hastings and Mr. Francis. How do the prosecutors account for this?—and is Mr. Hastings alone to be made accountable during that period?

He concluded with observing, that in suggesting what had occurred to him in favour of Mr. Hastings, he had avoided saying any thing upon the topic of his extraordinary services in general, being doubtful whether, upon the supposition of guilt in any specific article, a *set-off*, as it is called, or balancing of accounts between merits and demerits, would relevantly be admitted—at the same time it was a mode of defence not altogether new. The proceedings in lord Clive's case left no room to doubt that he owed his safety to it; and there was still a more illustrious example of it in history, the case of Epaminondas, the Theban general, who, when tried for his life before the tribunal of his country, for having kept the command four months after he should have laid it down, acknowledged the crime, but enumerated the glorious actions which he had performed; and said he would die with pleasure, if the sole merit of these were ascribed to him.—This speech procured his acquittal—and whoever reads the history of India, during the late war, will be apt to think that Mr. Hastings may die when he pleases, with similar words in his mouth.

Mr. Alderman Townshend justified Mr. Hastings on the ground of state necessity; and said, that he deserved the highest applause, for not having stood upon so paltry a punctilio as considering whether a measure was rigidly correct and legal, when the immediate necessity of the company's affairs, and the salvation of India, were concerned. The making restitution to the persons who had been injured would be more like an act of justice, than hunting down an individual, against whom no complaints had been made.

Mr. Martin declared himself a friend to the impeachment, since the facts in the several charges had been so fully established. He said, if any gentleman would move, that retribution should be made, he would second the motion.

Lord Mulgrave said, that as he had always voted against the question, except on the charge relative to presents, he must, for the sake of consistency, vote against the impeachment.

Mr. Burgess produced an address from the officers of the army in India, an army of 70,000 men, all of whom bore testimony to the important services of his administration.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose, and observed, that he was not a little surprized to find, that after every charge had been fully investigated in the committee, gentlemen should now object to the natural consequence of the whole, without bringing out any new matter whatever. He reprobated the idea of a *set-off* in very strong terms. He acknowledged, that many measures, during the administration of Mr. Hastings, were uncommonly brilliant; and that in these his merits were unquestionable. But he trusted no man, who seriously regarded

regarded the honour of the houſe of commons, would expect that the juſtice of the country could admit of any compromiſe whatever. He was ſorry his honourable friend, the lord advocate of Scotland, ſhould conceive the honour of the repreſentatives of the Britiſh nation not intereſted in reſcuing the Britiſh character from that degree of infamy and degradation to which it had been reduced.—The accuſations which had been preferred againſt Mr. Haſtings were now not only the cauſe of the houſe, but, in his opinion, involved the honour of every member individually. Nor had he leſs heſitation, from the importance of the ſubject, to ſay, it affected the government of the whole empire. It was a queſtion which ſhook the baſis of the conſtitution, for it was literally a queſtion of reſponſibility. And here he deſired to be underſtood as by no means agreeing with his honourable friend, in comparing the houſe of commons to a grand jury. There were certainly points in which that compariſon could not be juſtified. It would, if carried up in its full extent, put it out of the power of the commons of Great Britain to carry any bill of impeachment whatever. The houſe of commons could examine no evidence on oath. All they were therefore accountable for was the conviction of their own minds. On this principle he was prepared to vote for the general queſtion. From the weight and importance of the charges, the policy and intereſt of the country required that an example ſhould be made of the delinquent. The neceſſity of this he urged, particularly from the diſpoſition he perceived in the abettors of Mr. Haſtings, to juſtify him on the principles of expediency and neceſſity. But he contended, that they had even failed in ſubſtantiating that plea, ſince no neceſſity whatever, in many caſes where that pretext was ſet up, had been proved. He even ſhewed, by a ſtatement of the facts in evidence, that where neceſſity had been moſt inſiſted on, profuſion and corruption demonſtrated that it did not exiſt. After preſſing this on the houſe with much earneſtneſs, he adverted to the articles in general; and ſaid, he did not by any means adopt them without exception: but that as he agreed with the leading idea of all, except the charges concerning Cheyt Sing, he thought there could be no impropriety in carrying up the articles as they ſtood to the houſe of lords; he ſhould, therefore, from a ſincere conviction that he was doing his duty to the public, vote decidedly for the queſtion.

The houſe then divided on the queſtion, whether the report ſhould be now read a ſecond time, which was carried in the affirmative, by 175 to 89. After which the firſt article of impeachment was read and agreed to without a diviſion, and the reſt deferred till the morrow, when they were read, amended, and agreed to. Mr. Burke then roſe, and moved, "That War-"ren Haſtings, eſq; be impeached "of high crimes and miſdemeanors "upon the ſaid articles."

Mr. Sumner, a gentleman who had formerly been in the ſervice of the India company, roſe to expreſs his aſtoniſhment that a perſon of ſuch high character, acknowledged ability, and received integrity, as Mr. Haſtings, ſhould be the ſubject

ject of an impeachment. He had been bred up in the habit of regarding that gentleman as a model of perfection. He described Mr. Hastings as a man educated with a view to fill a place in private life only, but who had, by unforeseen accidents, been exalted to a rank of great dignity and singular power. That, however his conduct, in that dangerous and tempting situation, might have rendered him the object of a prosecution carried on in that house, with uncommon virulence (he had almost said, with unexampled malice) he was regarded by the world in general as a politician possessed of more than ordinary wisdom, and as a statesman eminent for his activity and exertion. The French, he said, to whom Mr. Hastings had certainly, in his public conduct, evinced no partiality, idolized him, and extolled his actions as more than human. Indeed there was no place in any quarter of the globe that did not join in his praise, and speak of him with rapture, excepting only that house, where he had been debased by joking phrases, run down by ribaldry, and loaded with invective, fit only to be applied to the most atrocious criminal after conviction, and by no means worthy to be heard in a British senate, engaged in an inquiry, whether there was matter of charge or not, against a gentleman, who had lately stood in a situation, from its eminence alone entitled to respect and veneration.

The question was then put, and carried without further debate; after which, Mr. Frederick Montagu rose, and said, that the motion he had now to make could not, he conceived, meet with any resistance after what had passed, as it appeared founded equally on principles of justice and humanity. He then moved, "That Mr. Burke, "in the name of the house of "commons, and of all the com- "mons of Great Britain, do go "to the bar of the house of lords, "and impeach Warren Hastings, "esquire, late governor general "of Bengal, of high crimes and "misdemeanors, and do acquaint "the lords, that the commons will, "with all convenient speed, exhi- "bit articles against him, and "make good the same."

The motion being agreed to, the majority of the house immediately attended Mr. Burke to the bar of the house of peers, where Mr. Burke solemnly impeached Mr. Hastings in the form above recited.

On the eleventh, Mr. Burke reported to the house, that he had been at the bar of the house of lords, and had impeached Warren Hastings, in obedience to their commands. He then proposed that Messrs. Wallis and Troward should be retained to act as solicitors for the impeachment on the part of the house. — On the twenty-first, Mr. Burke observed to the house, that it would be necessary, before the sessions ended, that the house should take some step for binding Mr. Hastings to be forth-coming to answer the articles of impeachment which had been preferred against him. He therefore moved, "That "Warren Hastings, esquire, be "taken into the custody of the "serjeant at arms of that house."

This motion was opposed by Mr. Nicholls. He observed, that upon recurring to the journals in search of precedents, he found there were three

three ſeveral modes of proceeding, which had been adopted by the houſe, after they had preſented articles of impeachment. The firſt was, to take the party impeached into the cuſtody of their own ſerjeant at arms: the ſecond was, to deſire the lords to take him into cuſtody: the third was, to deſire the lords to put him to anſwer. He thought this laſt ought to be the mode they ſhould now adopt, as it would be extremely cruel to brand Mr. Haſtings with a ſtigma in the face of his country, by ſuggeſting an idea, that the houſe had reaſon to ſuſpect him of an undue deſign of attempting to elude juſtice.—Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke replied, that upon a minute examination of precedents, and a conſultation with perſons in another place, it had been found, that the moſt regular and orderly mode of proceeding would be for that houſe to take Mr. Haſtings into cuſtody by their ſerjeant, and to deliver him to the lords. The motion was immediately agreed to; and the houſe being ſoon after informed, that he was in the cuſtody of the ſerjeant, Mr. Burke was directed to acquaint the lords with the ſame; and that he was ready to be delivered up to the gentleman uſher of the black rod whenever their lordſhips thought proper.

This meſſage being delivered to the houſe, lord Walſingham roſe, and obſerved, that there was no branch of the functions of the houſe, in the exerciſe of which they ought to be more cautious and circumſpect, than in what related to their judicial capacity. They ought alſo to be ſingularly vigilant in ſuch caſes in their attention to the other houſe. Of all criminal proceedings that by impeachment was the moſt ſolemn; and the impeachment then before them was, conſidering the magnitude of the charges, and the conſequence and rank of the perſon accuſed, perhaps the moſt important that had ever been entertained in that houſe. With reſpect to the mode of proceeding, he had two motions to offer to the houſe; the one relative to commitment, the other relative to bail. The bail he ſhould propoſe would be 20,000l. Mr. Haſtings in 10,000l. and two ſureties in 5,000l. each. He concluded by moving, that he ſhould be forthwith taken into the cuſtody of the black rod. The motion being agreed to, Sir Francis Molyneux, gentleman uſher of the black rod, having received the orders of the houſe, appeared, a few minutes after, at the bar and informed their lordſhips that Mr. Haſtings was in his cuſtody. It was then ordered that he ſhould be brought to the bar; which being done accordingly, and Mr. Haſtings being upon his knees, the lord chancellor directed him to riſe, and ordered the articles of impeachment to be read over.

After the clerk had read the preamble to the charges, Mr. Haſtings ſignified his deſire that the articles might be *read ſhort*.—The duke of Richmond ſaid, he could not, upon ſuch a ſolemn occaſion, conſent to this propoſal. He was hitherto utterly unacquainted with the nature and extent of the charges; therefore he felt it his duty to hear them read with the attention they deſerved. The lord chancellor agreed in opinion, and the articles were ordered to be read at length.

At half after ſeven the clerk began reading, and continued until ten,

ten, at which time the ſixth charge was finiſhed; when Lord Townſhend roſe, and moved, that the two remaining charges might be read ſhort, in order to eaſe the houſe, and the priſoner, from the exceſſive fatigue of reading them at length. The duke of Richmond oppoſed the motion. A converſation took place, at the cloſe of which it was agreed to go on, and Mr. Haſtings was allowed a chair. At eleven the articles were finiſhed, and the lord chancellor demanded of him what he had to ſay in his defence. Mr. Haſtings anſwered, "My lords, I rely upon the juſtice "of this houſe, and pray that I may "be granted a copy of the charge, "with a reaſonable time to make "my defence. Likewiſe that I "may be allowed counſel; and that "I may be admitted to bail."

Black rod having then withdrawn with his priſoner, Lord Walſingham roſe, and moved, that Mr. Haſtings might be admitted to bail in the ſum before mentioned.—The duke of Norfolk ſaid, after hearing the articles read, and perceiving the exceeding enormity of them, he could by no means agree to take ſuch ſlender bail. His grace apprehended the leaſt ſum which could be demanded in the preſent caſe ſhould be fifty thouſand pounds; he therefore moved an amendment, that Mr. Haſtings ſhould give bail for twenty-five thouſand pounds, and two ſureties in the like ſum.—Lord Townſhend ſaid, the honour of the nation was intimately connected with the preſent proſecution. The charges againſt Mr. Haſtings were of a very heavy nature, beyond any thing that the journals could produce; he therefore ſeconded the noble duke's motion.—Lord Thurlow quoted the caſe of Sir John Bennet, who gave bail in the ſum of forty thouſand pounds upon an impeachment of a ſimilar nature. His lordſhip was againſt requiring exceſſive bail; it being equally oppreſſive and illegal. It was therefore his opinion that it would be proper to adhere to the precedent on their journals, to prevent their being led aſtray; and he accordingly moved, that he ſhould be admitted to bail, himſelf in 20,000l. and two ſureties in 10,000l. each.

This being agreed to, and the other parts of Mr. Haſtings's requeſt granted, he was again called in, and kneeling at the bar, the lord chancellor addreſſed him to the following purport:

"Mr. Haſtings,

"The lords have allowed you "one month, and until the ſecond "day of the next ſeſſion of par- "liament, to make your anſwers "to the charges alledged by the "commons of this kingdom againſt "you; you will therefore prepare "what you have to urge in your "own defence before that period. "They have alſo admitted you to "bail, on the terms of your bind- "ing yourſelf in twenty thouſand "pounds, and your friends in "twenty thouſand pounds more, "as a ſecurity for your abiding "the iſſue of proceſs: they have "likewiſe allowed you counſel, and "you will be ſo good as name "them."

Mr. Haſtings then, bowing, ſaid, "I thank your lordſhips for the "great indulgence which you have "ſhewn me: I am now ready to "produce my bail; and my coun- "ſel are the following gentlemen, "Meſſrs. Plomber, Law, and Dal- "las."

"las." He then offered as his ſureties Meſſrs. Sulivan and Sumner, who accordingly juſtified at the bar, and their recognizance being taken, Mr. Haſtings was ordered to withdraw.

The remaining articles of impeachment were agreed to by the houſe of commons without any debate, and on the 28th of May were preſented by Mr. Burke to the lords; and Mr. Haſtings being ordered to attend, they were read the ſame day, and copies of them ordered for his uſe.

On Wedneſday, the 30th of May, the king went in the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers, and the commons being ſent for, the ſpeaker, as ſoon as he came to the bar, addreſſed his majeſty, and ſtated that he had brought up two bills, by which the houſe of commons had granted to his majeſty an additional ſupply; and he expreſſed the ſatisfaction they felt in having been able to provide for the ſervices of the year without having recourſe to any new loan. He then enumerated the principal tranſactions of the ſeſſions, as they related to the ſeveral objects that had been recommended to their attention at the opening of the ſeſſions.

The royal aſſent being then given to the bills, the king made a ſpeech from the throne, in which he commended their zeal and aſſiduity, and thanked them for the proofs they had given of their affection for him, his family, and government. He then acquainted them of the unhappy diſſenſions which prevailed in the United Provinces, and which, as a friend to the republic, he could not ſee without the moſt real concern. He expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the ſeveral public meaſures they had carried into effect, and recommended to them to purſue, in their ſeveral counties, the ſame ſalutary objects. The lord chancellor then, by his majeſty's command, prorogued the parliament.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

France. Various causes conducing to that revolution which has taken place in the political sentiments and public opinions of that nation. How far the American war and its consequences might be supposed to operate in producing that revolution. Unequalled expences and heavy debts produced by that war, added to the previous enormous burthens of the state, clog and embarrass all the movements of government, and involve the financial system in inextricable disorder. Financier succeeds financier without effect. Patriotic and generous endeavours of the king to relieve the distresses of the people, by curtailing in an unexampled degree the expences of his court and household, prove equally fruitless. The monarch, disappointed in all the hopes held out by his ministers, finds it necessary to throw himself for council and assistance upon the representatives of the nation. Difficulty of restoring the ancient assemblies of the states, through the manner of their election, their number, and the form of their proceedings being totally forgotten. Assembly of notables convened. King meets them in great state. Proceedings. M. de Calonne finds himself obliged to resign the administration of public affairs, and to retire to England. Convention of notables dissolved, without their having answered all the hopes of the court. Opposition of the parliament of Paris to the new taxes laid on by the crown. Celebrated remonstrance by that body. King, by the exertion of his authority in a bed of justice, obliges them to register the land-tax and stamp-duty edicts. Extraordinary protest, which renders them of no effect. Parliament banished to Troyes. Great discontents. Turbulence of the Parisians occasions a strong armed force to enter that city. Flame of liberty bursting forth in different parts of the kingdom. Parliament recalled. Combination of circumstances which nearly compelled France to submit to the measures pursued by England and Prussia with respect to Holland. Convention with England for mutually disarming. King meets the parliament with two edicts for a new loan, amounting to about 19 millions of English money. King sits nine hours to hear the debates; and at length, departing hastily, orders the edicts to be registered. Duke of Orleans thereupon protests against the whole proceedings of the day as invalid. Protest confirmed by the parliament. Duke of Orleans banished to one of his country seats, and two members of the parliament to remote prisons. Strong and repeated remonstrances. Some relaxation obtained with respect to the imprisoned magistrates.

THE jealousy natural to rival nations, and the desire that the misfortunes of our enemies should seem by a sort of providential justice to grow out of their own designs to injure us, makes us fond to attribute the difficulties in which France is involved to the interference of that government in supporting the rebellion of the British American colonies against the parent country. Although this circumstance was by no means the sole cause, it has amongst others contributed to the events which now occupy our attention in that country.

country. It was a curious, but by no means an unexampled ſpectacle, to behold a nation become at once the champions and zealous aſſertors of the rights of others, who had almoſt loſt all remembrance of their own liberties; and that a crown, which had for ages been eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm, ſhould teach a leſſon directly ſubverſive of its own principles, by encouraging and ſupporting the ſubjects of others in a reſiſtance to the ordinances of their legal and natural rulers.

But when ſuch an event did take place, it was not difficult to conceive, that a free intercourſe and intimate connection between people who had hitherto been in a great meaſure ſtrangers, and who were accordingly pleaſed to diſcover better qualities in each other, than the local prejudices of mankind permitted them to expect, ſhould produce a mutual communication of ſentiments, and as error and prejudice decreaſed, in many caſes an exchange of opinions. It was ſcarcely poſſible that ſo many thouſand Frenchmen ſhould have lived ſo many years in America, under all the viciſſitudes of a common and dangerous war, in all the eaſe and feſtivity of a ſucceeding unexpected peace, and participating equally with the natives in the extremes of both, without their becoming in a conſiderable degree American. On the other hand, the rigid ſectariſts of Boſton, forgetting that mortal averſion which they had ſo long borne to popery, were ſo much ſoftened by an acquaintance with their new friends and gueſts, that they not only permitted but aſſiſted at the moſt ſolemn ſervice of that church for the dead, which they had ever before conſidered as an abomination ſcarcely inferior to idolatry.

It was to the honour of the French gentlemen who ſerved by ſea and land upon this occaſion, that the minds of many of them being ſtrongly tinctured by letters and philoſophy, they were accordingly diſpoſed to examine, reflect upon, and apply the many new objects which now came within their immediate obſervation. Others, under the ſame deſcription, were employed there in civil, diplomatique, and mercantile affairs; curioſity, pleaſure, and private connections led others; and ſome, who were profeſſedly philoſophers, went thither to explore and to ſpeculate upon, as it were, a new world, and new orders of mankind. It was impoſſible that theſe ſhould not be ſtruck by the excellency of that admirable original conſtitution, whoſe emanations could at ſo great a diſtance, diffuſe ſuch glorious ſcenes of equality, ſecurity, and proſperity among mankind as they now beheld.

The intercourſe which for ſeveral years has been continually increaſing between France and England; the frequent viſits paid by men of the firſt rank and quality, as well as the moſt brilliant talents, from the former to the latter; and perhaps, more than both, that paſſion for reading the works of the firſt Engliſh writers, as well upon the great ſubjects of government and philoſophy, as upon thoſe of a lighter nature, have combined in producing a ſingular revolution, not only among men of learning and ſpeculatiſts, but even in the tide of popular opinion in that country. The predominancy of England in the affairs of Europe, the glory of

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our arms, and the extenſion of our dominion, by fixing the attention and exciting the admiration of other nations, has given riſe to a ſpirit of imitation which diſpoſes them to copy us in all things, but principally in that in which we are moſt diſtinguiſhed, the form of our government. In France more eſpecially, ſubjects were publicly and eagerly diſcuſſed, which before were either thought too dangerous to be meddled with, or which it was ſuppoſed a people ſo long and ſo often charged with being too frivolous for deep thinking, and too vain to profit by the thoughts of others, would not take the trouble to conſider. The principles upon which governments were originally founded, the ultimate objects of their inſtitution, with the relative rights and duties of the governors and of the governed, became ſubjects of common converſation among common men. But above all, the perſonal ſecurity afforded by the Engliſh conſtitution, and the right which every man poſſeſſed of appealing publicly to the laws, and to the world, in all caſes of grievance or oppreſſion by power, were generally admired and envied: while *lettres de cachet*, and all other modes of impriſonment, baniſhment, or puniſhment, without legal trial, and legal condemnation, were univerſally execrated.

But this diſpoſition among the people might have been eaſily overlayed and ſmothered in its infancy, if the American war had not at the ſame time effectually provided for its nurture and growth. The minds of men grow attached to thoſe principles which the cauſes they are embarked in require them to maintain; and as the neceſſity and long habit of referring to and inſiſting upon the rights of government during the American conteſts, may in ſome degree have weakened the ſpirit of liberty amongſt us, ſo the French nation, reſorting more to proviſion and principle, by which the abuſes of power are corrected, than thoſe by which its energy is maintained, have imbibed a love of freedom nearly incompatible with royalty. But it was owing to a ſecondary cauſe that the American war became inſtrumental to the revolution which has taken place in the affairs of that country. It involved the crown in ſuch difficulties and diſtreſſes, as compelled it at length of neceſſity to throw itſelf for ſupport upon the people; thereby affording them ſuch an opportunity for ſpeaking, thinking, and acting freely, as (excepting the licentiouſneſs of the civil wars) three centuries had not before ſhewn to France.

For the illuſtration of this ſubject it may be neceſſary to premiſe, that the public debts of that kingdom had been exceedingly heavy, and its finances much embarraſſed for many years back: that the intolerable burthens which war and ambition had laid upon the nation were continually increaſed by the enormous expences of the crown, and the profuſion that prevailed during the unequalled length of the two laſt reigns: that the weight and amount of the debts were only part of the public misfortune; that the whole ſyſtem of finance was in the laſt degree faulty and ruinous; that the taxes were ill laid, and worſe levied; and that the farmers of the revenues, who made immenſe fortunes, were almoſt the only people who lived in ſplendour, while the bulk and the moſt valuable part of the

the nation were groaning in poverty.

The American war took place in this ſtate of things; and the people, in their zeal to ſupport a new ſovereign in his firſt war, forgot debts and taxes. The oſtenſible cauſes, and the underſtood private motives of the war, were all likewiſe alluring and highly captivating to the imaginations of a generous, a warlike, and even to a commercial people. It appeared great and heroic to reſcue an oppreſſed people, who were gallantly contending for their rights, from inevitable ruin; it ſeemed a grand ſtroke of policy to reduce the power and to humble the pride of a great and haughty rival: the heavy blows received in the former war with England could not be forgotten; and however the wounds ſeemed to be ſkinned over by a peace ſo unaccountably favourable that the principles on which it was concluded are not yet perhaps underſtood, they ſtill rankled in the breaſt of every Frenchman; nothing could therefore be more flattering to the national pride than to ſuppoſe the happy opportunity was now arrived for eraſing all the ſtigmas of that unfortunate period: nor was this all, for as it was univerſally ſuppoſed that the loſs of America would prove an incurable if not a mortal wound to England, ſo it was equally expected that the power of the Gallic throne would thereby be fixed on ſuch permanent foundations, as never again to be ſhaken by any ſtroke of fortune; and to complete this pyramid of glory and advantage, commercial benefits before unknown, along with ſuch an acceſſion of naval ſtrength as ſhould command the ſeas, were to be derived from the new alliance and connection with America. This ſpeculation, like many others, when tried by the teſt of dear-bought experience; came to nothing, and theſe fond hopes have already vaniſhed in ſmoke. The nation were, however, ſo ſanguine in them, that they entered into the war with unexampled appetite, and a common heart and a common hand appeared in its proſecution.

But though the American war failed in producing its wiſhed-for effects with reſpect to France, it left behind it other relics of a leſs pleaſing nature, which could not ſoon be forgotten. Through various cauſes, particularly from the novel manner in which it was conducted, its operations being moſtly naval, and extended to the remoteſt quarters of the world, from the extreme poverty and urgent neceſſity of their new allies, and the prevalent ſpirit of the time, which led to the moſt unbounded ſupplies, under a perſuaſion that the money ſo laid out would be repaid in advantages to an hundred times its amount, the American war became the moſt expenſive, for the time of its continuance, of any in which France probably had ever been engaged; and this expence was the more ruinous in its effect, from the circumſtance that a great part of this money was ſunk at ſuch diſtances from home, or laid out in commodities doubly periſhable, through nature and through hoſtility, that there was little proſpect of its ever returning. From this war, then, an immenſe new debt being laid upon the back of the old, already too great, the accumulation became ſo vaſt, that it

it ſeemed to ſwell beyond the common bounds of examination and enquiry.

The multitude of the diſtinct loans which all together compoſed this vaſt maſs of debt, and the diverſity of the conditions upon which (according to the genius of the reſpective projectors) they had been raiſed, the numberleſs appropriations of particular revenues to particular funds, and the frequent infractions of theſe to ſupply the immediate neceſſities of the ſtate, occaſioned ſuch voluminous detailed accounts, ſuch endleſs references, explanations, applications and deficiencies, with ſuch eternal calculations and crowds of figures, that the whole preſented a chaos of confuſion, in which the financiers themſelves ſeemed ſcarcely leſs bewildered than the public.

This ſtate of diſorder and darkneſs was comparatively, however, only a ſmall part of the public grievance. The taxes, numerous as they were, and ruinous in the laſt degree to the people, were totally unequal to the ſupply of the current expences of the ſtate, and to the diſcharge of the intereſt or annuities riſing on the various funds. This deficiency was ſo great ſince the late war, that the whole amount of the revenues fell ſeveral millions ſterling ſhort of the demand in each year. New funds could not be raiſed, but the exigencies of the ſtate muſt be ſupplied; and no means appeared for anſwering this purpoſe, but by withholding the payment of the annuities to the public creditors, for ſo great a ſum as the amount of the deficiency. This ruinous meaſure could not but involve multitudes of people in the greateſt diſtreſs and calamity; and beſides raiſed great clamour and diſcontent, at the undue preference ſuppoſed to be given to thoſe claſſes whoſe payments were not ſtopped.

In this diſaſtrous ſtate of public affairs, while financier ſucceeded financier, and projects multiplied upon projects, each new miniſter attributed the public evils to the fault of his predeceſſor, and had his own favourite ſcheme of arrangement, which was to remove them all. This produced a ceſſation of the murmurs of the public while the ſhort ſunſhine of hope laſted; but only ſerved to redouble their grief and indignation when they found that every attempt at elucidation only ſerved to thicken the obſcurity, and that every hope of redreſs ended in an increaſe of the evils.

The crown, with reſpect to all that lay within its own immediate cognizance and power, acted the nobleſt part during this ſtate of public embarraſſment and diſtreſs. Incapable of comprehending the complicated details, and the perplexed ſituation of the national finances, the king endeavoured to alleviate the diſtreſſes of the people, by curtailing the expences of his court, houſhold, and even of his royal perſon. But though theſe reductions were ſo great as to trench deeply upon the long-eſtabliſhed ſplendour of the crown, and though the ſavings were accordingly very conſiderable, yet they failed of anſwering the patriotic and generous intentions of the monarch, when plunged into the abyſs of public debts, demands, and neceſſities. The free gifts granted by the clergy, and other public bodies, produced as little permanent effect; and

and amidſt the multitude of demands, could ſcarcely afford relief to any preſent pecuniary neceſſity of the court.

Theſe circumſtances, with the alarming clamour and diſcontent which they produced, threw the crown into a ſituation extremely irkſome to all potentates, but the moſt favourable that could be to the new ſpirit riſen in France, and to the wiſhes of a people who now began to grow impatient for an opportunity of recovering ſome part at leaſt of their ancient rights and privileges. The crown, wearied out by the repeated failure and diſappointment which it had experienced in the ſchemes and undertakings of miniſters, and finding its difficulties every day increaſing, and becoming more inſupportable, determined at length to throw itſelf upon the affection and wiſdom of the nation for ſuccour and ſupport. It is ſaid, that M. de Calonne, who was then the financial miniſter, had propoſed this wiſe and ſalutary meaſure. It is however certain that the king adopted the meaſure with ſo good a grace, that it ſeemed to flow ſpontaneouſly from his own good diſpoſition and will; and it was undoubtedly happy to France that her preſent monarch neither poſſeſſed the obſtinate, overbearing, arbitrary temper of ſome of his predeceſſors, nor had conſigned his power into the hands of miſtreſſes and favourites, and ſuffered his mind to be poiſoned by the vanity and pleaſures of a voluptuous court.

The pecuniary difficulties of the ſtate have, in many countries, and particularly in England, made it neceſſary for monarchs to apply to the collective reſources and collective councils of their people. The modification of regal authority, and the admiſſion of the public into a participation of that authority, has generally been attended with conſequences eaſy and happy to both. Few kings however have had recourſe to this expedient until they had exhauſted every other means of ſupply; they moſt commonly viſited their ſubjects after the adoption of irregular or violent meaſures for increaſing the revenue they already poſſeſſed, and thus loſt the merit of a generous reliance on the approbation and affection of their people, ſeeming rather to be driven to them by neceſſity than to turn to them through choice. This has not been the caſe in the preſent government of France. There have, comparatively ſpeaking, during the preſent reign, been but little reſort to compulſory loans, arbitrary extenſion of taxes, alteration in the value of the coin, or to any of thoſe modes of violence and chicane which, not unfrequently, compoſe the fiſcal inventory of monarchs. On the contrary, whether it was the effect of deſign, or of accident, it ſo happened, that from the moment the preſent king turned his attention ſeriouſly to the improvement of his revenues, the object has been to eſtabliſh a baſis of public credit. This was begun under the adminiſtration of Mr. Neckar, by a general expoſure of the finances. The public were ſolemnly called in to the council of the monarch, and deſired to judge for themſelves in a concern of ſuch great and general importance.—A great ſtep, not to the forms but to the ſubſtance of public liberty, and perhaps the greateſt advance that ever was made by a king towards the eſtabliſhment of a free conſtitu-

tion. With more or leſs regularity this ſyſtem has been purſued ever ſince, until by its natural operation, combined with the growing neceſſities of the government, it led to the calling of the aſſembly of the *notables*, and from thence to a more univerſal application to the ſenſe of the nation.

Although ſo much time has elapſed ſince the laſt convocation of the ſtates general, that thoſe aſſemblies are almoſt obſolete, yet the French nation never wholly loſt ſight of that remnant of their ancient conſtitution. Their wiſeſt patriots, and the moſt ſpirited of their governors, have often looked back to that antique and ſalutary remedy. In that period of mixed inſurrection and tyranny, joined to foreign glory, which diſtinguiſhed the dominion of cardinal Richelieu, the nation was never in the condition, in the temper, or in the neceſſity of deliberating in common. During the troubles which attended the minority of Louis the XIVth, the queen regent often talked of calling the ſtates general. The ſplendour, the viciſſitudes of that reign, are well known; the unlimited power of the monarch, and the troubled ſcenes in which he wound up the glories of his life. The duke of Burgundy, the pupil of the author of Telemachus, to whom his grandfather had begun to delegate a portion of his authority, on whom the fondeſt hopes of the nation turned, and who promiſed to unite the qualities of a chriſtian, a philoſopher, and a king, had certainly formed a deſign, among many other projects for the advantage of the ſtate, and the relief of his people, to convene the ſtates. He dying prematurely, power, on the demiſe of Louis the XIVth, fell into hands of a different ſtamp. It is not improbable that the veneration in which the character of this prince remained in the memory of the French, and particularly of his family, infuſed ſimilar ſentiments into the mind of the late dauphin (the ſon of Louis the XVth) who formed himſelf upon the model of the duke of Burgundy. The reverence, approaching to adoration, which the preſent king of France entertains for the opinions and attachments of his father, is ſuppoſed to be the ruling principle of his character and conduct. It is therefore a curious and not an improbable ſpeculation to ſuppoſe, that the approximation to the body of the nation, and leaning to public councils, which, whether wiſely or not, whether fortunately or not, have diſtinguiſhed the preſent reign, had their origin in thoſe remote and ſucceſſive cauſes. And if ſo, it is a matter worthy of contemplation to conſider, how the thoughts, writings, and actions of thoſe who are dead many years, affect the revolutions of the preſent day.

It became however a matter of difficulty in what manner to obtain the ſenſe or aid of the nation in the preſent exigence. The ancient aſſemblies of the ſtates of the kingdom had been ſo long diſuſed, that not only their forms were worn out of memory, but the extent of their rights and powers were ſo much unknown, that all information upon the ſubject was either to be ſought amidſt the rubbiſh of the antiquarian, or in the obſcure and faithleſs pages of vague and ill-informed hiſtorians, who were much fonder of relating prodigies, than of preſerving thoſe records of mankind

kind which would have been moſt eſſential to futurity. It was ſtill however generally known, that the ancient aſſemblies of the ſtates reſembled the Engliſh parliaments in the greateſt and moſt eſſential point of their conſtitution, which was the power of granting the public money for the public ſervices, or of withholding it, if the purpoſe for which it was required by the crown did not appear to them conſonant or neceſſary to the advantage of the ſtate.

In this ſtate of darkneſs, without a compaſs to ſteer by, the firſt effort made by the court for the accompliſhment of its purpoſe, was to ſummon a convention of principal perſons, from the different claſſes of the people, and from all the parts of the kingdom, who were to receive from the king a communication of his intentions for the relief of his ſubjects, information on the preſent ſtate of the finances, and to conſider of and to provide remedies againſt ſeveral abuſes; the king reſting aſſured, that he ſhould receive from them every aſſiſtance which he had a right to expect for the good of the kingdom, which was the only object he had in view.—The members of this aſſembly were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of *notables*, being the ſame name which had been applied to another convention of the ſame nature, which had been held in the year 1626.

Dec. 29th, 1786. A circular letter to this purpoſe, ſigned by the king, was accordingly diſpatched to all thoſe perſons who had been appointed to act as members of this convention; they being ſummoned to aſſemble at Verſailles on the 29th of January 1787, there to take their ſeats, and to hear ſuch matters as ſhould be propoſed to them in the king's name.

The ſickneſs and death of that able miniſter, M. de Vergennes, whoſe political intrigues and extenſive views, joined to a very intimate knowledge of the reſpective ſtrength or weakneſs of foreign ſtates, and of thoſe inviſible ſprings of action by which they might be ſwayed or divided, occaſioned the meeting of the new convention to be ſuſpended from the 29th of January to the 22d of the enſuing February. In the mean time the marquis de Montmorin, who had been long initiated in the political principles and deſigns of the count de Vergennes, was, at his own ſpecial recommendation, appointed to be his ſucceſſor as miniſter for foreign affairs.

The king went in the greateſt magnificence, accompanied by the princes of the blood, and attended by all the great officers of the ſtate and houſhold, to dignify the opening of the new aſſembly of the notables.

In laying before this body the various matters which were to become the ſubjects of their deliberation, it was neceſſary that the miniſter ſhould give a ſatisfactory explanation of thoſe cauſes which opened the way to the preſent ſtate of public embarraſſment and diſtreſs. In doing this, M. de Calonne, with proper addreſs, endeavoured to make a favourable impreſſion on the diſpoſition of his audience, by ſhewing the pleaſing and bright ſide of the picture, before he was under a neceſſity of exhibiting the reverſe. With this view, in his introductory ſpeech, he enumerated the various great and glorious, as well as patriotic and beneficial acts of the

preſent reign. In this ſummary, he particularly attributed to the king the creating of a marine, and thereby rendering the French flag reſpectable over every part of the ocean; his having protected and confirmed the liberties of a new nation, which, being ſeparated from a rival power, was now become a friend and ally; and, after having terminated an honourable war by a ſolid peace, had ſhewn himſelf worthy to be conſidered as the moderator of all Europe.—That his majeſty had not then given himſelf up to a barren inaction; he was too ſenſible how much ſtill remained to be done for the happineſs of his ſubjects; and that, the aſſuring to his people a free and extenſive commerce abroad the procuring a good adminiſtration at home, with the encouragement and eſtabliſhment of uſeful arts and manufactures, were the objects of his invariable purſuit, and ſhould ever continue the point to which his views would be directed. The three new treaties of commerce, concluded with Holland, England, and Ruſſia, were brought as illuſtrations of theſe poſitions.

After this exordium, which he dwelt on with complacence, the miniſter had to turn to the diſagreeable part of the buſineſs. He entered into long details, to ſhew the deplorable ſtate in which he found the finances when he was entruſted with their adminiſtration, at the cloſe of the American war. A vaſt unfunded debt; all annuities and intereſt greatly in arrear; all the coffers empty; the public ſtocks fallen to the loweſt point; circulation interrupted, and all credit and confidence deſtroyed. He then ſhewed the meaſures which he had purſued, and the happy effects they had produced (ſo far as his means could reach) in remedying theſe complicated evils. Through theſe efforts public credit was re-eſtabliſhed, the ſtocks brought a fair price at market, money was plenty, and the *Caiſſe d'Eſcompte* (a kind of national bank) had now eſtabliſhed its credit upon a firm baſis. Great and expenſive public works, of the utmoſt national importance and utility, had likewiſe been undertaken, and were now far advanced towards completion; it would be needleſs to repeat to that aſſembly what had been done, and was doing, with reſpect to the harbours of Cherburgh, Havre, Rochelle, and Dunkirk.

But with all theſe pleaſant circumſtances and favourable appearances, an evil ſtill remained behind of the moſt alarming and ruinous nature; an evil which muſt every year increaſe in its magnitude, and at length become fatal in its effect, if not timely remedied. This was the great annual deficiency of the public revenue, with reſpect to the ſupply of the current public expence. This was an evil which went far beyond the reach of miniſters, and baffled all ſchemes of induſtry and œconomy. Eternal borrowing would neceſſarily be an eternal aggravation of the evil; additional taxes would oppreſs the people, whom the king wiſhed of all things to relieve; anticipation on the revenue of ſubſequent years had already been carried to a ruinous extent; and with reſpect to œconomy, and the reform of expences, the king had already, not only with reſpect to his houſhold, but to other departments, carried theſe points as far as could be done, without weakening the ſtate and government.

government.—It was then in the reform of abuſes, that the king and his miniſters truſted principally to find reſources for exonerating the crown and the nation from this intolerable grievance and evil. In the abuſes themſelves would be found a great fund which the king had a right to reclaim. This was a ſubject whoſe importance neceſſarily demanded all the collected wiſdom, attention, and ſagacity of the aſſembly, and it was accordingly recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to their deliberation.

Among the objects particularly recommended to their enquiry and conſideration, was the ſtate of the Gallic territorial impoſts, and the eſtabliſhment of a general and equal impoſt on land (in the nature of the Engliſh land-tax) from which no rank or order of men was to be exempted. It was ſaid, that the eſtabliſhment of this tax would have occaſioned a defalcation in the revenues of the duke of Orleans only, of forty thouſand pounds ſterling a year; and it was farther ſaid (to his immortal honour, if founded) that he would not have oppoſed it.

Another object of enquiry and diſcuſſion was afforded by the poſſeſſions of the clergy, and their exemption from taxation.—The ſtate of the various branches of internal taxation was another object of enquiry.—And the raiſing of money by mortgaging the demeſne lands of the crown, formed a fourth ſubject of conſideration. But the grand and eſſential object of reform, and that which the court had particularly at heart, was to equalize the public burthens, by rendering the taxes general, which would have made them bearable, and comparatively eaſy, inſtead of their falling upon the lower and moſt uſeful claſſes of the people, to the diſcouragement and ruin of enterprize and induſtry, whether with reſpect to manufactures or agriculture. The antient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public aſſeſſments; and, conſidering this as one of their moſt diſtinguiſhed and enviable privileges, it was of courſe the moſt difficult to be reſigned. Had the evil gone no farther, notwithſtanding the preſent weight of taxes, it might have been ſtill perhaps borne with patience, from the miſchief it produced being narrowed within certain fixed and cuſtomary limits. But through the ſhameful cuſtom of ſelling patents of nobility, ſuch crowds of new nobleſſe ſtarted up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them; for the firſt object with thoſe who had acquired fortunes rapidly, whether by the oppreſſion of the people, or by peculation from the public, in the collection or management of the revenues, was, next to the purchaſe of an eſtate, that of a patent, which, beſides the gratification of a vanity ſo peculiarly predominant with ſuch people, afforded an exemption to them and their poſterity from a proportionable contribution to the exigencies of the ſtate, or alleviating the diſtreſſes of that public on whoſe ſpoils they had fattened. The magiſtracies likewiſe throughout the kingdom (who are in France exceedingly numerous) enjoyed their ſhare of theſe exemptions; ſo that the whole weight of the taxes fell upon thoſe who were leaſt able to bear them.

This deſign of equalizing the public burthens was undoubtedly great and noble; but how the miniſter could think of any project

ſucceeding, which in its very nature united the three great bodies of the nation, the nobility, the clergy, and the magiſtracy, in one common intereſt againſt him, is not eaſily underſtood. That much public ſpirit and virtue were lodged in many individuals of all theſe claſſes was not to be queſtioned; but it would argue little knowledge of mankind, to ſuppoſe that theſe ſentiments could operate upon a majority in any of them.

The event was ſuch as might have been expected. An univerſal clamour was raiſed againſt the miniſter. The people were taught to believe that he intended to load them with new taxes; and thus the blind and giddy multitude were rendered an inſtrument in the hands of their hereditary oppreſſors, for the ruin of the firſt miniſter who had ever attempted to do them any eſſential ſervice. Such has in general, but unfortunately, been the reward of thoſe who (without having eſtabliſhed a previous confidence, which is indeed ſeldom gained without the aid of ſome ſpecious deception) have attempted to ſerve the people at large. Effectual meaſures were at the ſame time uſed at the fountain head, for looſening the king's confidence in the miniſter, which probably would have been ſufficiently ſhaken without by the public clamour.

The miniſter finding it impoſſible to withſtand the torrent, or in any manner to cover himſelf from the obloquy which was poured upon him from all quarters, not only found it neceſſary to reſign his office, in the middle of the ſitting of the notables, but to retire to England for refuge, from that ſtorm of perſecution which he ſaw gathering with the moſt malignant aſpect. This happened pretty early in April; and after ſome temporary appointments, M. de Brienne, archbiſhop of Tholouſe, was about a month after appointed to be his ſucceſſor.

The propoſed territorial impoſt, or general land-tax, which was an object ſo ardently coveted by the court, produced much debate, and little agreement, in the aſſembly of the notables. Beſides the particular and individual intereſts by which it was oppoſed, whole provinces objected to it, as a direct infraction of their rights, and a violation of thoſe original capitularies which they had entered into with the crown, for the preſervation of their ancient immunities, and on the faith of which they became members of the kingdom. Upon this ſubject the attorney general of Provence was bold enough to declare, that neither that aſſembly, the parliaments, nor the king himſelf, could aſſeſs any ſuch impoſt in the country which he repreſented, as being directly contrary to the ſpecific and indefeaſible rights of the people.

Under theſe circumſtances it became every day more apparent, that the preſent convention was unequal to the greater objects for which it was aſſembled, and that nothing leſs than an aſſemblage of the ſtates general of the kingdom, aſſiſted by the inſtruction or advice of the reſpective provincial ſtates, particularly in all that related to their own peculiar rights and privileges, could effectually remove the preſent grievances, by ſuch permanent arrangements of the public revenues and expences, to be always under their own controul, as ſhould render the crown for

for the future easy in its pecuniary affairs, and the burthens of the people to sit as light as their nature could admit.

Many useful regulations and reforms were however proposed by the convention of notables, and adopted by the court, both with respect to several of the taxes and gabelles themselves, to the mode of levying them, to the persons employed in the collection, and to the boards or offices which were to regulate and govern the assessments. But as these reached only to parts, and to the removal of the more glaring and obvious grievances, they only served to shew more clearly the necessity of such an efficient power as would be finally conclusive, and acting upon a system of reform so comprehensive, as to embrace the whole aggregate of grievance and evil.

But whatever the future good effects might be to the nation, the crown was grievously disappointed with respect to the great object for which it had summoned this convention, the obtaining immediate relief for its present most urgent necessities; particularly the failure of raising 112 millions of livres upon the expected territorial imposts (which the ministers held out as a matter of such indispensable necessity, that government could scarcely otherwise exercise its necessary functions) could not but be greatly distressing.

The king, however, bore the disappointment with such admirable temper, that the convention and he parted with every appearance of the most perfect confidence and good humour on both sides. In his speech, on dissolving the assembly, he acknowledged, that they had fulfilled his expectations in assisting him with their counsels, and delivering their sentiments with that freedom and truth which he was ever willing to hear. That he was thoroughly satisfied with their indefatigable zeal and attention in examining the objects he had communicated or recommended to them. That they had not only properly enquired into various abuses, but had suggested the means for reforming them. That they had done much towards the attainment of the grand object, of reducing the expences of the state to a level with the public revenues, by the accurate enquiry which they made into the deficiences and their causes, by pointing out the different œconomical savings which might properly be effected, and in affording time for the effect to operate, by the temporary provisional taxes which for the intermediate time they had recommended as the most proper to be laid upon his subjects. He concluded by declaring the great comfort he had in thinking, that the form and method of these new imposts would not be so burthensome as those of former times; the only wish of his heart being that of rendering his people as contented and as happy as possible.

May 25th.

Thus was a most unexpected opening made (whatever the final event may be) towards the restoration of the ancient Gallic constitution; a constitution, however defective in some respects it might be, which, in common with other feudal governments, lodged the sole power of granting or withholding subsidies, and consequently of levying imposts upon the people, entirely in the hands of the states of the kingdom collectively assembled. This constitution was first severely shaken through

through the diſorders and confuſion which the laſt long and bloody wars carried on by the Engliſh in the heart of the kingdom occaſioned; for they afforded an opportunity to Charles the ſeventh, or indeed laid him under a neceſſity, of raiſing money upon the ſubject, for the common defence, at his own will. This example was followed up, and nearly carried to its utmoſt extent, by his crafty and arbitrary ſucceſſor, Louis the XIth; but though the conſtitution was laid proſtrate, it was not abſolutely deprived of exiſtence, until it received its mortal wound under the hands of that able, ſucceſsful, wicked, and cruel ſtateſman, cardinal Richelieu, in the reign of Louis the XIIIth, whoſe crooked policy, the more effectually to ſecure his purpoſe, nearly extinguiſhed the ancient nobility, reducing to beggary thoſe who eſcaped the ſword or the ſcaffold, and thereby laying the ſpirit of the nation in the duſt.

The diſuſe of the meetings of the ſtates general had thrown great power and authority into the hands of the parliaments of the kingdom, and had been the means of ſhedding a luſtre and dignity on their proceedings, and of affording them a weight with the public, from whence they were enabled to derive a degree of conſequence founded on opinion, which far tranſcended the powers they were inveſted with in their original conſtitution. For theſe bodies, which were mere courts of juſtice, being now the only intermediate authority between the ſovereign and the people, were naturally looked up to by theſe, as their only ſhield againſt the violence and oppreſſion of the crown; while the kings themſelves were fully ſenſible of the benefit of ſuch a medium, in giving a ſanction to the taxes which their prodigality, or the occaſions of government, inceſſantly demanded, or at leaſt of taking off ſome part of the odium ariſing from them.

The parliaments held the office of regiſtering the king's edicts; by which nothing more was probably at firſt underſtood or intended, than to eſtabliſh their validity. In proceſs of time, however, and by ſeizing favourable opportunities, the parliaments endeavoured to convert (and in a great meaſure ſucceeded) this act of mere regiſtry, into a right of examining into, and determining upon the propriety of the ordinances which thus came before them, and from thence aſſumed an abſolute negative upon the money edicts, by refuſing to regiſter thoſe which did not meet their approbation. This aſſumption of power was ſupported by the popularity neceſſarily attending all oppoſition to pecuniary impoſitions, the parliaments having the advantage of appearing in the light of protectors to the people, without being implicated in any of the harſh and ſeverer duties of government. Their reſiſtance of fiſcal edicts became accordingly a ſource of frequent and great diſputes with the crown, in which ſometimes the one and ſometimes the other ſide gave way, according to the ſtate of things, and the temper prevalent on either; the parliaments in ſeveral inſtances braving all the indignation of the crown, and enduring with wonderful fortitude, baniſhment, impriſonment, degradation from the exerciſe of their functions, and in ſome caſes total ruin to their families by the final loſs of their places, all of which

which they had purchaſed, and were virtually their private eſtates. All theſe conteſts neceſſarily tended to endear the parliaments more to the people (who conſidered them as martyrs in the cauſe of the public), and to increaſe their conſequence with the crown.

It is then eaſily underſtood, that the reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution, and the frequent aſſemblage of the ſtates general, would in a great meaſure deprive the parliaments of the authority which they had aſſumed and acquired during the long remiſſion of thoſe meetings; that they would dwindle into their original ſtate of mere regiſters and courts of law; and that the people would ſoon be weaned from that affection and reverence with which they had ſo long regarded them; a conſequence which would have been more ſenſibly felt by generous minds, than the mere loſs of authority abſtractedly conſidered

Under theſe circumſtances, nothing leſs than the moſt diſintereſted patriotiſm, could induce the parliaments to wiſh for, much leſs in any degree to further ſuch a revolution in the ſtate and government, however great its utility to the public in general might be; for to ſuppoſe that a majority in any numerous aſſembly ſhould adopt the generous reſolution of making ſuch ſacrifices, was to ſuppoſe ſuch degrees of exalted virtue and ſelf-denial to prevail in the breaſts of men, as no modern experience could warrant either the politician or moraliſt in expecting.

Yet, to the honour of that aſſembly, the parliament of Paris, who are no repreſentatives of the people, who owe them no obligation, and who are not accountable to them for any part of their conduct, diſplayed this exalted value. The queſtion of petitioning the king to aſſemble the general ſtates had been twice propoſed, and twice negatived, after the breaking up of the notables; the patriotic minorities were however very conſiderable on each diviſion. Theſe ſtill perſevering in their intention, ſeized the fair opportunity which fortune offered, of new diſputes ariſing between the crown and the parliament, upon the ſubject of new taxes which were propoſed by the former, and refuſed by the latter. At that juncture, while the minds of men were warmed by the conteſt, and apprehenſive of the exertions of power that might be adopted, they brought on the queſtion again, and nobly carried it by a majority of ſixty to forty; upon which ſixteen deputies were immediately appointed to convey the petition in form, and with the greater effect, to the king.

The notables not having afforded any relief that could at all ſupply the immediate urgent neceſſities of government, the crown was obliged to recur to its uſual mode of raiſing money by the king's edicts. Among the meaſures propoſed for this purpoſe, was the doubling of the poll-tax, the re-eſtabliſhment of the third-twentieth, and a ſtamp-duty. But though ſubſidies were indiſpenſable, the king was willing to gratify the parliament in the manner of raiſing them. The parliament, however, remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the whole, inſiſting, that before they granted, or concurred in raiſing any money, a true account of the ſtate of the finances, and of the purpoſes to which it was to be applied, ſhould be laid before them. The tax upon ſtamps became the immediate

immediate object of contention; and it ſeemed as if it would have been attended with conſequences here, little inferior to thoſe which a tax of the ſame nature had ſo ſignally produced in another part of the world. The parliament refuſed to regiſter the edict, and the king was obliged to apply, as the laſt reſort, to his abſolute authority, by holding what is called a bed of juſtice, in compelling them to that meaſure.

It was upon this occaſion that the count d'Artois, the king's youngeſt brother, who had before ſtood favourably in the public opinion, forfeited his popularity in a degree which poſſibly may never be recovered. The firſt preſident of the parliament having in a very ſpirited ſpeech declared the cauſes upon which that body grounded their refuſal of regiſtering the ſtamp tax, that prince uttered paſſionately, that "if he were king they ſhould comply;" upon which the preſident, making a low bow, replied, "If "you were king, I ſhould ſay what "I have done now;—my heart is "the people's, my underſtanding is "my own, and my head is the "king's."

Aug. 7th. On the day after the regiſtry of the edict, the parliament entered a formal proteſt, endued with a new and extraordinary extent of operation, againſt this conceſſion which had been extorted from them. They declared, that it had been regiſtered againſt their approbation and conſent, by the king's expreſs command; that the edict neither ought to, nor *ſhould* have any force; and that the firſt perſon who ſhould preſume to attempt carrying it into execution, ſhould be adjudged a traitor, and condemned to the galleys. This direct oppoſition of the parliament of Paris to the king's edict and authority, by which the one was rendered a nullity, and the other queſtioned in a manner that reached to its very exiſtence, was the more alarming and formidable from its receiving the ſanction of all the other parliaments.

Things were now in ſuch a ſituation, that the crown was under an abſolute neceſſity of either proceeding to extremities in the ſupport of its authority, or of giving up for evermore the power of raiſing money upon any occaſion, however immediate or urgent, without the conſent of the parliament. No prince could have found it eaſy to ſurrender an authority which had been ſo long exerciſed by his predeceſſors. In the mean time every thing bore a very unpleaſing aſpect both with reſpect to the court and the people. Paris had, ſince the commencement of the diſputes, been ſo filled with troops, that it carried more the appearance of a military camp, under military law, than that of a great and peaceable capital, under the government of a civil magiſtracy, and its own municipal laws. All the avenues to the *palais*, where the different chambers of parliament hold their meetings, were particularly and continually occupied by ſoldiers; and the members had the ſatisfaction of paſſing through rows of bayonets in the way to and from their dwelling houſes. Indeed the Pariſians afforded in ſome degree a colour for this meaſure, by the extraordinary and before unheard-of licence which they aſſumed in words, in writing, and in acting upon public and political affairs. The intereſt which they now took in theſe matters was ſo great, and they expreſſed

preſſed themſelves with ſuch freedom upon them, that a ſtranger, if it had not been for the preſence of the troops, might well have imagined himſelf ſurrounded by republicans. This licence was carried to ſuch a length by the populace, that even a military force could not protect the count d'Artois (who had the fortune of doing ſeveral late things that rendered him diſagreeable) from meeting with the ſtrongeſt marks of public indignation and averſion; at the ſame time that Monſieur, the king's next brother, by purſuing a different line of conduct, was loaded with praiſes and benedictions whenever he appeared.

In about a week after the parliament had entered the proteſt, an officer of the French guards, with a party of ſoldiers, went at break of day to the houſe of each individual member, to ſignify to him the king's command, that he ſhould immediately get into his carriage and proceed to Troyes, without writing or ſpeaking to any perſon out of his own houſe before his departure. Theſe orders being ſerved upon all at the ſame inſtant, and carried into immediate execution, all diſorder was thereby ſo effectually prevented, that the parliament was well on its way to the ſcene of baniſhment, before the Pariſians knew any thing of what happened. Troyes is a conſiderable city of Champagne, which lies about ſeventy miles from Paris.

Before matters were carried to this extremity, a remonſtrance had, in the latter end of July, been preſented to the king from the parliament; a piece which, whether it be conſidered with reſpect to eloquence, force of reaſoning, or public ſpirit, has not been exceeded, perhaps equalled, by any ſimilar document in modern times; and which muſt prove a ſtanding monument, not only of the virtue and patriotiſm, but of the uncommon abilities which were comprized in that illuſtrious body.

They firſt obſerve, that after a glorious peace of five years, and a great increaſe of revenue for thirteen, (through the funds then aſſigned) it was generally hoped, that the name of *impoſt* ſhould never again be heard from the lips of a benevolent monarch, excepting only in rendering it leſs onerous, and in diminiſhing the number of thoſe already laid. What was then their aſtoniſhment when they were informed that new taxes were projecting by the notables! but how much greater ſtill was it when they heard that a new one of a moſt diſtreſſing and pernicious kind, was to be offered for the approbation of parliament!—And, they declared, that the bare propoſal of a duty on ſtamped paper, had already alarmed every individual in the nation.

They ſtated, with equal force and eloquence, the intereſted motives which operated upon miniſters and courtiers in preventing truth from approaching the throne; and in ſhewing every thing to the monarch through a deluſive and falſe medium. That if any ſyſtem of œconomy or reform was, however, propoſed, the whole tribe immediately echoed the words from one to another, and ſeemed to embrace it with the greateſt eagerneſs; at the ſame time that all their art and induſtry was uſed to throw ſuch difficulties in the way as ſhould prevent its ſucceſs, and thereby excite a diſtaſte to all future attempts of the ſame nature.

nature. To such sinister proceedings, and to a continued course of such deception and imposition, they, without reserve, attributed all the distresses of the state, and all the evils and misfortunes of the nation. —They reminded the king how they had strove, in the years 1784 and 1785, to give him a faithful picture of the real situation of the state; his parliament then did every thing in their power, but in vain, to place truth in its clearest light; they saw that the terrible situation of public affairs required an immediate and efficacious remedy; but the ministers had too great an interest in concealing the truth to suffer it to prevail; all their endeavours accordingly proved fruitless: and some of his council went so far as to induce him to suspect the purity of their patriotic intentions.

They endeavour to draw in the passions as auxiliaries to reason and argument. The notables, they say, had withdrawn the veil that covered an undermining administration: a dreadful spectacle presented itself to the eye of an astonished nation. They then represent with much pathos, the grievous sensations which must have afflicted the monarch's paternal heart at such a discovery! How, say they, must your astonishment and sorrow have increased, when you reflected on the fatal errors in which you had so long been purposely involved by your ministers!—Such is the consequence, sire, when the choice of ministers falls on persons that are obnoxious to the nation in general: such is the great but sad example that shews to sovereigns the respect due to public opinion, seldom susceptible of error, because mankind collectively seldom gives or receives an impression contrary to truth.—They oppose to this the narrow and interested views of intriguing and greedy courtiers. They shew, in a department where the purest hands are seldom pure enough, the circumstances that nearly compel a minister to depart from his rectitude. The first wrong step inevitably leads to others; no limits can circumscribe the minister who once swerves from his duty; abuses rise upon abuses, until the disorder becomes fatal; or, if a remedy can yet be found, the cure, however certain, must be difficult and tedious. They state the facility with which evil takes place, and the long continuance of its effect: for though it be only in a single instance, whole years may be found scarcely sufficient to remedy the mischiefs which it occasions. And they call upon the king to pause awhile upon a salutary reflection, whose importance has been acknowledged by all good monarchs—That the vices of a bad administration, and their common consequence, the involuntary errors of a just monarch, may sorely entail distress upon future generations.

On the subject of taxes they declare, that all kinds of imposts should be proportioned to the necessary wants of the nation, and should end with them; that each citizen contributes a part of his property for the purpose of maintaining public safety and private tranquillity; that the people, on such principles, founded on the rights of mankind, and confirmed by reason, should never increase their contributions, until the expences of the state have undergone all the savings, alterations, and amendments, of which they are capable. —And they strongly asserted, that neither

neither the parliaments, nor any other authority, ſaving only that proceeding from the united ſenſe of the nation in the three eſtates of the kingdom collectively aſſembled, could warrant the laying of any permanent tax upon the people.

Such are a few of the leading features of this able performance.

The ſtop put to public buſineſs, and the diſorders occaſioned by the baniſhment of the parliament, were ſo ſenſibly felt, and the diſſatisfaction of the people upon that event was ſo great, that the crown could not long perſevere in maintaining that hoſtile mark of its reſentment. The court was alſo in itſelf ſo apparently weak and divided, and ſuch continual changes taking place in the different departments of ſtate, that it evidently wanted every thing which could confer dignity on its conduct, or afford ſtability to its meaſures. Some appearance of vigour was, however, aſſumed by publiſhing an edict, by which the late reſolutions of the parliament were declared to be illegal and null; but no meaſures being purſued to give effect to this edict, nor no attempt made to enforce the taxes, it paſſed as nothing. But the turbulence of the Pariſians was effectually curbed by placing 12,000 troops as a guard upon them; and beſides the continual patroles by night and day, ſubaltern officers, with ſmall detachments of ſoldiers, were poſted at the corners of all the ſtreets. The king in the mean while, under the hope of thereby mollifying the people, being employed in making continual retrenchments in his houſhold and other departments.

The chamber of accounts, and the court of aids, two bodies next in rank to the parliament, having likewiſe proteſted againſt the new taxes, and petitioned the king to hold an aſſembly of the ſtates general, as the only means of reſtoring the public confidence and tranquillity, the monarch in ſome parts of his anſwer ſeemed ſomewhat to deſcend from the haughtineſs of his late predeceſſors, by entering into what appeared like ſome juſtification of his conduct, without a formal aſſumption of that name or character. He however ſet out on high ground, by telling them, that it was not the buſineſs of his courts of juſtice to demand a convocation of the ſtates general; it belonged to him alone to determine whether it was proper; and as he ſaw it was not neceſſary, they ſhould not have renewed their demand: that he had already done more for his people than they now required: that he had granted them provincial aſſemblies, which were the moſt competent to make known the wants and wiſhes of the whole kingdom; and that he ſhould never oppoſe whatever the wants of the people might require: that he had transferred his parliament from Paris to Troyes, becauſe that aſſembly had excited a ferment among the people, which their preſence would only ſerve to foment and increaſe: that he ſhould judge of the proper time for its reſtoration: that his principal object had ever been the diſcovery of the truth: that it was his duty to inſiſt upon his full power in having his edicts regiſtered; if there were any inconveniences in the execution of them, his parliament was wrong in not making him acquainted with them: that he ſhould receive with pleaſure their (the two petitioning courts) remarks and ſupplications; they might expect every thing from his

his juſtice and his regard for his people; but that they ought to conſider the combination of circumſtances, and to obſerve, that he was under a neceſſity of purſuing ſuch meaſures as would beſt enable him to fulfil his engagements faithfully.

While things were in this ſituation, the unexpected arrival, without licence or notice, of the firſt preſident of the parliament from Troyes at Verſailles, while it ſurprized every body, afforded a gleam of ſatisfaction and hope to the public. The preſident was diſpatched by that body to the king, to repreſent in ſtrong colours the ruinous ſituation to which his country would be inevitably reduced by a perſeverance in thoſe meaſures which he had been adviſed to purſue; that all public buſineſs was at a ſtand; and that, though the conſequences of ſuch a ſtate of things could not be exactly known, yet it was evident that diſorder, confuſion, and perhaps danger to the public tranquillity, were the probable reſults. As the court wiſhed for the occaſion, a negociation immediately commenced, and an accommodation ſoon took place. The king agreed to give up the ſtamp-duty, and the territorial impoſt, as well as to give ſatisfaction to the parliament in ſome other reſpects; while all that we find obtained from that body, was their agreeing to regiſter the patent by which the archbiſhop of Thouloufe was conſtituted firſt miniſter of ſtate. Probably there might have been ſome other arrangements. Sept. 13th.

In the mean time the flame of liberty was burſting forth in different parts of the kingdom, with a degree of violence ſuited to its long ſuppreſſion; and the provinces ſeemed to emulate each other in their demonſtrations of its operation, by the boldneſs and energy of their proceedings. Among various inſtances of this nature, the parliament of Grenoble ſtruck directly at the unconſtitutional authority ſo long exerciſed by the crown in iſſuing *lettres de cachet*, that moſt odious and terrible engine of arbitrary power; for this aſſembly paſſed a decree, by which it was rendered a capital crime for any perſon, under any authority, to attempt executing thoſe letters within their juriſdiction.

It was in this courſe of things that the meaſures purſued and preparations made by the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, clearly indicated their deſign of taking ſuch a direct and active part in the affairs of Holland, as could not fail, without an oppoſition equally powerful, to be the means of reſtoring the ſtadtholder to his rights; and even of extending, if the combined powers ſhould be ſo inclined, the authority of that prince to any pitch they might think proper in the government of the republic, ſo as perhaps to new-model or totally overthrow its conſtitution. Nothing could have been more embarraſſing or more alarming to the court of Verſailles than this conduct of the new allies; which was rendered ſtill more ſo by the untoward ſituation of affairs at home.

But if France had not even been clogged with any incumbrance at home to reſtrain her activity, ſhe was not able ſingly to withſtand the effects of this powerful union, which was already rendered more formidable by the meaſure adopted by Great

Great Britain, of retaining 12,000 Heſſian troops in her ſervice, and her being beſides capable of increaſing her auxiliary force to an unknown amount, by the influence which money was ſure to procure with other ſtates of the empire. Nor would the intervention even of Spain in the conteſt (ſuppoſing that could be obtained, which is very doubtful) be ſufficient to render the balance equal, conſidering the diſtance, and other circumſtances, which muſt have rendered the aid of that power in a great degree inefficient, while it could not but be productive of much loſs and danger to herſelf. The emperor alone might have turned the ſcale; but beſides that we have no certainty of the real cordiality ſubſiſting between the two courts, he was ſo deeply involved in his own ambitious ſchemes, and ſo far engaged in the overwhelming projects of Ruſſia, that it would not be more difficult to detach than to extricate him from them.

Such was the combination of circumſtances which compelled France at this time to abandon that uncontrolled influence in the affairs of Holland, which a ſtill more ſingular concurrence of circumſtances had thrown into her hands, and which a long ſeries of political art, intrigue, and addreſs, and no ſmall waſte of treaſure, had ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that it did not ſeem capable of being ſhaken, at leaſt, in our days. It was beſides a grievous mortification to her pride, and a ſerious wound to her public faith, thus to ſacrifice a people whom ſhe had led ſtep by ſtep into misfortune and ruin; or if her faith was vindicated on the plea of neceſſity, that would be an acknowledgment of a weakneſs ſo deplorable, as rendered her incapable of fulfilling her engagements, and ſupporting her allies. France did not, however, ſubmit to make this ſacrifice without a ſtruggle; and it is probable that under the firſt impulſes of her indignation, ſhe intended to puſh matters to the laſt extremity.

Upon the firſt appearance or ſuſpicion of the meaſures which Great Britain and Pruſſia were on the point of adopting, France diſpatched a private memorial to each of theſe courts, calculated to prevent their direct interference in the affairs of Holland, by declaring, that ſhe was abſolutely determined herſelf not to take any part in the commotions of Holland, any farther than by the exertion of her good offices as a mediator, provided that other powers obſerved the ſame moderation; but that if any other power ſhould take up arms either for or againſt the republic, France could no longer hold herſelf bound to this determination, but ſhould then think herſelf obliged to act as the exigency of affairs might require.

Upon advice ſome time after that England was equipping a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war at Portſmouth, the court of Verſailles ſent orders to equip 16 ſail of the line at Breſt for immediate ſervice; and recalled at the ſame time a ſquadron of evolution, which was then exerciſing naval manœuvres on the coaſt of Portugal. This was followed by the aſſembling of a body of troops at Givet, on the borders of Liege, by the Maes.

The courts of London and Berlin purſued their ſyſtem ſteadily, without paying any other regard to the warlike preparations in France,

than that of being in readineſs to oppoſe them with effect. That of Great Britain preſented a declaration to the neighbouring courts more immediately concerned, aſſigning the cauſes which rendered it neceſſary to that kingdom to purſue the meaſures which ſhe had adopted in arming, and which particularly reſted upon the notification made by France of her intention to ſupport with her forces that party in Holland which had oppoſed the rights of the ſtadtholder, and which refuſed to give that ſatisfaction to the king of Pruſſia for the inſult offered to his ſiſter the princeſs of Orange, which he had ſo juſt a right to demand; that his Britannic majeſty could not conſider the alliance between France and the whole republic as at all juſtifying her engagement to ſupport a particular party in an affair expreſsly diſavowed by the ſtates general; that he had repeatedly declared, that it was impoſſible for him to ſuffer with indifference the armed interpoſition of France in this affair, for that his toleration of it would produce conſequences very dangerous, not only with reſpect to the conſtitution and independence of the United Provinces, but to the intereſts and ſafety of his own ſtates; but that though he had from theſe cauſes been under a neceſſity of equipping a conſiderable naval armament, and of increaſing his land forces, he would ſtill with pleaſure preſerve the bleſſings of peace to his own ſubjects as well as to the reſt of Europe, if France would retract her reſolution, and concur in ſettling the impaired affairs of the republic in an amicable manner, and according to an equitable arrangement of the conteuding intereſts.

The preparations for war were, however, ſtill carried on with vigour on both ſides; but when the duke of Brunſwick had in a few days over-run Holland, and totally overthrown the laſt hope of the republican party by the reduction of Amſterdam, France appeared in the diſcreditable ſituation of undertaking a war without a motive; as the objects which might have juſtified or palliated the meaſure in their proper ſeaſon were no longer in being, and vexation or revenge could only be aſſigned as a cauſe for its preſent adoption. Beſides, the ſtates of Holland had retracted their former application for ſuccour, and given a formal notification at Verſailles, that having now happily adjuſted their affairs, there was no farther occaſion for the friendly interpoſition of that court. The game in Holland was now likewiſe evidently up; the republic had adopted a new ſyſtem of policy; and however mortifying it might be in the reflection, it was not now in the power of France to undo what was already done in that country, or by any means to recover her former influence.

Under theſe circumſtances, and in the diſtracted ſtate of her internal affairs, France had only to wiſh to get out of the preſent difficulty with the beſt grace ſhe could, and to ſoften her warlike aſpect as ſoon as the appearance of a ſimilar diſpoſition on the other ſide ſhould afford a fair opportunity. As there was nothing now to quarrel about, unleſs it was the mere honour of fighting, this opportunity was ſoon offered by the duke of Dorſet and Mr. Eden, the Britiſh miniſters at Paris, who preſented a declaration, Oct. 27th, 1787.

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in which they obſerved, that as the affairs of the United Provinces no longer left any ſubject of diſcuſſion, and ſtill leſs of conteſt between the two courts, they were authorized to aſk, whether it was the intention of the king to carry into effect the notification made by his miniſter on the 16th of September, which, by announcing that ſuccour would be given in Holland, had occaſioned the naval armaments made by his Britannic majeſty, and which had ſince become reciprocal?—That if the court of Verſailles was diſpoſed to explain itſelf on this ſubject, and upon the conduct to be obſerved towards the republic, in a manner conformable to the deſire which had been expreſſed on both ſides, of preſerving the good underſtanding between both crowns; and it being likewiſe underſtood that there is no view of hoſtility towards any quarter in conſequence of what has paſſed, their maſter, ever anxious to concur in the friendly ſentiments of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, would agree with him that the armaments, and all warlike preparations in general, ſhould be diſcontinued on both ſides, and that the navies of both nations ſhould be again placed upon the footing of the peace eſtabliſhment, as it ſtood on the firſt day of the preſent year.

This piece produced a counter-declaration on the ſame day, ſigned by M. de Montmorin, the miniſter for foreign affairs, in which the French king declared, that he never had any intention of interfering by force in the affairs of the republic; the notification was palliated, and it was acknowledged that the motives to it no longer exiſted; he declares, that he readily agrees to give no effect to it; concurs in the ſentiments of his Britannic majeſty for the preſervation of the harmony between the two courts; and agrees with pleaſure to the propoſal that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, ſhould be diſcontinued on both ſides, and the navies placed upon the peace eſtabliſhment propoſed.—A ſhort inſtrument, being in ſome ſort a ſummary and confirmation of the foregoing documents, was then ſigned by all the parties, in the names of their reſpective ſovereigns; and thus all occaſions of difference for the preſent between the two nations were happily removed.

A few days previous to this event, the preſident of the parliament of Paris, in a ſpeech to the king, conveyed the moſt ample acknowledgments from that body of their grateful ſenſe of his equity and juſtice, and of his affection for his people, in withdrawing the edicts for the ſtamp-duty and the land-tax, accompanied with aſſurances of their zealous concurrence in all his majeſty's beneficent views for relieving the people, and rendering them happy.—The king's anſwer was exceedingly gracious, containing profeſſions of the moſt perfect confidence in the fidelity and loyalty of the parliament, and of the greateſt affection for his ſubjects. Thus room was afforded to hope, that at the ſame time that the public tranquillity was ſecured from without, a ſimilar conciliatory diſpoſition would have prevailed at home.

But things were deſtined to take a turn widely different from theſe fond hopes.—In an extraordinary full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes of the

blood, great officers of ſtate, and peers of France, the king arrived at nine o'clock in the morning at the *palais* in Paris, where that body were aſſembled. The king brought with him two edicts to be regiſtered by the parliament, the one being for a new loan to the amount of 450 millions of livres (near 19 millions of pounds in Engliſh money) and the other for the re-eſtabliſhment of the proteſtants in all their ancient civil rights; a meaſure which had ſome time before been warmly recommended by the parliament, and whoſe progreſs had only been impeded by the late diſputes.—It might almoſt ſeem that the ſecond of theſe edicts, which was ſo great a favourite with the public, had accompanied the other in order to procure it the better reception.

Nov. 19th.

The monarch opened the way for his edicts by a ſpeech of unuſual length, and which announced no leſs a change in his political temper and diſpoſition. He ſaid, he had come there to recall to his parliament thoſe principles from which they ſhould never have deviated; to hear what they had to ſay upon two great acts of adminiſtration and legiſlation; and finally, to reply to certain repreſentations. The principles which he meant to recall to their recollection were part of the eſſence of the monarchy, and he would not ſuffer them to be evaded or changed. He had no need of ſolicitation to aſſemble the notables of his kingdom. He ſhould never be afraid of being among his ſubjects. A king of France was never more happy than when he enjoyed their fidelity and affection; but it was he alone who was to judge of the uſe and neceſſity of theſe aſſemblies; and he would not ſuffer himſelf to be indiſcreetly importuned for that which ought to be expected from his wiſdom, and the love he bore for his people, whoſe intereſts were inſeparable from his own.—He then proceeded to explain the nature of the loan he demanded, to point out the advantages it poſſeſſed above others, and to ſhew its neceſſity. After which he touched upon the propriety of reſtoring the proteſtants to their natural rights and due rank in ſociety; threw ſome blame upon the parliament of Bourdeaux; and then returning to the tone of authority on which he ſat out, declared that his parliaments ought to reckon upon his confidence and affection; but they ought likewiſe to merit them, by confining themſelves within the functions confided to their execution by the kings his predeceſſors, being careful neither to depart from nor to refuſe them; and more particularly never to fail in giving to his ſubjects examples of fidelity and obedience.

Permiſſion being then announced for every member of the aſſembly to deliver his ſentiments without reſtraint, a very warm debate commenced on the ſubject of the loan, which was ſupported with equal perſeverance by the party on the ſide of the crown, and by that which oppoſed its being regiſtered, until about ſix o'clock; when the king, who had ſat nine hours without refreſhment, being wearied by the length of the arguments, perhaps chagrined at the freedom uſed in them, and preſſed by hunger, ſuddenly roſe, and commanded the

edict

edict to be registered without further delay. This compendious method of passing a law, most unexpectedly was opposed by the duke of Orleans, who considering it as a direct infringement of the rights of parliament, immediately protested against the whole proceedings of the day, as being thereby rendered null and void. The king astonished, however repeated his orders, and then quitting the assembly, returned to Versailles without breaking his fast, and probably without any great disposition to listen to future debates in parliament.

Upon the king's departure the parliament resolved, that as the votes had not, according to their standing orders, been regularly counted, and as their deliberations had been interrupted, they could not consider themselves as having any share in the business of that sitting; thereby confirming the duke of Orleans's protest, and rendering the proceedings totally void. On the evening of the following day, the baron de Breteuil presented a letter to the duke of Orleans from the king, in which he was concisely informed, that he had reason to be dissatisfied with his conduct; that he ordered him to retire to Villars Cotterel (one of his seats, about fifteen leagues from Paris) where he was to receive no company except that of his own family; that he should depart immediately, and lie at Reincy (four leagues from Paris) where, for the present night, he should see none of his family, nor any person belonging to his house.—On the same day the abbé Sabatiere and M. Frereau, both members of the parliament, and who had both distinguished themselves in the late debate, were, nothwithstanding the freedom of speech which was then proclaimed, both taken up and sent off guarded, under the authority of *lettres de cachet*, the first to the prison of Mont St. Michel (an impregnable and almost inaccessible rock on the coast of Normandy) and the other to a prison in Picardy.

The parliament did not rest contented under these acts of oppression offered by power to their members. On the following day they waited on the king at Versailles, where the first president in a short speech declared their astonishment and concern at understanding that a prince of his own royal blood had been exiled, and two members of their body imprisoned, for having declared in his presence what their duty and consciences dictated to them, in a sitting wherein his majesty himself had announced, that he came to take the sense of the assembly by a plurality of suffrages. That, lost in consternation as they were at this incident, they humbly supplicated his majesty to restore to the prince of his blood, and to the two magistrates, the liberty which they had thus lost.

To this the king answered, That when he put away from his presence a prince of his blood, his parliament ought to have believed, that he had very strong reasons for so doing. That he had punished two magistrates, with whom he ought to be dissatisfied.

This laconic rebuff did not prevent the parliament from presenting a very long and a very strong address two days after. In this they

declared, That the public affliction had preceded their approach to the foot of the throne. That the exile of the firſt prince of his blood, and the impriſonment of two magiſtrates, without any known cauſe, had excited univerſal conſternation and grief. Could it have been a crime to ſpeak the truth in the preſence of his majeſty?—to ſpeak it with a reſpectful frankneſs, which might have merited his approbation? His majeſty had come among them to demand their free ſuffrages: to give them on every occaſion was the *right* and the *duty* of parliament, and the intereſt of the king? He had come to the parliament that he might ſit encircled with the love and with the wiſdom of his ſubjects. —It was true, the keeper of his ſeals had expreſſed to them his majeſty's ſentiments; but if they allowed that circumſtance to form any diſtinction, they ſhould do injuſtice to the ſimplicity of truth, and the real dictates of his majeſty's breaſt. If ſuch principles were to be eſtabliſhed, their counſel would indeed no longer come from the ſanctuary of juſtice, the aſylum of law; but as truth muſt be heard, it would break forth from the abode of terror and ſilence.—If the duke of Orleans was guilty, they were alſo. It was worthy the firſt prince of the blood to repreſent to his majeſty, that he was transforming a meeting of the parliament into a bed of juſtice: his declaration only announced their ſentiments; his conſcience had judged of theirs. —"In fact, ſire, ſtrangers cannot "conceive, poſterity will not be- "lieve, that we could be expoſed "to any danger in telling your "majeſty that truth which you "have demanded in perſon. Your "preſence is always accompanied "with favour: muſt it henceforth "produce fear and affliction? A "bed of juſtice would be leſs terri- "ble than a ſitting of parliament. "Our loyalty to your majeſty "could not prevent the ſuppreſſion "of our opinions, if our confidence, "encouraged by yourſelf, was no "other than the ſignal of our exile "or impriſonment."

They repreſent in colours and terms equally ſtrong and pathetic, the cruel and unworthy treatment which the two ſuffering magiſtrates had received on the occaſion of their impriſonment, from thoſe baſeſt of mankind, as they term them, the inſtruments of arbitrary power and of the police; as well as the ſtate of their confinement in horrid and unwholeſome priſons, where life is a continual puniſhment.—If then exile is the recompence of fidelity to the princes of your blood; if outrage and captivity threaten the ingenuouſneſs of the firſt magiſtrates of the kingdom—we may aſk ourſelves with terror and grief, what will become of the laws, of the public liberty, of the honour, and of the manners of the nation?

A deputation, which returned by order three days after, received for anſwer, that they had already been informed by the keeper of the ſeals, that the more goodneſs the king ſhewed when he could follow the dictates of his own heart, the more firm he could prove himſelf when he ſaw his goodneſs abuſed.—This would be a ſufficient anſwer to their ſupplications. But he would add, that if he did not blame the concern they ſeemed to give themſelves about the detention of the

two

two magiſtrates, he could not but diſapprove of their exaggeration of the circumſtances and conſequences of that meaſure, and of their ſeeming to attribute it to motives, which the freedom of opinion he allowed did not permit them to ſuggeſt. He owed no explanations to any body of the motives of his reſolutions; deſired them to endeavour no longer to join the particular cauſe of thoſe whom he had puniſhed, with the intereſts of any other ſubjects, or with that of the laws. All his ſubjects knew that his goodneſs was continually awake to their happineſs, and they felt its effects even in the acts of his juſtice. Every one was intereſted in the preſervation of public order, and it eſſentially belonged to his authority. If thoſe who had been charged with the execution of his orders had behaved in a manner contrary to his intentions, he would puniſh them. If the places where the two magiſtrates were detained ſhould be prejudicial to their health, he would order them to be removed.

The ſentence of the two magiſtrates was in conſequence changed from impriſonment to exile, M. Frereau being ſent to one of his country ſeats, and the abbé Sabatiere to a convent of Benedictines.—We, however, apprehend that the parliament had conſented to regiſter the loan edict, before this meaſure of favour or grace took place.

The parliament, notwithſtanding this appearance of mutual conceſſion, were by no means diſpoſed to give up the points againſt which they had already remonſtrated, nor in any degree pleaſed or ſatisfied with the king's late anſwer. At an aſſembly of what is called the great chamber of parliament, attended, as they informed the king, by the princes and peers of the realm, having taken into conſideration his majeſty's anſwer, they were charged to lay before him their repreſentations on the ſubject.

This remonſtrance, under the name of a petition, we conceive to be unequalled in the annals of that country, for the boldneſs of opinion and freedom of ſentiment which it diſplays. They tell the monarch, without reſerve, that the magiſtracy of his kingdom, as well as every true citizen, were aſtoniſhed at the reproaches contained in his anſwer, and the principles which it manifeſted. They were, however, far from attributing them to his perſonal ſentiments. They ſupported and confirmed their former charge, relative to the indignities offered to their two members; and ſaid, that public decency had received a ſevere wound in the choice of the executors of his orders upon that occaſion. They ſtated, that in devoting themſelves to the public ſervice; in promiſing to releaſe his majeſty from the firſt duty which he owed to his nation, namely, that of juſtice; in bringing up their children to be ſubject to the ſame ſacrifices, they never could have ſuppoſed that they were deſtining themſelves and their children to misfortunes, and ſtill leſs to outrages of ſo heinous a nature, "But we do not come ſo much to "claim your benignity, as the pro- "tection of the laws. It is not to "your humanity alone we addreſs "ourſelves; it is not a favour which "your parliament ſolicits; it comes, "ſire, to demand *juſtice*."—They argue, that juſtice is ſubject to re-

gulations independent of the will of man:—that kings themſelves are ſubſervient to them; that his glorious anceſtor, Henry the IVth, acknowledged, that he had two ſovereigns, God and the laws.—One of theſe regulations is to condemn no perſon without a hearing; this was a duty at all times, and in all places; it was the duty of all men; "and your majeſty will allow us "to repreſent to you, that it is as "obligatory on you as on your "ſubjects."

They obſerve, that the glorious privilege of ſhewing mercy to criminals belongs to the crown, but the act of condemning them is not one of its functions; the laws have placed that odious office in other hands; that painful and dangerous taſk the king cannot exerciſe. And they deduce from theſe premiſes, that thoſe who adviſe him to puniſh of his own accord, to puniſh without a trial, to order exiles, arreſts, and impriſonments, are guilty of equally wounding eternal juſtice, the laws of the realm, and the moſt conſolatory prerogative which the king poſſeſſes.

They ſummed up the whole on the ſame ground of demanding juſtice upon which they ſet out.—"It is therefore, in the name of "thoſe laws which preſerve em-"pires, in the name of that li-"berty of which we are the re-"ſpectful interpreters, and the "lawful mediators, in the name "of your authority, of which we "are the firſt and moſt confidential "miniſters, that we dare demand "the trial or the liberty of the "duke of Orleans, and the two "exiled magiſtrates, who are im-"priſoned by a ſudden order, as "contrary to the ſentiments as the "intereſts of your majeſty."

Such was the firſt direct attempt made in France to overthrow ſome of the ſtrongeſt as well as the moſt odious engines of arbitrary power. The king's anſwer to this addreſs was as little ſatisfactory as any of the preceding, and accordingly produced a ſet of new reſolutions from the parliament, which did not derogate, in point of energy, from any thing they had yet offered.—But this buſineſs took place in the enſuing year.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Causes of the discontents in the Austrian Netherlands. Ecclesiastical reforms silently acquiesced in, until they were involved with invasions of the civil rights and political establishments of the provinces. Two imperial ordinances published on the first day of the year 1787, which went in their immediate effect to the subversion of the established tribunals of justice, and tended more indirectly to the overthrow of the ancient constitution. Sketch of the constitution of Brabant, and of the established system of jurisprudence. Council of Brabant suppressed by the new edicts. Great seal transferred from the hands of the chancellor to the imperial minister. Low Countries divided into nine circles, and intendants and commissaries, with arbitrary and undefined powers, appointed to rule these circles. Standing committee of the states of Brabant suppressed, and its powers transferred to an engine of state, under the name of a council of general government. Universal consternation and general discontent. Great licence of language with respect to the sovereign, and his violation of the inaugural compact and oath. Committee of the states of Brabant present a strong memorial to the court of Brussels. People determine resolutely to maintain their rights and liberties. The bold remonstrance of the Syndics gives new energy to this determination. Flame in the university of Louvain, occasioned by the suppression of the ancient seminaries of instruction, and the establishment of a new school of theology, under the government of German professors. All orders of men are thus coalesced in an opposition to the acts and designs of government. Visitor of the capuchins banished for refusing to send the novices of his order to the general seminary at Louvain. Mr. de Hondt seized by soldiers, and sent a prisoner to Vienna. Spirited proceedings of the states of Brabant; refuse to grant subsidies until the public grievances are redressed; forbid all obedience to the intendants and their commissaries; present a spirited memorial to the governors general; forbid the council of Brabant to pay any regard to the late decrees, and command that tribunal to maintain the exercise of its functions. States of Flanders and Haynault adopt similar measures with those of Brabant. Syndics act a great part in the opposition. Court of Brussels alarmed and perplexed. Governors general suspend the operation of the new edicts, and issue a declaration which affords present satisfaction. Mandate issued by the emperor on his return from Cherson, expressive of his resentment at the measures pursued in the Low Countries, and commanding the states of the respective provinces, as a proof of their obedience, to send a deputation of their members to Vienna; where the governors general, and the minister, count Belgiojoso, are likewise ordered to repair. Count de Murray appointed to the government in the absence of the princes. Great alarm in the Low Countries, on the report that an imperial army was preparing to march thither. Various measures preceding, and some tending to an accommodation. Alarming tumult at Brussels, and some blood shed, in a rash attempt made by the military to disarm the volunteers.

§ *Farther*

Farther ill conſequences prevented by the excellent conduct of count Murray. Accommodation happily takes place; the public rights are generally reſtored; and the ſtates grant the cuſtomary ſubſidies.

THE political ſtruggles in which our near neighbours and ancient friends, the inhabitants of thoſe countries now known by the appellation of the Auſtrian Netherlands, have been lately engaged, although among the moſt intereſting events of the preſent year, ſeem to have been but little attended to in this country. Yet to this people we have owed many obligations. They were our earlieſt merchants, factors, and negociators in all matters of trade and money; and by a ſingular coincidence it has ſo happened, that ſince we became greatly commercial ourſelves, they never have been able to interrupt or injure us by a foreign competition. They were our leaders and inſtructors in agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and all the arts of civil life. Even the ruin that fell ſo heavily upon themſelves, through the religious oppreſſion and civil tyranny of Spain, was to us productive of the greateſt and moſt laſting advantages; and the cruelties of the duke of Alva were the means of ſtocking England with their moſt uſeful manufacturers, the fruits of whoſe ingenuity and induſtry we ſtill retain. In a word, they were among our earlieſt and moſt uſeful allies and benefactors; and had the fortune ſeldom to appear, under whatever revolutions of war or of government, in the liſt of our enemies.

Independent of theſe juſt grounds of ſympathy, the ſpectacle of a ſmall nation, without friend, ally, or the moſt remote hope of ſupport, bravely encountering all hazards and dangers, in the maintenance of thoſe liberties of which ſuch poor relics are now left unextinguiſhed in Europe, and venturing firmly to oppoſe the deſpotiſm of an overgrown and mighty power, could not yet be indifferent to Engliſhmen, if the nature of the ſubject and the grounds of the conteſt had been properly underſtood. But this was by no means generally the caſe: the oppoſition of the Flemings to the emperor's ordinances was attributed to the violence of their religious bigotry; and when they were riſquing all things in the defence of their civil rights, they were ſuppoſed to be blindly contending for the inſtitutions of ſuperſtition.

It would not only be difficult, but probably now impoſſible, to trace up to the ſource the origin of thoſe municipal privileges, which, in ſo early a period of the middle ages, enabled the great cities of the Low Countries to flouriſh in a degree of ſplendour that excited the admiration of mankind. Their greatneſs, wealth, and incredible population, together with the rank they held, and the weight they poſſeſſed, in the political affairs of Europe, are, however, indelible monuments of the great ſhare of freedom, and of the perfect ſecurity with reſpect to perſon and property, which they enjoyed ſeveral centuries ago. While the other nations of the north and weſt of Europe groaned under feudal ſlavery, and were immerſed in ignorance and barbariſm, civilization, with all the arts and embelliſhments

liſhments of ſocial life, illuminated theſe provinces, and ſpread a luſtre through the ſurrounding gloom.

The great cities of the Low Countries did not, however, eſcape ſome occaſional conteſts with their princes; but the latter were ſo ſenſible of the benefits which they derived, both with reſpect to eſtimation and ſecurity, from the opulence and power of their ſubjects, that they were not often diſpoſed to venture upon ſanguinary or oppreſſive meaſures; and, when they acted otherwiſe, were reſiſted with ſuch vigour and effect, that the iſſue of theſe conteſts was ultimately favourable to the people, by affording the opportunity and means of their procuring formal written acknowledgments or ratifications of their ancient rights and privileges. Brabant, in particular, formed a regular conſtitution, which was ratified and ſworn to by the reigning prince at the time, and which has been ſince confirmed and atteſted in the ſame manner, at their acceſſion, by his different ſucceſſors to the preſent day. This is the *Magna Charta* of that country, and is regarded with a greater degree of veneration, approaching almoſt to idolatry, by that people, than even the former is by thoſe in England. This charter of their rights and liberties is, from a circumſtance attending its execution, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Joyous Entry*. The great cities of Flanders, as well as thoſe of the other lordſhips and territories which are included under the general name of Netherlands, all received, at different periods, ratifications of their reſpective rights and privileges; but the conſtitution of Brabant is deemed the beſt defined and moſt perfect of the whole. The cities had early communicated to the inhabitants of the open country a due ſhare of their own freedom and ſecurity, in conſequence of which it was covered with the largeſt, the moſt flouriſhing, and moſt populous villages in Europe, and ſtill diſplays a face of culture elſewhere unequalled. For through the viciſſitude of human affairs, though moſt of the greater cities have declined from their former ſplendour, yet no ſmall portion of the ancient proſperity which they eſtabliſhed in the villages ſtill continues.

Upon the acceſſion of the German branch of the houſe of Auſtria to the dominion of theſe provinces, Charles the VIth was received by the people with the greateſt cordiality and good-will; he having firſt ſworn at his inauguration, as his ſucceſſors have conſtantly done, to the preſervation of their ancient conſtitutions and rights. In the dangerous ſhocks which that family have ſince ſuſtained, they derived the moſt eſſential benefits from the zeal, the fidelity and loyalty, and from the reſources of money and of men, which were ſupplied by their ſubjects in the Low Countries. Their free ſubſidies were ſo liberally granted, that the greatneſs of the emergency ſeemed to be the meaſure of ſupply. Their troops alſo were among the beſt in the Auſtrian armies.

It is peculiarly neceſſary upon the preſent occaſion to obſerve, that this people are violently attached to their ancient religion as well as to their privileges; that beſides what may be aſcribed to natural temper and rooted habits, ſome part of this predilection may be imputed to their long ſubjection to the Spaniſh dominion,

minion, and great intermixture with that nation; and perhaps a greater ſhare than any, to the animoſity ariſing from the long wars with their neighbours and countrymen the Dutch, in which they were from neceſſity parties, and from ſituation and circumſtance principal ſufferers. It is to be added, that they value themſelves highly upon the purity, as they deem it, of their religious faith, in which they hold themſelves far ſuperior to any other Roman catholic nation, Spain alone, perhaps, excepted. Such an opinion, and the vanity inſeparably united with it, could not but ſtrongly fix the national diſpoſition and character. Among other incidental peculiarities, they adhere firmly to thoſe old opinions with reſpect to the infallibility of the ſovereign pontiff, the ſanctity annexed to his character, and the reverence due to his perſon, which ſeem now to be nearly exploded in moſt other countries of the ſame religion.

The preſent emperor had completely gained the hearts of the people in the Low Countries, by the flattering hopes which he held out to them of recovering and opening the navigation of the Schelde. However futile or unjuſt this project might be in the deſign, or however diſgraceful the failure in the execution, it anſwered the eſſential purpoſe to himſelf of doubly filling his coffers, firſt through the large ſubſidy and loan which the ſtates of Brabant granted for its ſupport, and afterwards by the vaſt ſum of money for which he ſold his claim to the Dutch. Grievous as this diſappointment was, it being in ſome ſort attributed to neceſſity, did not looſen the affection of the Netherlanders to their new ſovereign, however it might fail in exalting their opinion of his character with reſpect to political ability or military ſtrength: on the contrary, the attempt was regarded by them as poſſeſſing a full claim on their gratitude, from the intereſt which they conceived he took in their affairs. But that reſtleſs ſpirit of innovation, which has ſpread diſtraction through every other part of his dominions, and that refinement on deſpotiſm which, reducing mankind to the ſtate of mere machines, would deprive them of all volition in the commoneſt offices of life, were ſoon to poiſon thoſe ſources of happineſs and affluence, which had ſo long ſpread their benign influence over the Low Countries.

The firſt innovations were with reſpect to religious matters; and however rational theſe reforms might be in the abſtract, and however laudable we, as proteſtants, may conſider them, yet the temper, habits, and prejudices of the people being duly weighed (matters of ſome conſideration ſurely in political affairs), it may well be queſtioned whether they were wiſely adopted. At all events leſs precipitation ſhould have been uſed; and when the people perceived the utility ariſing from ſmaller reforms, they would have been by degrees prepared to expect proportionable benefits from thoſe that were greater, and where the propriety of the interference of government was ſtill leſs obvious. But that impatience which would truſt nothing to the operation of time, and a total contempt for the opinions and likings of men, were among the moſt ſtriking characteriſtics of the ſovereign.

The ſenſe, however, of the ſtates, and of the principal men, including all

all the governing departments of the nation, ſeemed to coincide ſo much with the emperor's intention in his firſt religious reforms, that the multitude, however aſtoniſhed and grieved, and the clergy, however greatly alarmed and affected, ſunk under them in nearly a ſilent acquieſcence. But when the rage for reform increaſed hourly with its ſucceſs; when it was ſeen that no moderation was obſerved, that the ſtates not only were not conſulted, but did not ſeem to be thought of, and that the royal authority, acting ſingly from itſelf, overthrew every thing in its way, without regard to the moſt fixed, ancient, or popular eſtabliſhments, then the moſt wiſe and enlightened men, and conſequently the moſt remote from ſuperſtition and bigotry, began with reaſon to tremble for their civil rights, well ſeeing that the ſame deſpotiſm which ſwept every thing before it in the religious departments, might, by a new direction, prove equally fatal to the conſtitution of their country in all other reſpects.

The eccleſiaſtical order formed a very powerful, numerous, and opulent body in the Low Countries, their poſſeſſions and property, of every kind, being eſtimated at the immenſe ſum of twenty-five millions ſterling. They had likewiſe poſſeſſed from time immemorial, at leaſt, a third part in the government of the country; the ſtates being compoſed of the repreſentatives of the clergy, of the nobility, and of the commons. Although the ſtates conſented to the firſt innovations made by the emperor, in the ſuppreſſion of ſome of thoſe orders or eſtabliſhments which were deemed moſt unneceſſary or uſeleſs; yet when they ſaw the headlong ſtrides he was taking to the overthrow of the whole, they conceived at once that his object was not reform but plunder; and that he aimed at graſping the whole of this immenſe property for the purpoſes of eſtabliſhing deſpotiſm at home, and the gratification of an inſatiable ambition abroad.

This conſideration obliged all orders of men to coaleſce in the endeavour to preſerve their common privileges; and thoſe who before, being only attentive to the care of their civil rights, gave themſelves no great concern about the dilapidations of the church, now perceived clearly, that to reſiſt the inroads of arbitrary power with effect, all the inlets by which it might enter ſhould be equally guarded. They accordingly found it neceſſary not only to profit of the ſilent diſcontents of the clergy, but to retain the paſſions, the prejudices, and even the bigotry of the people on their ſide, in order to form the moſt compact and powerful oppoſition of which they were capable againſt the dangers which they too well ſaw ſo heavily threatened their ancient civil eſtabliſhments with ruin.

From theſe cauſes, diſcontents and murmurs became general in the Low Countries. The harſh, auſtere, and arbitrary ſpirit which was manifeſted in all the reforms that had already taken place, did not tend to allay the diſcontents excited by new and extraordinary meaſures. The ſmalleſt compliance with ancient and popular cuſtoms or prejudices, or to the opinions of a people who had for ſeveral centuries been habituated to freedom, was never ſhewn in thoſe ſecondary matters, which would have been neceſſary to ſmooth the

the way for the principal object, in a single instance. The decrees of the oracle seemed to be as fixed and irrevocable as those of fate; and the instruments of carrying them into execution to have no greater latitude of will or action than those on whom they were to operate.

This display of a terrific authority, which admitted of no deviation from its prescribed course, appeared openly, without address or management, in all things, and was carries into the detail of small affairs, as well as those of greater importance.

The Keremesse was a festival of great antiquity in the Low Countries, and had seemed for many ages to be regarded by the inhabitants in much the same manner that the Saturnalia had by the ancients. It was a season of mutual visiting, and of reconciling differences, not only between individuals but villages; it was equally a season for contracting marriages, for forming new friendships, and for renewing or cementing the old. The satisfaction it produced appeared of the utmost importance to that class of mankind whose destiny precludes them from partaking of many pleasures, and therefore doubly endeared to them the returns of ancient and periodical festivity.—The Keremesse was suppressed.

The disposal that was made of the lands belonging to the suppressed convents, afforded likewise much matter of public dissatisfaction and complaint. Assurances had been given at the commencement of these suppressions, that after providing a competent revenue for the maintenance of the reformed religious, these estates should be sold, and their produce applied to such public establishments, as should fully compensate for the failure of those large charities which the monasteries uniformly dispensed. But without regard to these engagements, the lands were now applied to increase, and considered as a part of the royal demesnes. The value of those already seized was estimated at more than a million sterling, from which the slender stipends allowed to the religious made but a very small reduction; and though a commission had been granted for the establishment of a sort of religious and charitable bank or coffer, yet the benefits arising from it not appearing, could afford no satisfaction to the public.

The conduct of government, with respect to the abbies, which are the most opulent and splendid of the religious foundations, was likewise a source of much discontent as well as apprehension. Several of these conferred a right on the possessors of being instantly, in virtue only of the possessions, inherent members of the states. In Brabant this high distinction and privilege in favour of the abbots was carried to a greater extent than elsewhere, for the whole body of the clergy, being the first order of the state, were represented by abbots only. The emperor had not yet ventured upon the direct subversion of any of the abbacies, but he adopted a measure which nearly answered the same purpose for the present, by placing them to be held in *commendam*, as the abbots died. This was in direct contradiction not only to the spirit but the letter of the *joyous entry*, the framers of which, as if foreseeing the innovation, had guarded against the evil by an express law. It was represented as a double wrong, first

to

to the abbies, which were deprived of their juſt and legal rights, and next to the ſtates, who were rendered imperfect, by being deprived of the ſervice of their proper members. This was ſaid to be an invaſion of the conſtitution by ſap. The firſt order of the ſtates would thus be ſilently extinguiſhed, and a precedent eſtabliſhed, which in a little time would prove equally fatal to the other two; which, already maimed and defective, muſt eaſily ſink under the expected blow.

But the firſt day of the year 1787 was deſtined to make all paſt complaints and grievances appear of ſmall account, if not entirely inſignificant. Two imperial edicts were publiſhed on that day, which went to the direct ſubverſion of all the tribunals, of the forms and courſe of civil juſtice, which had for ſo many centuries been eſtabliſhed and purſued in the Low Countries; and which went no leſs in their tendency to the overthrow of that ancient and venerable conſtitution, which the people had ſo long conſidered as their glory, and regarded with an enthuſiaſm which ſeemed to approach almoſt to idolatry.

It is here neceſſary to take ſome notice of that eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of juriſprudence and equal juſtice which had at ſo early a period diſtinguiſhed theſe provinces, and which was now to be overthrown. As the conſtitution of Brabant was the moſt perfect, we ſhall draw our examples from thence, the courſe of juſtice in the other territories being conducted upon the ſame general principles.

The juriſdiction in the villages of Brabant lies in the lord of the manor or barony in which they are ſituated. The lord delegates his authority, in common and trivial caſes, to plain reputable men, who act as magiſtrates in the reſpective villages. In caſes of greater importance, an aſſemblage of theſe village magiſtrates compoſe a court; but they are aided, and their proceedings in ſome degree controlled, by two lawyers of eminence, who expound the laws, and act as judges. An appeal lies from the verdict of a ſingle magiſtrate to the manerial court; and in caſes of a certain degree of importance, from that to a ſuperior tribunal. It is the intereſt of the lord that juſtice ſhould be duly adminiſtered to his tenants, and vexatious law-ſuits prevented; and the magiſtrates find it neceſſary not only to preſerve the good opinion of their neighbours, but cautiouſly to guard againſt the diſgrace of being deprived of their offices by well-founded complaints to the lord. From this plain and ſimple courſe of rural juſtice, the people paſſed their lives in great tranquillity, and knew little of the vexation of law-ſuits.

The juriſdiction in the cities, not only with reſpect to civil but criminal caſes, was lodged in the hands of their reſpective magiſtrates. Theſe were obliged, as a neceſſary preparative education, to be well verſed in the knowledge of the laws; and being ſelected from the moſt honourable families, compoſed tribunals of great reſpectability and independence. All the magiſtrates, whether of the cities or villages, were obliged by the conſtitution to be natives of Brabant; and they were all bound by oath to maintain inviolably the *joyous entry*, or great charter of their rights and privileges.

But the ſupreme tribunal of the country is that ſeated at Bruſſels,

and distinguished by the name of the council of Brabant. This eminent tribunal, which has subsisted through a greater number of ages than records or history probably reach to, has through time immemorial been held in the greatest veneration. It is composed of sixteen judges and a president; the latter of whom is distinguished by the name of the chancellor of Brabant, and his office considered as being of the first trust, dignity, and honour. In many assigned cases, this tribunal judges in the first instance, and is likewise a court of appeal in civil matters, from the sentence of the magistrates in cities and villages.

The functions of this tribunal are not however confined to the administration of justice. The council of Brabant acted also as a council of state; and no act of the prince was considered as valid, or received as a law, until it had been examined and approved of by the judges of this court, and until the chancellor had affixed to it the great seal of Brabant, which was for that purpose entrusted to his care. As the constitution had committed so great a charge to this tribunal, so it took every possible precaution to provide for the character, integrity, and independence of the judges, and still more particularly of the chancellor. The *joyous entry* accordingly went minutely into this business, accurately defining the qualities and qualifications which were to be considered as indispensably necessary for the filling of offices of so great trust; among which, the possession of estates to a considerable amount within the province, was not forgotten.

By the new edicts of the first of January, all these ancient tribunals were overthrown, and this established course of justice, which, besides the sanction of antiquity, was rendered the more dear to the Flemings, from its having descended to them through the brightest and most prosperous days of their ancestors, was annihilated for the gratification of a project which, to speak of it in the mildest terms, had not yet received the test of any sort of experience. Tribunals of a new description, perhaps suited to another state of civilization and things, but whose models were derived from the ever harsh and arbitrary governments of the ancient Austrian dominions, were to supply the place of the former judicatures. It might have been imagined, that the Netherlanders were a newly discovered people, who being only just emerging from barbarity, any system for the administration of justice, however faulty, would to them have been an advantage, compared with a lawless state of anarchy. A supreme tribunal, whose jurisdiction extended over all the provinces, was appointed to hold its seat at Brussels. A new mode of judicial procedure, copied from the sources we have mentioned, was to take place in that as well as the inferior tribunals. The Baron de Martini, an Italian, was sent into the Low Countries, with the title of imperial commissary, to establish and regulate the new tribunals, and to prescribe to a nation which had for so many ages gloried in the freedom as well as the equity of its civil institutions, in what manner justice should be dispensed in future. The 1st of May was the day appointed for the ancient tribunals to cease, and the new ones to commence their career in the administration of justice.

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The conſtitution of the new courts of judicature was not by any means calculated to leſſen the regret which every body felt for the ſuppreſſion of the old tribunals. On examining their conſtruction it was found, that the judges were not to be choſen from the natives, and that the deciſion of cauſes was generally to lie in the breaſt of a ſingle judge; but the moſt alarming circumſtance of all was the impenetrable veil of ſecreſy, which, in the true ſpirit of injuſtice and deſpotiſm, and according to the genius of the countries from whence the models were derived, was to overſpread all the tribunals, and to bury their proceedings in darkneſs. It could ſcarcely have been believed, if the inſtance had not been ſo immediate and flagrant, that any legiſlator or reformer of the preſent enlightened age could have adopted concealment and ſecreſy as mediums for the adminiſtration of juſtice. It is ſaid, that celerity and diſpatch were the grand principles to direct the conduct of theſe new courts, to which nothing could be more directly contrary, than ſlow reſearches to diſcover the truth, and critical inveſtigations of juſtice.

The ſudden and violent overthrow of their ancient and favourite tribunals, ſpread ſuch a terror and conſternation among the people as no words could deſcribe. Every man trembled, the ſmall as well as the great, at the idea of thoſe dangers to which he expected his perſon or property would in future be expoſed. The nobles felt themſelves wounded to the quick in being thus deprived of their ſeignorial rights, without any charge of miſconduct in the exerciſe of their privileges, and conſequently without even a colour of juſtice. They exclaimed, that by diſpoſſeſſing them of that juriſdiction which they had ever held over their tenants in the villages, they were robbed of one of the moſt valuable parts of their hereditary patrimony, without any cauſe aſſigned, or compenſation offered; and that this patrimony and theſe rights had been acquired in early times, at the expence of the money or of the blood of their anceſtors.

The cities, which were extremely jealous of the dignity of their magiſtrates, who poſſeſſed a very unuſual degree of conſideration in that country, could not but deeply reſent the unmerited degradation and affront offered to that body; while with reſpect to themſelves they exclaimed, that one of their nobleſt privileges would be raviſhed from them, when the citizens were deprived of that fair and open trial by their magiſtrates, to which they had ever ſafely committed their lives and fortunes, and which they claimed as their natural and inalienable right.

But the ſuppreſſion of the council of Brabant, as it excited the greateſt conſternation, ſo it produced the loudeſt and moſt general complaints of any of the innovations. By the ſuppreſſion of that ſupreme tribunal, not only the benefits it afforded as a court of juſtice, and of appeal in the laſt inſtance, was loſt to the public, but what might in the main perhaps be conſidered even of greater conſequence, that wholeſome controul, which, as a council of ſtate, it exerciſed over the edicts of the prince, and which was the moſt effectual check the people held upon the encroachments of his prerogative, was thereby annihilated. By the new edict, the great ſeal of

Brabant, to which ſo much importance had always been annexed, and which the *joyous entry* had confided with ſo much caution to the chancellor only, a native of the province, was now to be placed in the hands of the imperial or royal miniſter in the Low Countries, a perſon and office not known to the conſtitution, over whom it had no controul, and who being appointed and removable at the will of the ſovereign, muſt not only be highly obnoxious to the people, but could at any time apply the ancient inſtrument of their freedom to the ratification of their bondage.

But while the firſt of the two famous edicts which ſo ominouſly clouded the opening of the new year, extended deſtruction to their courts and forms of juſtice, the ſecond went little leſs directly to ſubvert the whole fabric of their conſtitution; at leaſt, it was ſo ſtripped of its buttreſſes and defences in the preſent inſtance, that the remaining parts could ſcarcely be expected to withſtand the ſhocks to which governments are daily ſubject.

The ſtates of Brabant, as we have already ſeen, are compoſed of the repreſentatives of the three orders of clergy, nobles, and commons; and the people looked on them as the guardians and conſervators of their laws, liberties, and property. To them only belongs the power of impoſing taxes, and of granting ſubſidies to the prince; in the exerciſe of which power no illiberality in their grants was ever complained of on the part of the prince, nor were the taxes they impoſed ever conſidered as burthens by the people. The ſtates poſſeſſed, and occaſionally exerciſed, the right of remonſtrating freely with the ſovereign on the meaſures of government; and they claimed as a right the very eſſential and important privilege, that no material change could be wrought in the conſtitution without their concurrence.

The ſtates aſſembled every year at Bruſſels, and to obviate the inconveniences of a long ſeſſion, when they had gone through the moſt material parts of the annual buſineſs, they appointed a ſelect committee of their own body, compoſed of two members of each order, to ſupply their place during a long receſs. The inſtitution of this committee (which held the name of a college) might be traced back to very early periods without reaching its origin; the greateſt confidence was at all times placed in it; the moſt weighty affairs committed to its charge; the money voted by the ſtates came particularly within its department; it communicated energy and diſpatch to all their reſolutions and decrees; and ſeemed in a great degree authorized to act diſcretionally, at leaſt in many caſes, without any particular inſtruction. In a word, the delegate ſeemed to poſſeſs no ſmall ſhare of the ſpirit and power of the principal, although ſubject to its future controul.

The ſecond edict had for its title, 'The Eſtabliſhment of a new Form of Government in the Auſtrian Netherlands:' and upon the principle of its title, while it ſubverted the old departments and forms, it eſtabliſhed in their ſtead an engine of ſtate, under the name of a council of general government, which while it drew all public affairs within the ſphere of its own action, was to be

ruled by the court miniſter, who was placed at its head. By this edict the old committee of the ſtates, their delegate and legitimate child, to whom they communicated ſo great a ſhare of their power, merely for their own eaſe and convenience, but which they could at any time recall, was now ſuppreſſed, without their having any previous knowledge of or any ſhare in the ſuppreſſion; and to aggravate the evil, the duty and offices of the committee, along with their derivative authority, were tranſferred to the council of general government, a board over whom the ſtates had no controul, and in which the miniſter preſided.

On a ſuppoſition that it would operate as ſome ſalvo to the ſtates, in diſpoſing them to a compliance with this indirect but violent deprivation of their rights, they were permitted to name one deputy from their own body, who, if approved of by the miniſter and council of government, was to be admitted to a ſeat at that board; but to render this deputy entirely ſubſervient, he was to be decorated with the title of counſellor to the ſovereign, and his virtue farther ſecured by a ſalary or penſion from the royal bounty. Now it was in direct contravention to the inſtitutes of the *joyous entry*, that any member of the ſtates ſhould hold any office whatever of truſt or of profit under the ſovereign, he being from thence totally incapable of acting as a repreſentative.

But this new deputy and counſellor, although merely an unit at the board of council, was to be veſted in other reſpects with moſt extraordinary powers, and ſuch as from their nature could not fail of being totally ſubverſive of the conſtitution: for it was decreed by the edict, that the deputy, if occaſion required, might repreſent all the three orders of the ſtates; and that when called on by the council of general government, he might ſign all thoſe acts which the ſtates uſually ſigned. This was nearly throwing off the maſk. The blind might perceive that it was only a prelude to the overthrow of the ſtates; that means would ſoon be found either for laying them entirely aſide, or, if it was found convenient for ſome time yet to retain their name and outward form, they would be rendered an inert maſs, without life or ſubſtance, while their new deputy, under the orders of the miniſter and council, would be made the inſtrument of ſeizing their whole power, and even of uſurping their moſt ſacred right and truſt, that of impoſing taxes on their fellow ſubjects, and of granting ſubſidies to the prince.

Whilſt the tribunals of juſtice were thus overthrown, the rights of the ſtates invaded, and their very exiſtence threatened, a novel ſyſtem of magiſtracy, ſuch as had never been heard of before in the Low Countries, was likewiſe introduced. The ſecond edict decreed a diviſion of the country into nine circles, and appointed a new form and diſtinct adminiſtration of government to each circle, though all acting upon the ſame principle. An intendant, with a train of ſubordinate commiſſaries, compoſed a tribunal which was to preſide over each circle; but that of Bruſſels was to be counted the firſt circle, and probably held ſome juriſdiction or controul over the others. The power of theſe tribunals, or of their intendants, was arbitrary in the extreme. All

perſons who in any department were entruſted with the collection or care of any part of the public money, whether collectors appointed by the ſtates, magiſtrates of cities, or the officers in diſtricts or pariſhes, were all obliged to bring in their accounts to the intendant, and were all liable to any puniſhment he might chooſe to inflict on them, however degrading; his tribunal, if its powers of puniſhment were at all limited, being fully authorized to inflict diſcretional fines, entire confiſcation, and that laſt and moſt degrading engine of government, corporal chaſtiſement.

The police was alſo ſubjected to his controul; and in ſeveral caſes his juriſdiction trenched upon that of the courts of law. The publication of edicts, which it had been the high privilege of the council of Brabant to examine, and then to promulgate or ſuppreſs, as they thought fitting for the public good, was now placed in the hands of the intendant. Scarcely any man, or order of men, could eſcape free from the fangs of theſe tribunals if they choſe to exert them. All who were only ſuſpected of defrauding the revenue, whether by contraband practices or otherwiſe, were immediate objects of their inquiſition, and had no redemption from their decree. The powers of the intendant were indeed ſo uncertain and undefined, that all men were commanded to pay implicit obedience to his decrees, although it ſhould be ſuppoſed or known that he even exceeded the bounds of his commiſſion. Nor could the courts of law take any cognizance of his acts, nor conſequently afford any redreſs to his oppreſſion or injury. The only oſtenſible remedy aſſigned to the people, but which they did not conſider as any, was to lay their complaints before the miniſter and his council.

As ſoon therefore as the import and tendency of the new ordinances were generally diſſeminated, the public diſcontent was expreſſed in ſuch loud and vehement terms, and ſuch unqualified cenſure was paſſed upon the ſource of their grievances, that it required little penetration to ſee, that nothing leſs than the moſt abſolute coercions of power could reduce the people to ſuffer the overthrow of their ancient conſtitution, and to ſubmit to the tyranny of the new ſyſtem. All the acts of the preſent reign now underwent a ſevere review; and many which paſſed unobſerved or unheeded in the days of good humour and good opinion, were ſcrutinized and condemned. In this heat great licence of language (the moſt incorrigible vice of free cities) prevailed with reſpect to the ſovereign; and the imputed breach of the inaugural compact and oath, was openly branded with the coarſe and unqualified terms of treachery and perjury.

On the other hand, thoſe who were diſpoſed to think more favourably of the acts and deſigns of the ſovereign, vindicated him from any intention of ſubverting the conſtitution, upon the circumſtance of the ſlender military force which he then retained in the Low Countries, and which was totally inſufficient for ſuch a purpoſe. They likewiſe ſaid, that from the general tenor of conduct which he had hitherto obſerved, and the early inſtances of affection to the people, and an attention to their intereſts, which he had diſplayed, it was more juſt to conclude, that he had framed theſe

edicts rather from miſtaken views of the public good, than from any deſign upon their liberties; that he had undoubtedly been induced to ſuppreſs the ancient tribunals, with a view of abridging the expence and tediouſneſs of law-ſuits, and enabling the people to obtain juſtice in a more compendious and ſummary manner: and that from ſimilar miſapprehenſions, and probably impoſitions, he had been induced to make thoſe other alterations which were ſo generally condemned, and ſo univerſally grievous. That no doubt could be entertained but the prince had been deceived by partial and falſe repreſentations of things; and that the blame of the new edicts ought to fall on thoſe evil counſellors, who ſecretly wiſhing and ſtriving to advance their own power in the Netherlands by theſe innovations, had ſurprized the unwary mind of the ſovereign into raſh and precipitate meaſures.

This alluſion was particularly directed to the chancellor of Brabant, who forgetful of the great truſt confided in him, as well as of the eminence and dignity of his high ſtation, had been brought over to abandon the one, aud to degrade the other, by accepting the office of preſident in the ſupreme tribunal which was now to be eſtabliſhed at Bruſſels.

It is to be obſerved, that no part of the public odium excited by theſe extraordinary meaſures fell in any degree upon the arch-ducheſs and her huſband, the duke of Saxe Teſchen, who being governors general of the Netherlands, were the perſons on whom it might naturally have been ſuppoſed the torrent of blame would principally have fallen. On the contrary, the conduct of theſe princes had in all things been ſo laudable and pleaſing to the people, that they had gained their good opinion and even affection, and were never once ſuſpected of contriving, or even of wiſhing to further the execution of any ſcheme for the ſubverſion of their conſtitution and liberties.

The public blame and odium was principally directed to the count Belgiojoſo, the miniſter, a Milaneſe by birth, and ſuppoſed to ſtand ſo highly in the favour of his ſovereign, that all the late innovations were readily imputed to him; the governors general being only conſidered as holding the oſtenſible inſignia of government, while he poſſeſſed the real power. This nobleman, although he had for three years held the office of miniſter in the Low Countries, was ſuppoſed to be little acquainted with the character of the people, and ſtill leſs with their laws and conſtitution. Being himſelf bred under a deſpotic form of government, and being likewiſe naturally of a haughty, imperious, and arbitrary temper, he ſeemed little calculated for the government of a free people; and it was vexatiouſly obſerved at this time, that his long reſidence in England, as ambaſſador from the court of Vienna, inſtead of inducing him to venerate the principles of a free conſtitution, had produced the untoward effect of rivetting his native prejudices the more firmly. His adminiſtration accordingly produced neither favour nor confidence from the Flemings, and he was now univerſally deteſted as the principal author of all the preſent dangerous and deſtructive meaſures.

The ſtates of Brabant were not

ſitting when the new ordinances made their appearance, but the committee of the ſtates, which was deſtined to ſo ſpeedy a diſſolution, loſt no time in preſenting a ſtrong and ſpirited memorial to the court of Bruſſels. In this piece the committee having diſplayed the peculiar excellencies of their conſtitution, and expatiated on the happy and glorious effects which through ſo many ages it had produced, they entered into a particular detail of the hiſtory of their great charter, the *joyous entry*, ſhewing how it had been firſt obtained from the ancient dukes of Brabant, more as a ſpecification and record of rights and privileges which they had then already long poſſeſſed, than as a grant of new: how it had been maintained and enlarged by their ſucceeding ſovereigns the dukes of Burgundy; and afterwards ratified and ſworn to by both branches of the houſe of Auſtria. They then proteſted in the ſtrongeſt terms againſt the violation of that great charter of their liberties attempted by the late edicts; declared that they were from their nature invalid; and that no change whatever could take place in the eſtabliſhed conſtitution, thus ſolemnly ſecured, without not only the conſent but the poſitive act of the three eſtates of Brabant. The council of Brabant likewiſe made uſe of the ſhort period allotted to its exiſtence, by ſtrongly ſupporting the repreſentations made by the committee in this memorial.

As the time approached for the new arrangements to take place, the people, by mutual communication of their ſentiments and apprehenſions, were carried nearly to the higheſt pitch of irritation. They fancied they already ſaw military enrolments, territorial impoſts, and all thoſe other effects of arbitrary power, which the people groaned under in the hereditary provinces of Germany, now fully eſtabliſhed among themſelves, through the ſupreme power allotted to the intendants. The common danger produced the good effect of coaleſcing all orders of the people in one compact and firm maſs. Every individual was willing to hazard all things in the defence of his rights; but it remained for the wiſer few to determine how this was to be done with effect. The clergy ſaw that the only proſpect they could poſſibly have of preſerving their remaining poſſeſſions, and conſequently any part of their weight in the ſtate, was by embarking hand and heart with the people in the ſupport of their civil rights: and thoſe who were not before ſorry to ſee the wealth and power of the church conſiderably reduced, were now ſenſible of the fatal error of opening any inlet, however ſmall, or upon whatever pretence or account, for the introduction of arbitrary power in the reform or ſettlement of a free conſtitution. The arbitrary meaſures purſued againſt the clergy, which were little attended to when every other claſs of the people thought itſelf ſecure, now told to every man's feelings as a part of the common ſtock of grievance, and were conſidered as the firſt links of that chain of deſpotiſm which was deſigned to embrace the whole ſtate. Thus the intereſts of the church and of the people were firmly united, and religious prejudice being enliſted on the ſide of patriotiſm, came neceſſarily within its protection.

Notwithſtanding the peaceable character

character of the country, and disposition of its inhabitants, it did not want many generous spirits, men of rank and of fortune, who, disdaining to surrender the rights which they inherited from their ancestors, were not appalled by the prodigious disparity in every point of comparison, between their means of supporting a contest, and those of the mighty power with whom they seemed destined to contend. They likewise saw that the public affairs of Europe were in so peculiar a situation, that scarcely any former period could have cut them so entirely off from every hope of foreign assistance or support. But then they were aware, that if they were now dispossessed of their rights, there never could even be a hope of their future recovery; and that they would soon dwindle into the same state of insignificance and poverty with Transylvania, Sclavonia, or any other of the most abject dependant provinces.

The arbitrary conduct, and even the mysterious language and countenance of the minister, served to confirm these dispositions, and to afford them greater strength, by increasing the discontent, and cementing the union of the people. The public apprehensions had already produced very untoward effects in the rapid decline of commerce, the great decrease of the quantity of cash in circulation, and a proportionate failure of the revenue arising from the customs. Although these were not only the usual but the certain consequences of violent measures, and that the cause and effect were visible in the different links, yet the failure of the revenue, which was all that gave him any concern, was attributed entirely by the minister to the increase of contraband trade; and considering severity as the most effectual remedy for this evil, an order was issued, impowering the revenue officers to fire directly at any person who, when called to by them to stop, did not instantly obey the command. It may be easily conceived with what degree of satisfaction so harsh and cruel a feature of German despotism, which rendered immediate death the penalty of natural infirmity or accidental misfortune, was introduced among a people accustomed to a just and lenient government.

In Brabant the whole representation of the commons lay in the deputies that were elected and returned to the states by the three principal cities of the province, Brussels, Louvain, and Antwerp; nor could any tax be imposed, nor subsidy granted by the states themselves, until it was confirmed by the approbation of these three cities. The companies of arts and trades form a principal member in each of these cities, and, as may be expected in a country so early and so highly celebrated for its skill in arts and manufactures, possess great and eminent privileges, and include great numbers of the most respectable citizens. In Brussels these companies are formed into nine bands or nations, each of which is governed by a distinct ruler, called a syndic; in whose hands, acting as the mouth, and under the authority of the corporation, much weight and influence is lodged.

The syndics of the nine nations now took an active and important part in defence of the public liberty. They drew up and presented a memorial, conceived in

that bold ſpirit of freedom, which had animated and characterized the great cities in the days of their greateſt ſplendour and independance. After placing in a ſtrong light the nature and conditions of the inaugural oath and compact, they commented, with a freedom and plainneſs of language not often heard at courts, on the repeated flagrant violations of them which had of late taken place. After recounting the various heads of grievance which we have already ſeen, they boldly aſſerted that peculiar and extraordinary privilege and ſecurity to the liberties of the people, which the conſtitution of Brabant has eſtabliſhed, by ſpecifically ordaining, "That if the "ſovereign ſhall infringe upon the "articles of the *joyous entry*, his "ſubjects ſhall be diſcharged from "all duty and ſervice to him, un"til ſuch time as due reparation "ſhall be made for ſuch infringe"ment."

This grave and ſpirited memorial gave a form and a ſanction to the ſpirit which already prevailed, and was a ſignal for diſplaying it.

In the mean time, as if the cauſes of diſcontent had not been already ſufficiently numerous, the fruitful genius of innovation found means to extract from the cold and abſtruſe ſcience of theology materials for kindling a new flame, which being ſpeedily communicated to all the orders of the church, which was now ſo cloſely united with every other part of the ſtate, political intereſts, and the ſenſe of common danger concurred, in renewing and enforcing the impreſſions of education.

Louvain, one of the three principal cities of Brabant, has long been noted for its ancient and ſplendid univerſity, whoſe numerous colleges are very richly endowed, and contained a prodigious number of ſtudents. It was once held reſpectable for its learning, but has loſt much of its character in that reſpect, through the obſtinacy with which it has adhered to the ancient ſchool forms and opinions, which neceſſarily ſhut out all thoſe means of improvement which have been ſo happily adopted in modern times by other great ſeminaries of inſtruction. This univerſity has long been particularly noted for its attachment to the papal ſee, and the extraordinary reverence with which it regarded the ſupreme pontiff; diſpoſitions which, as they leſſened in other places, ſeemed to acquire additional ſtrength here, and which could by no means recommend them to the favour of the ſovereign in the preſent reign.

Some reforms had been lately adopted by the ſovereign, which, if they had not been too haſtily purſued, and carried to too great an extent in the firſt inſtance, might probably have proved ſerviceable in time, and under the government of caution and prudence, to the intereſts of literature. But the firſt eſſay was made upon ſuch tender and forbidden ground, and ſo total a contempt ſhewn of all addreſs and management in conducting the approaches, that it was eaſily ſeen what the iſſue would be. Thoſe, whoſe duty it is to teach, will not readily ſubmit to learn; and perhaps they may not be unreaſonable in expecting the correction of their errors rather from argument and perſuaſion, than from the hands of power, and the eloquence of edicts.

The

The doctrines of teachers, and the principles of education, which regulate the morals and fashion the lives of a whole people, are not easily changed, nor ought they to be so: but they are not incapable of reformation, because they cannot be reformed in every way. A wise government, by the introduction and encouragement of something better, will gradually draw away the tribute of affections and opinions, and leave the obsolete and deserted error to perish in silent oblivion, or compel it to adopt the new improvement, which all the force of legislative prohibition and injunction could never have effected. The first of the imperial reforms in the university of Louvain extended to the sacred science of theology; or at least to the overthrow of that system of it which had hitherto been professed and taught in the university.

We are to observe, that this science had till now been taught in particular colleges, appropriated to that purpose, in the university; and that exclusive of these, each bishop had a peculiar seminary, in which all the youth of the diocese, who were destined to holy orders, were bred up under his own eye, until the time arrived for prosecuting their degrees in the university. The religious orders had likewise their peculiar seminaries for the education and instruction of their novices; the austere system of whose future lives, any more than their uncouth garb, being ill suited to mixing in the crowds and noise of a vast university, and in the licence of a populous city.

All these colleges and seminaries were now abolished, and a general seminary, established at Louvain by the sovereign for the study of theology, was ordained to supply their place; an edict being published, that all those youth who were designed for the church should repair to the general seminary to pursue and finish their theological studies. —But this was not all, the conduct of the new seminary was placed in the hands of strangers and foreigners. As if the clergy and schools of the Flemish nation were not competent to the education of their own youth, and were incapable of instructing in the pastoral duties those designed for the church, a rector and professors were sent from Germany, to whom were committed the entire charge of the general seminary, and the exclusive instruction of all youth designed for the ministry; the new professors being themselves independent of the statutes and rules of the university, and free from the inspection and all controul of the bishops.

This general importation of foreign instructors, and foreign principles of instruction, was to affix by authority a stigma of barbarism upon a whole nation, upon a church very early established, and long held respectable, and upon an opulent, powerful, and very numerous body of clergy.

The bishops not only complained of a direct invasion of their rights, but declared that in a little time they should be rendered incapable of discharging their most important function, as they could not admit men into holy orders, of whose education, morals, or religious principles, they had no knowledge. The university exclaimed loudly at so unexampled a violation of all their laws, institutions, and privileges.

Suspicions

Suſpicions were entertained and ſpread which rendered the new profeſſors extremely odious, and ſerved to communicate the diſcontent of the clergy to every order and part of the people. The new profeſſors in religion, as it had been obſerved of the new miniſters of government, happened to be natives of thoſe remote provinces of Germany, where not only the opinions of Proteſtantiſm were held to be prevalent; but it was ſaid, that the errors of Arianiſm, Socinianiſm, and of the Moravians, were ſcarcely leſs general. Their principal, the abbé Stoeger, who was rector, had likewiſe publiſhed a body of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, in which, though otherwiſe a work of merit, he was ſaid to have treated the decrees of popes and councils with leſs reverence than was ſuited to the character of a catholic prieſt. There was accordingly a general outcry, that religion was in immediate danger; that the Low Countries, which had ſo long gloried in holding the catholic faith in its higheſt and original purity, were now to be contaminated with heterodox opinions, and the principles of the riſing generation corrupted at the ſource of knowledge; whilſt that holy religion, which Louvain had ſo long preſerved without ſtain within her walls, was to be defiled by the foul taint of hereſy.

In this ſtate of things the miniſter thought proper to add new fuel to feed the flame. He iſſued an order to father Godefroi d'Aloſt, viſitor of the capuchins at Bruſſels, to ſend the young ſtudents of his order to be educated in the general ſeminary. The viſitor refuſed to comply with this order, on the ground of the deep ſenſe with which he was impreſſed of the imminent danger to which the young capuchins would be expoſed from the heterodox doctrines of the German profeſſors; and concluded a Latin letter, though breathing ſomewhat of a fanatical ſpirit, with a declaration that he rather choſe to endure perſecution for the ſake of the truth, than to obey the unlawful commands of princes. This refuſal ſo much irritated the miniſter, that Godefroi was commanded to depart from Bruſſels in twenty-four hours, and to quit the dominions of the emperor within three days.

This violent act excited much indignation. It not only afforded a new ſubject of complaint to thoſe who were zealous in religion, and ſtrengthened the abhorrence to the general ſeminary, but it increaſed the apprehenſions of the progreſs of arbitrary power, which were already ſo generally entertained. For the laws of Brabant ordain, that no perſon ſhall be puniſhed but by due form of law, declared by the ſentence of a proper magiſtrate; and thus an opportunity was taken in ſhocking religious prejudice, to violate civil right. But the principle of irritation was extended to many other acts, and all at the ſame point of time.

Mr. de Hondt, a man of irreproachable character, and an eminent merchant of Bruſſels, had held a contract for ſupplying the army in the Low Countries with forage. The term of this contract had expired, his accounts were examined in the cuſtomary manner, liquidated and cloſed, and the whole tranſaction was to all appearance ended. But ſuſpicions having ariſen upon an after-thought, that ſome unfair

unfair tranſactions had taken place in the department of contractors and commiſſaries, he was included in a charge brought before that tribunal at Bruſſels, to which the cognizance of ſuch cauſes ſpecially belonged. Mr. de Hondt had put in his anſwer to the charge, and the affair was proceeding in due courſe of law to a deciſion, when he was enſnared into a public office belonging to government, where he found himſelf inſtantly ſurrounded, and ſeized by an armed ſoldiery, who, after a few hours confinement on the ſpot, forced him into a carriage; and though he was labouring under a ſevere and dangerous indiſpoſition, tranſported him by the moſt rapid journies, as it was aſſerted, in chains, and under an armed guard, to Vienna.

Such an open contempt of the forms of juſtice ſtruck every man with dread and with horror; while Auſtrian deſpotiſm, military government, chains, dungeons, and Vienna, became inſeparable ideas, and filled every imagination. It was in vain that the miniſtry endeavoured to gloſs over the act, by pretending that Mr. de Hondt's contract for forage rendered him ſubject to military law. The people were by no means in a temper to liſten to ſuch arguments. Madam de Hondt loſt no time in addreſſing and publiſhing a ſpirited memorial to the ſtates of Brabant (although they were not yet aſſembled) in which, with the dignity of a Roman matron, ſhe ſeemed not leſs ſenſible of the violence offered to the laws and conſtitution of her country, than of her own particular injury; but ſtrongly called upon them to aſſert her cauſe as that of the public, and to diſcharge their duty with effect, as the guardians of the rights and privileges of the people.

The eyes of all men were now directed to the meeting of the ſtates, and their minds ſuſpended until they could form ſome concluſion, from their proceedings in the outſet, of what they might farther hope or expect. This aſſembly was convened at Bruſſels in the month of April, and ſoon relieved the minds of the people, by ſhewing that the ſpirit of their anceſtors was not yet extinct. When they were requeſted, according to the uſual forms, in the name of the ſovereign, to grant the cuſtomary ſubſidies, they totally refuſed to treat in any manner upon the ſubject of ſubſidies, until the grievances of the people were fully redreſſed. They then iſſued orders to the collectors and receivers of the public revenues, forbidding them, on pain of inſtant ſuſpenſion from their offices, to pay any regard or obedience to the commands of the new intendants or their commiſſaries. Having given this ſpecimen of the ſpirit by which they were actuated, and earneſt of the conduct which they intended to purſue, they proceeded to vindicate the rights of the conſtitution in a moſt ſpirited remonſtrance to the governors general.

In this piece, having declared their undoubted rights, and ſtated in ſtrong colours the numerous infractions of the conſtitution which had taken place, particularly by the new edicts, which had been publiſhed contrary to law, without their conſent, or any communication with them, they particularly ſpecified the violation of the compact between the ſovereign and his ſubjects, by wreſting the great ſeal of Brabant from thoſe hands in which the conſtitution

ſtitution had lodged it, and placing it in thoſe of the miniſter. They then ſtated the mockery put upon themſelves, and equal violation of the laws, by the ſubſtitution of a ſingle deputy to ſupply the place of their committee; and pointed out the deplorable ſervitude with which the provinces were openly menaced, by the new and extraordinary powers with which the intendant and his commiſſaries were furniſhed. They recited the violent acts in religious matters, as part of the ſame arbitrary ſyſtem with the late edicts; and particularly complained of the injury to the ſtates, and the violence offered to the conſtitution, by withholding from them the abbots, who formed an eſſential part of their body. They aſſerted that the ſyndics, in their memorial, had held up a true picture of the afflicted ſtate of the nation, of the decline of commerce, and of the apprehenſions with which all ranks of men were ſeized; and they added, directly from themſelves, that theſe apprehenſions were no longer vain forebodings, for that the reign of deſpotiſm and military government was already begun, and had fully diſplayed itſelf in the ſeizure of Mr. de Hondt, who was forced from his dwelling by an armed ſoldiery, and carried away, to be tried by the laws and the tribunals of a country to which he was not amenable. They repreſented, in ſtriking colours, the effects that muſt enſue from the proſecution of this arbitrary ſyſtem—the fall of commerce, the emigration of the citizens, and the deſolation of thoſe flouriſhing provinces, whoſe riches and credit had ſo often been ſucceſsfully employed in the ſervice of the houſe of Auſtria.

The court of Bruſſels was aſtoniſhed, and not a little diſturbed, at the vigorous meaſures purſued by the ſtates, which it ſeems far exceeded what was expected. The miniſter thought at firſt that every thing muſt bend to the weight of authority, and endeavoured to intimidate the ſtates into a compliance with the requiſitions of government; but he found to his diſappointment that the members were not to be ſhaken by menaces, and that they reſolutely perſevered in their refuſal of granting ſubſidies until their grievances were redreſſed. While things were in this ſtate, a circumſtance took place which afforded a new opportunity of ſhewing their ſpirit and firmneſs. Mr. Vandernoodt, a counſellor of Bruſſels, and an eminent advocate in the cauſe of liberty, publiſhed a treatiſe addreſſed to the ſtates, in which, from ancient records and documents, he traced out and elucidated the conſtitution of Brabant; the ſtates not only ordered this treatiſe to be read in their preſence, but decreed public thanks to the author, for having ſo ably and ſo juſtly vindicated the rights of the people.

On the firſt of May the ancient tribunals were to ceaſe, and the new to commence acting; but the ſtates forbid the council of Brabant to pay any regard to that decree, and commanded that tribunal to maintain itſelf in the exerciſe of its functions. The council obeyed the ſtates, and though now deprived of that ſtately edifice which the city of Bruſſels had erected ſolely to be the ſeat of that tribunal, they exerciſed their functions with full effect elſewhere, boldly declaring, that the pretended new tribunals were

were ſet up againſt law, and that their acts were to be held of no effect.

Whilſt this vigorous oppoſition to the new decrees was carried on in Brabant, the ſtates of Flanders and of Haynault ſeemed to go even beyond them in the loudneſs of their complaints, the boldneſs of their remonſtrances to the ſovereign, and at leaſt to equal them in their abſolute rejection of the new tribunals, and their refuſal to ſubmit, in any degree, to any of the decrees contained in the late edicts. Even Luxemburgh and Namur only waited the aſſembling of their ſtates to declare an equal oppoſition.

The nobles of Flanders, who had for more than a century been excluded from the aſſembly of the ſtates, were upon this occaſion recalled, in order to give the greater weight and dignity to their repreſentations. This body, thus reunited, did not endeavour to conceal the importance which they derived from the ſuperior fertility, opulence, and population of Flanders, in which it far exceeded any other province, as it likewiſe did in the amount of the ſubſidies which it granted to the ſovereign. Theſe topics they ſtated and enlarged upon; and after reminding the ſovereign of their mutual relation, and of that compact by which he was inſtituted count of Flanders, and they became his ſubjects, they concluded in the following terms:—"We demand only things that are "juſt and due, and aſſured to us "by the oath taken at your inauguration."

The court of Bruſſels was perplexed beyond meaſure at this determined oppoſition to the meaſures of government which appeared on every ſide; and the miniſter found himſelf obliged to depart from that haughty carriage and myſterious reſerve which he had hitherto aſſumed. Frequent conferences were held with the ſtates, conceſſions were made in ſmall matters, and promiſes were liberally beſtowed with reſpect to objects of moment. Condeſcenſion, intercourſe, with an appearance of candour and good-will, ſeemed now likely to ſucceed, where a different conduct had ſo totally failed. The two firſt orders of the ſtate, the clergy and the nobles, ſeemed a good deal diſpoſed to relax, and for the ſake of preſent quiet and ſecurity to give up ſome things; and, by modelling or paring the conſtitution, to make it accord in ſome ſort with the views of the ſovereign.—This was only in Brabant.

The ſyndics now acted a great part. Thoſe of Bruſſels, being joined and firmly ſupported by their brethren of Antwerp and Louvain, were not only the dictators of theſe great communities, but had ſuch an influence with the people at large, that they might be conſidered as virtually poſſeſſing almoſt the whole authority of the commons. Names, and eſtabliſhed opinions, muſt always have a great effect upon the conduct of mankind. The circumſtance of the miniſter's being an Italian, rendered theſe people more ſuſpicious and apprehenſive of him than they might have been perhaps of any other. They dreaded the Machiavelian principles, the dexterity in intrigue, and the political duplicity, which are ſo frequently, but too generally, aſcribed to his countrymen. They ſaid that he only dallied with the ſtates, and played upon them by inſignificant conceſſions, and by promiſes which he never intended to perform,

perform, in order to protract the time until the emperor's return from Cherſon, and until an army could be ſent to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm with the point of the bayonet. The ſyndics accordingly publiſhed a declaration in the name of thoſe large communities which they repreſented, but well underſtood to include the people at large, that they would never ſubmit to any alteration in their ancient conſtitution, and particularly that they would not ſuffer a ſingle *ieta* in the articles of the *joyous entry* to be changed. The clergy and nobles ſuddenly awaking as it were from a dream, immediately adopted this determination; and repreſenting to the court of Bruſſels that they would not conſent to any innovations, gave notice, that they were not diſpoſed to waſte time in vain conferences and fruitleſs negociation.

As the governors general delayed giving any ſolid ſatisfaction, this was imputed to the malignity of the miniſter, who accordingly became more odious than ever. The ſyndics held forth the terrors of an ancient ſtatute of Brabant, which declared it to be lawful to apprehend and to puniſh any perſon who ſhould obſtinately perſiſt in obſtructing the public good. As the application intended by bringing forward this old law could not be miſunderſtood, the miniſter began to be ſeriouſly alarmed for his perſon; the peaceable character of the people not affording any ſufficient ſecurity againſt the violent effects of their indignation, when the law thus held out an apparent juſtification for its greateſt exceſs. The apprehenſions entertained by the miniſter could not be leſſened by the conduct of the chancellor of Brabant, who finding himſelf included in no ſmall ſhare of the popular odium, and that he had been not obſcurely pointed at in ſome of the reſolutions of the ſyndics, thought it prudent, notwithſtanding the favour and protection of goverment, to abandon both his new and his old office, and to withdraw himſelf entirely from the Low Countries. In the mean time, the public heats continually increaſing, and there being reaſon to apprehend that the people, impatient of the apparent tardineſs of their rulers, and of the uncertainty of their ſituation, might ruſh headlong into ſome acts of extreme violence, the ſtates of Brabant declared to the governors general, that unleſs meaſures were ſpeedily taken to ſatisfy the juſt demands, and to allay the fears of the people, they could no longer be anſwerable for their conduct; and would therefore be obliged themſelves to proceed to the exertion of that authority with which they were inveſted, in order to preſerve the conſtitution from injury, and the country from ruin.

The governors general could not fail being alarmed at the ſudden revolution which had taken place in the temper and diſpoſition of a people, whom they had hitherto governed not only with the greateſt tranquillity, but who had manifeſted on every occaſion an affectionate attachment to their perſons, as well as a dutiful ſubmiſſion to their authority. They now ſaw plainly that they were inſpired with an univerſal ſpirit of reſiſtance; and that their being hitherto reſtrained, was only to be aſcribed to the prudence and moderation of the popular leaders. The emperor was at ſo great a diſtance, and the communication ſo uncertain and difficult, that they were

were under a neceſſity of acting from themſelves, without waiting for his council or inſtruction. In theſe circumſtances they ſaw there was no other alternative to a general inſurrection, the event of which could not be foreſeen, and which muſt in any caſe be highly deſtructive in its conſequences, but to make ſuch conceſſions as would afford ſatisfaction to the people.

In this view they ſuſpended, until the farther will of the ſovereign ſhould be known, the whole order of intendants and commiſſaries. They ordered the new tribunals, which had been ſo lately opened, to be ſhut, and gave the ſanction of government to the ancient tribunals, for the reſumption of thoſe functions, from the exerciſe of which they had not deſiſted. They alſo recalled father Godefroi from his exile; and promiſed their application at the court of Vienna, for the reſtoration of Mr. de Hondt back into Brabant.

The governors general, however, ſoon found that theſe conceſſions were not ſufficient, that the ſtates of Brabant were far from being ſatisfied, and that the minds of men were ſtill generally agitated by apprehenſions and jealouſies. They accordingly determined, with equal juſtice and prudence, to reſtore, as far as the power lay in themſelves, the tranquillity and happineſs of the provinces, by meeting the wiſhes of the people in their full extent. For this purpoſe they iſſued a decree, fully competent to the deſign, and which promiſed to render the 30th of May a day of perpetual jubilee in the Low Countries. In this important document they declared, that all arrangements, which were in any reſpect contrary to the *joyous entry*, ſhould be entirely ſet aſide; and that due reparation ſhould be made for all infringements on that great charter, which the people held ſo ſacred. They expreſſed their hopes and wiſhes, that the ſovereign would ratify this declaration; and promiſed to employ their own good offices to the utmoſt at the imperial court, for the accompliſhment of that purpoſe; and they conſented to remove from their councils all thoſe perſons whoſe conduct had rendered them obnoxious to the ſtates of Brabant.

May 30th, 1787.

This ample declaration produced the moſt unbounded joy among the people. The ſtates of Brabant, and the ſyndics, haſtened to expreſs their warm acknowledgments to the governors general, and received the favour as if it had been an original grace, and the firſt grant of privilege or liberty. The princes afforded an opportunity to the people at large of pouring forth their grateful acclamations to them; and had the ſatisfaction of beholding heartfelt joy, gratitude, and affection, depictured in every countenance, in the place of lowring diſcontent or furious anger. The ſame aſſurances of the preſervation of their rights having been communicated to the other provinces, the ſatisfaction and joy became univerſal; and in this ſeaſon of general triumph, the citizens of Mons, in Haynault (who had been diſtinguiſhed by their zeal and ſpirit, and by the ſtrength and boldneſs of their remonſtrances in the late period of danger) could not be reſtrained from celebrating their ancient and dearly beloved feſtival of the Kerremeſſe, although it had been ſuppreſſed

ſuppreſſed and prohibited by an imperial decree ſome time before.

The joy of the Flemings was, however, once more interrupted by diſquietude and apprehenſion, when they had leiſure to ruminate on the danger of the emperor's refuſing to ratify the declaration made by the princes. They began now to know his temper and diſpoſition, and could not, upon cool reflection, but be ſenſible of the uncertain ground on which they reſted their hopes. The celebrated prime miniſter, prince Kaunitz, had formerly reſided as miniſter in the Netherlands, at which time he had fully acquired the affection and confidence of the people, and had ever ſince continued to ſhew ſuch regards for them, that he was in a great meaſure conſidered as the friend and patron of the nation. As every body knew the unbounded plenitude of his power in the councils of the court of Vienna, ſo it was eagerly hoped that he would not wait the emperor's return for the ratification of a document which had already produced ſuch happy effects.

It was then a grievous diſappointment when they were informed by prince Kaunitz, that although he held hopes that the ſovereign might not be unwilling to comply with the wiſhes of his ſubjects, yet it was impoſſible the ratification ſhould take place until his return to the capital. This light way of treating an inſtrument on which all hope and reliance was placed, authenticated by all the powers of acting government, and which ſeemed to receive a particular ſanction from the near relation of the governors general to the emperor, ſtruck every body with conſternation and diſmay. As the emperor did not return for ſeveral weeks, the ſtates of Brabant remained ſitting, and the ſyndics continued to hold their meetings. The ſtates of Namur and Luxemburgh being now convened, warmly joined in their remonſtrances with the other provinces, and diſplaying the charters and ratifications obtained from their ancient princes, rather demanded than ſolicited the re-eſtabliſhment of their conſtitutions and liberties. All ranks of men, as their ſuſpicions and apprehenſions continually increaſed, became daily more impatient for the ratification; and the general ſolicitude for the conſtitution, and determination to maintain it, grew more conſpicuous.

In this ſtate of things the people were ſeized with a ſudden impulſe of arming, in order to be prepared for the worſt that might happen. At Bruſſels, and in all the principal cities, the burgeſſes formed themſelves into volunteer companies, equipped themſelves with an uniform and cockades, and diſplaying banners with the arms of the province, applied diligently to the practice of military exerciſes. The court of Vienna, as well as that of Bruſſels, were ſeriouſly alarmed at theſe appearances, and ſtill more at the general diſpoſition with which they were accompanied. Prince Kaunitz endeavoured, by lenient language, and fair but unexplicit promiſes, to mitigate the heats that prevailed in the provinces. His diſpatches, however, produced in ſome inſtances an effect contrary to what he ſeemingly intended. Having ſent Mr. de Hondt back to Bruſſels,

Bruſſels, in order that the charge againſt him might be tried by the proper tribunal, the effect which this ſatisfaction to the violated laws of the country might otherwiſe have produced was much leſſened, by ſome expreſſions which ſeemed to juſtify the violence, and to hold out his being returned as a matter of grace and favour rather than of right. He likewiſe expreſſed in the ſame diſpatch his hopes, that the ſovereign would be willing to concur with the ſtates, in making ſuch amendments in their conſtitution as were now become neceſſary. This expreſſion gave ſuch umbrage to the ſtates, and cauſed ſo univerſal an alarm and ferment, that the governors general found it neceſſary to iſſue a declaration, in which they gave it as their opinion, that no innovation was intended, and that an unlimited ratification would be granted by the ſovereign.

It is an obſervation which will be found right with reſpect to the conduct of mankind in general, that the people, partly from the love of quiet, partly from the means of influence and corruption, which the ſovereign under the moſt limited forms of government poſſeſſes, partly through inattention and ſlackneſs of perception, and partly from a diſpoſition to hold a more favourable opinion of the deſigns of their rulers than they really deſerve, are inſenſible with reſpect to ſilent and gradual invaſions of their rights and privileges. But when by any ſudden and violent infraction of ancient rights or cuſtoms, diſcontent is once ſpread, and the ſpirit of ſuſpicion rouzed; men, by continually agitating the ſubject of grievance, mutually act and are acted upon in inflaming each other, and can with difficulty be reſtrained within any bounds of moderation or reaſon.

Such was pretty much the caſe at this time in the Low Countries. The governors general, ſo far as lay in themſelves, had yielded every thing to the wiſhes of the people. Inſtead of purſuing the temperate line of conduct which prudence and reaſon had ſo obviouſly marked, they proceeded haſtily to open new grounds of altercation, to probe and wound the ſovereign in thoſe parts which were moſt ſenſible, according to the high ideas which he and all ſovereigns entertained of ſovereignty; and ſeemed to be ſeized with the ſame reſtleſs ſpirit of innovation, and the ſame inability of knowing where to ſtop, which they had ſo ſtrongly condemned in the emperor.

It is, however, neceſſary to ſhew from what cauſe a deviation ſo contrary to the temperate character and plain good ſenſe of the people may be attributed. It is then to be obſerved, that the influence and power of the clergy over the people had increaſed in a prodigious degree during the progreſs of the troubles; and they were as eagerly deſirous to render their authority permanent as to increaſe it. They had already ſucceeded in two objects, which they deemed of the greateſt importance. The general ſeminary at Louvain, and another ſimilar to it, which had been eſtabliſhed at Luxemburgh, were ſuppreſſed, and the foreign profeſſors diſmiſſed from their charges, without the knowledge or conſent of the emperor.

Not ſatisfied with this ſource of triumph, they loudly called upon the governors general to exerciſe the peculiar rights of the ſovereign in his abſence, by proceeding with-

out delay to the appointment of abbots to the vacant abbeys. Feeling at the ſame time that their influence was become ſupreme with the ſtates of Brabant, they led that body to demand, that all the ſuppreſſed convents ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, without exception to thoſe whoſe ſuppreſſion had received the ſanction either of the ſtates themſelves, or of the council of Brabant. And, as if it had been a ſtruggle to ſhew how far the ſpirit might be carried, the ſtates of Namur preſented an addreſs, for revoking the edict for univerſal toleration, which was undoubtedly the moſt illuſtrious act of the emperor's reign.

The emperor returned to Vienna in the beginning of July; but his return produced no ratification; and inſtead of affording any omens encouraging to the late requiſitions, they were of a nature which ſerved to damp the moſt moderate and beſt founded expectations. He loſt no time in diſpatching an angry mandate to the ſtates of the Low Countries, in which, diſplaying all the terrors of offended majeſty, he expreſſed in ſtrong terms his aſtoniſhment, indignation, and diſpleaſure at thoſe intemperate and violent meaſures which the ſtates had adopted, and that bold defiance which they had given to his authority. He however declared, that he had never intended to ſubvert their conſtitution, and that in his edicts he had ſought only to correct ancient abuſes, and to make ſalutary reforms. He required, as a proof of obedience, that the ſtates of each province ſhould ſend deputies to Vienna, to lay their ſubjects of complaint at the foot of the throne; profeſſing, that he retained the ſentiments of a father, and knew how to pardon the errors and temerity of his ſubjects; but threatening them with ſevere chaſtiſement, if they ſhould refuſe to pay the mark of reſpect which he demanded. He likewiſe informed them, that he had called the princes, the governors general, to Vienna, that they might act as mediators between him and the ſtates; and that he had alſo ordered the count Belgiojoſo to repair to that capital.

Thus were the lofty hopes and fond expectations of the Flemings laid at once in the duſt, and their ſhort-lived gleam of liberty ſeemed expired, never more to revive. The provinces did not, however, ſink under the haughty and ſevere language with which they were ſo little acquainted. The ſtates complained grievouſly of the falſe repreſentations which had been made of their conduct, by which the ſovereign was not only withheld from that ratification which they had ſo juſt a right to expect, but through which he had likewiſe been induced to conſtrue into diſaffection and revolt their honeſt zeal in maintaining their rights and liberties. They lamented the recall of the princes, in a ſeaſon when their preſence was more neceſſary than ever for the preſervation of tranquillity; and by no means concealed the diſcontent with which the order of ſending deputies to Vienna inſpired them. This order was indeed ſo odious, that the ſyndics compared it to the only ſimilar order that had ever been iſſued under the cruel and arbitrary reign of Philip the ſecond; and recalling the events of that diſaſtrous time, did not fail to apply them to the preſent, and ſeemed to augur as diſmal a cataſtrophe to the Auſtrian as to the Spaniſh peregrination.

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It was, however, in a general assembly held at Bruſſels, thought better to comply with this new teſt of obedience required by the ſovereign, and deputies from the ſtates were accordingly appointed to proceed to Vienna; but they were entruſted with very limited powers, being only charged to expreſs the loyalty of the nation, and to repreſent their grievances, and totally reſtricted from coming to any concluſion with reſpect to public affairs, without the ſpecial and immediate authority of the ſtates.

Towards the end of July the princes, as well as the count Belgiojoſo, ſet out for Vienna, the former attended with the general regret, and the latter with the execrations of the people. The count de Murray, a gentleman of Scottiſh deſcent, who had for ſome years commanded the Auſtrian forces in the Netherlands, was now appointed to the government of the country during the abſence of the princes. The deputies of the ſtates likewiſe commenced their pilgrimage to Vienna about the ſame time; and the provinces now began to flatter themſelves that this mark of ſubmiſſion would remove all ſuſpicions of diſloyalty, and prove the means of procuring that ratification which was now become the ultimate object of their hopes.

But the deputies were not far advanced on their journey, when intelligence was received, that the imperial forces in Germany were all in motion; that a mighty army was deſtined to march into the Low Countries; the battalions to be employed on this ſervice were enumerated; the generals who were to command named; the route the army was to take deſcribed; and it was ſaid, that the princes of the empire, whoſe territories lay in the way, had already been applied to, and had already granted a free paſſage to the troops. The greater currency was given to the whole of this alarming intelligence, from the ſudden and unexpected approach of the regiment of Bender (which was now conſidered as the precurſor of the grand army) which by long marches and extraordinary expedition had already nearly arrived on the frontiers of Luxemburgh.

Although the minds of all men were exceedingly agitated, yet the ſpirit of the people did not ſink ſo much as might have been expected, conſidering how long they had battened in the lap of plenty and eaſe, and what entire ſtrangers they were to the tumults of war. While they hardened their minds, by recalling images of thoſe ſcenes of devaſtation and horror which took place under the tyranny of the duke of Alva, they comforted themſelves with the reflection of the ſucceſs which then attended the determined efforts of a handfull of brave men, in defending their liberties againſt the arbitrary violence of the greateſt power then in the world. They eſtimated their population at three millions, which they counted to be far ſuperior to that of Holland at the period alluded to; and they could not acknowledge any inferiority of their own courage to that of their countrymen; or if the enthuſiaſm of religion was abſolutely neceſſary to incite men to great actions, that was no leſs intereſted in the preſent than in the former inſtance. They conſoled themſelves much upon their great diſtance from the ſources of the emperor's action and power, and thought he was too accurate a politician not to perceive, that al-

though he might ſucceed in overwhelming them with a mighty force for the preſent, yet that nothing leſs than the continuance of a powerful army in the country, which it was not in the courſe of things that his ſituation would long admit, could retain in ſubjection a people who were ſo zealouſly attached to their ancient liberties. But above all things, their hope and confidence was placed in France; nor did they think it poſſible that ſhe could now ſo far depart from that attention to her own intereſt and greatneſs, which had ever marked her conduct, as to ſuffer the deſolation and ruin of thoſe rich and beautiful provinces, which would afford ſo noble an addition to both, and which, in ſuch circumſtances, would moſt willingly throw themſelves into her arms.

Count Murray ſent a meſſage to the ſtates of Brabant, in which he acquainted them, that the troops which were ſtationed in different parts of the Low Countries, were ordered to concenter in ſuch a manner, as to encloſe the province of Brabant; that the ſovereign, in giving this order, meant to put the obedience of the ſtates to a trial; that if they did not oppoſe this meaſure of concentering his troops, he might be inclined to ſuſpend the march of that army which was now advancing towards the Low Countries, and might permit the regiment of Bender only to enter the provinces.—This ſecond teſt of obedience was a very extraordinary, and ſeems indeed a very abſurd meaſure. As its object was evidently to curb the ſtates in their proceedings, and to over-awe the province; inſtead of producing good temper or ſubmiſſion, nothing could tend more to irritate the minds of men, and to excite the people to commotion. Neither were the means at all commenſurate to the end propoſed, the troops being in no degree equal to the taſk of bridling that powerful and populous province, if it did not chooſe itſelf voluntarily to admit the rein. The ſtates of Brabant, however, ſubmitted freely to this new teſt.

In the mean time the eyes and thoughts of all men were directed to Vienna, and their minds kept in ſuſpence, until the reception which the Flemiſh deputies met at the imperial court could be known. The deputies were admitted to an audience of ſtate on the third day after their arrival in that city; but their reception was ſufficiently ungracious. Along with that haughty and auſtere aſſumption of dignity, which has through ſo many ages peculiarly characterized the houſe of Auſtria, a ſtrong mixture of anger now appeared in the countenance of the ſovereign. After hearing their profeſſions of duty and loyalty, which, notwithſtanding the forbidding rigour of the imperial countenance, were accompanied with a recital of their grievances, he replied ſternly, that he was not to be moved by a vain diſplay of words, and that his ſtates in the Netherlands were highly culpable in his ſight; but that he had given a proof of the affection he bore them, in not immediately employing againſt them that military force which he held at his command. He added farther, that before he explained himſelf with regard to the ſubjects of their complaints, the dignity of the throne required, that certain preliminary articles ſhould

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be

be executed, which he now communicated to them, and had already commanded count Murray to communicate to *his* ſtates in the Low Countries.

The ſubſtance of theſe articles was chiefly, that all things in the provinces ſhould remain on the ſame footing on which they ſtood at the firſt of April; that the current ſubſidies, and the arrears on former, ſhould be paid forthwith into the royal treaſury; that the ſeminary of Louvain, and that of Luxemburgh, ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed; that all perſons who had been diſplaced ſhould be reſtored to their employments, excepting the intendants and members of the new tribunals, about whom he wiſhed to take council with the ſtates; that the volunteer companies ſhould diſcontinue their martial exerciſes, and lay aſide the uniform and other marks they had aſſumed of military diſtinction.—And they were given to underſtand, that if theſe articles were not executed, the nation would draw upon itſelf the heavy marks of a monarch's reſentment.

Count Murray having communicated theſe articles to the ſtates of the Low Countries, before they could hear from their deputies, the information renewed all the jealouſies and diſcontents of the provinces. The ſtates of Brabant prepared freſh remonſtrances, in which they complained, that all the demonſtrations of reſpect and ſubmiſſion which they were capable of giving, had not been able to conciliate the mind of the prince. That he required the ſtrongeſt proofs of duty and good will, even the granting of ſubſidies, whilſt he delayed to give ſatisfaction for the infringements made on the conſtitution. They declared, that though they were menaced with arms, yet they were ſo bound by the engagements of the *joyous entry*, that they could not comply with the preliminary articles, until ſecurity was obtained for the redreſs of grievances. And they added, that although they ſought only to oppoſe repreſentations to the will of the prince, yet if any tumult ſhould take place in conſequence of thoſe articles which were now to be enforced, the ſtates could not hold themſelves reſponſible for any ſuch commotion that might enſue.—Every body expected that this remonſtrance would have been the immediate means of putting the grand army in motion; and rumours were even circulated of its advance, which ſeemed only to increaſe the determined obſtinacy or reſolution of the people.

The diſpatches from Vienna arrived opportunely, in a great meaſure to diſpel the apprehenſions and allay the diſcontents of the people. By theſe they received information from their deputies, that the ſovereign, having teſtified the diſpleaſure which he thought ſuited to the dignity of his throne, had relaxed entirely from that harſh auſterity which had been exhibited at their public audience. That he had permitted communications to be ſecretly made to them, that he entertained ſentiments favourable to their requeſts, though the dignity of his crown did not allow him to expreſs them fully until the preliminary articles were executed; that he had weighed in his mind the complaints of the provinces, and was diſpoſed to grant redreſs in the principal points, though he would not in all things acquieſce in their demands; particularly in the re-

eſtabliſhment of convents, nor in that nomination of abbots, which, he ſaid, former princes had been conſtrained to come into.

The deputies farther ſtated, that the ſovereign had ſince admitted them to private conferences, in which, laying aſide all ſtate and majeſty, he converſed with them on equal and familiar terms: that he enquired minutely into the affairs of the Netherlands, and liſtened with the moſt marked attention to the accounts which they gave him. That he declared, he never had the ſmalleſt intention of enforcing his edicts by arms; and ſaid that the Flemings had frightened themſelves with vain terrors, in their apprehenſion of a military enrolment, and of a territorial impoſt, neither of which he had ever intended to eſtabliſh in the Netherlands. And, that he profeſſed himſelf well inclined to reſtore the *joyous entry* to its primitive vigour; and intimated a deſire of re-viſiting the Low Countries, that he might take meaſures with the ſtates for promoting the welfare of the people.

The deputies were ſo captivated by theſe inſtances of condeſcenſion, that they received every aſſurance that was given, and profeſſion made, with unbounded faith; ſo ſure a dominion have the great, if they uſe it with any degree of addreſs, over the minds of men. The miniſters, by command of the ſovereign, treated them with every degree of reſpect and eſteem; and they ſeemed to want words in deſcribing to their conſtituents the high ſenſe they entertained of the honours which they received; exclaiming, in the honeſt exultation of their hearts, that they were treated in Vienna with all the reſpect due to the repreſentatives of a nation which had ſo gallantly maintained its privileges. As a farther gratification, and more ſubſtantial mark of favour to the people, the emperor ſacrificed his predilection in favour of count Belgiojoſo, by appointing in his room the count Trautſmandorff to be miniſter for the Low Countries; than which nothing could be more truly acceptable to all the provinces.

But notwithſtanding theſe favours and profeſſions, few politicians will entertain any doubt, that the emperor's engagements with Ruſſia, and the coming war with the Ottoman empire, were the real cauſes of all theſe flattering appearances; and that in other circumſtances the march of an army to the Low Countries would be found no vain threat.

The ſtates of Brabant did not appear to be ſo entirely captivated by theſe fair appearances as their deputies: for though count Murray acquainted them that he was empowered by the ſovereign, as ſoon as the ſatisfaction demanded was made to the throne, to iſſue a declaration in his name, which would afford univerſal content to the nation, and accordingly preſſed them in the moſt urgent terms to the execution of the preliminary articles, yet difficulties ſtill lay in the way which prevented their compliance; but in order to ſhield themſelves from the imputation of obſtinacy, or the charge of diſaffection, they pleaded the ſpirit of the conſtitution, as well as the written letter of the *joyous entry*, both of which forbade the grant of money until a full redreſs of grievances was obtained.

Things

Things were in this ſtate, when a ſudden tumult at Bruſſels threatened immediately the moſt fatal conſequences. The volunteers had ſignified to the repreſentative of the governors general their intention of laying down their arms on an appointed day, as a proof of their good diſpoſition towards a general conciliation; and the offer was received by him with the greateſt ſatisfaction, as a meaſure that tended beyond any other that could be adopted to the accompliſhment of the wiſhed-for purpoſe.

Sept. 20th. On the very morning of the appointed day, when the volunteers were beginning to aſſemble for the purpoſe, an officer of diſtinction, who (a circumſtance that appears not a little ſingular) was not apprized of the intention, gave a raſh order to the ſoldiers to diſarm them by force. The volunteers paſſing through the ſtreets, were haughtily commanded to lay down their arms and cockades; theſe, conſidering it as an act of premeditated treachery, indignantly refuſed to comply: an univerſal uproar took place; while the volunteers ran haſtily from all quarters to the relief of their brethren.

It happened unluckily at this critical inſtant, that a freſh body of forces marched into the city; and an alarm was immediately ſpread, that a concerted deſign had been laid for ſubduing Bruſſels by the force of the army. In the mean time, when the firſt ſcuffle was over, the appearance of things made the military think it neceſſary to unite their whole force, and to form in a body in one of the great ſquares; while the volunteers, doing the ſame, were drawn up in another ſquare. Their ſcattering detachments wherever they met fell on with various ſucceſs, but with equal fury and animoſity, ſo that blood was ſhed on all ſides. Nor were the unarmed citizens inactive, for they tore up the pavements of the ſtreets, and carried the ſtones to the tops of their houſes, to overwhelm the ſoldiers as they paſſed. And as if the confuſion had not been already ſufficient, the peaſants from the adjoining country, armed with the weapons of huſbandry, ruſhed in great bodies into the town, determined to ſupport, or to periſh with their friends and countrymen: ſo that every thing announced, along with the probable ruin of the city, a moſt bloody and deſtructive conteſt.

In this ſeaſon of general terror and confuſion, count Murray, by an exertion of no ſmall courage and patriotiſm, happily prevented the direful conſequences that were apprehended. With the moſt imminent danger to his perſon, as the ſuppoſed treachery was unjuſtly imputed to him, he paſſed through the midſt of the enraged volunteers, in his way to the aſſembly of the ſtates, which was then ſitting. By his and their temperate conduct the tumult was moſt happily ſuppreſſed; the military were withdrawn; and the volunteers indulged in patrolling freely through the ſtreets; nor could the ſpirit which they diſplayed on this occaſion, and the fearleſſneſs with which they every where encountered the ſoldiers, prove at all detrimental to the public cauſe.

The tumult had likewiſe the good effect of haſtening an accommodation. The ſtates were ſo well ſatisfied with count Murray's temperate

perate conduct, and held such an opinion of the fairness and moderation of his views, that they voted the subsidies to be paid into the royal treasury; and the volunteers at the same time laid by their uniforms and other marks of military distinction. The count in return published the royal declaration; by this instrument the fundamental laws of the provinces, and the *joyous entry* of Brabant, were to be preserved entire, as well with respect to the ecclesiastical as the civil orders; the new tribunals to be suppressed, and the ancient courts of judicature to resume their functions; the office of intendant, and his commissariate, to be abolished; the states to remain on their ancient footing, and to retain their committee; the abbey-houses, whose heads had a right to sit in the assembly of the states, to be maintained, and supplied with abbots; and the sovereign promised, that he would consult with the states about all objects which were thought infractions of the *joyous entry*, and would take measures for granting redress.

CHRO-

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

BY accounts from Naples, we hear, that Mount Veſuvius, which had been tolerably free from eruptions for near eleven months, had, on the 31ſt of October laſt, burſt with uncommon violence, and thrown up vaſt quantities of calcined ſtones. The lava deſtroyed ſeveral vineyards four miles from the volcano ſix days after, and continued burning with great fury when the letters, which are dated the 23d of November laſt, came away. It is remarkable, that no previous notice of this eruption was given by any ſubterraneous noiſe taking place, which has generally heretofore been obſerved.

By the mails, which arrived on Saturday the 13th from Paris, was received an account of the determination of the court held at Rome on the affairs of the cardinal de Rohan. On the twelfth of the laſt month, a particular convocation was ſummoned, conſiſting of ſix of the moſt reſpectable perſonages, who declared, after all proper inveſtigation, in favour of the cardinal. The order of ſuſpenſion from his function, on account of a former deciſion, is conſequently eraſed, and he is reinſtated in his full privileges.

The following extract of an authentic letter from Leghorn, dated the 15th of December, will clear up the doubts which have arisen reſpecting the engagement between the Malteſe fleet and the Algerine ſquadron. "On the 24th of December laſt, the veſſels of the two powers fell in with each other, about ten leagues off Meſſina, and a furious and bloody engagement enſued, which laſted till night. The Algerine admiral's ſhip blew up in the thickeſt of the action, and not one of the crew eſcaped.

"The Malteſe have loſt two ſhips, one of which was ſunk, and the other burnt, as alſo three xebecs and one galley. The Algerines have loſt, beſides their admiral, two xebecs, two barks, one polacre, and one row-galley. The Malteſe fought with the greateſt bravery, and the pirates like deſperadoes.

"The loſs of the Algerines, in this engagement, is ſaid to amount to 1800 men; that of the Malteſe

must also have been very considerable, because the crews of their ships of war are very numerous.

"The Maltese fleet having returned in a most shattered condition, it is at present very doubtful on which side the victory was obtained. The most general opinion, however, is, that it terminated in a kind of drawn battle."

Extract of a letter from Clonmel, Ireland, Dec. 28.

"We lay before the public the following circumstances relative to the murder of John Dunn.

"Dunn was an industrious farmer, and lived on the lands of Fennor, contiguous to the road leading from Longford Pass to Urlingford; about the middle of January last his horses were taken away, and abused by the White Boys, several of whom being known to him, he threatened to lodge informations against them, if his horses were again taken; on account of this declaration, the White Boys went to Dunn's house the 31st of the same month, took him naked, in triumph, to Beggar's Inn, in the county of Kilkenny, a distance of about five miles, where a grave was prepared, in the center of the three roads, in which they buried him up to the neck; but not content therewith, they most inhumanly cut off both his ears, which they nailed to a public pump in the said town, where they remained for some days. In consequence of this outrage he lodged an information, and three of the offenders being taken, he attended at the last assizes of Clonmel to prosecute, but the prisoners found means to have the trial put off, and the White Boys, in order to defeat the operation of the laws, and put an effectual stop to the prosecution, went armed with guns, on Sunday night the 17th instant, about the hour of nine o'clock, to Dunn's house, broke open the door, took him out of bed, and with a hatchet clove his head, laying it open from the crown to the joining of the neck, and then severed the mangled head from the body."

January 1st, 1787. A striking instance of the effects of temperance appears in Mrs. Price, of Beckley, in Oxfordshire, a maiden lady, who is now in her ninety-eighth year, and has all her faculties in full perfection, being able to read the smallest print without the help of glasses. About two years since she cut two young teeth, and at the same time her eyes received fresh vigour.

6th. A letter from Belfast states a most serious dispute which has arisen between the Earl of Donnegal and Lord Chief Baron Yelverton, of Ireland.

The facts are as follow:

"The Lord Chief Baron purchased from a gentleman named Pottinger, a piece of ground which had been in possession of his ancestors for many years.

"This piece of ground is situated in the county of Down, on the banks of the river Lagan, and communicates with the town of Belfast by a narrow bridge.

"The town of Belfast is the sole property of the Earl of Donnegal, who has always refused to let what is called in Ireland an improving lease, to any of his tenants, but sets his leases up to sale, and lets the premises to the highest bidder, without any regard to the interest of the old tenants; which conduct, some years ago, gave

rise

rise to a very serious insurrection of several thousand insurgents, under the denomination of Hearts of Steel.

"The Lord Chief Baron seeing the advantages which must arise from building a town opposite to Belfast, banked in a large piece of the sea strand by a strong mound, and marked out the place so inclosed into streets, which he let to tenants on leases in perpetuity.

"An elegant new town was rising from this foundation, when a number of armed men, under the direction of the Seneschal of Belfast, and the overseer of the Belfast canal, came down from the inland country, and so far demolished the works as to let in the sea.

"The Chief Baron is now on the ground overseeing the repairs, with friends prepared to oppose and repel any further attempts to injure him."

19th. At the close of the Old Bailey business on Tuesday the 16th, the following case stands as most remarkable. Samuel Burt, condemned to die for a forgery on Mr. Evans, gold-beater in Long-Acre, to whom he was an apprentice, was brought up and informed by the recorder, that his majesty had remitted his sentence of death, on condition of transportation—which mercy, in a speech of some length, the convict begged to decline. The recorder took every pains to convince him of the impropriety of his conduct.—But the prisoner, acknowledging his majesty's clemency, said, "The object for which he wished to live not being in his power to obtain, he declined all intercession in his favour, and must beg leave to have his sentence put into execution." On which the recorder informed him, that he should wait till the first day of next sessions, and if he then persisted in his resolution, he should suffer. The prisoner then returned from the bar, saying, "he should ever keep his intent, and only wished that the day was already come."

Whitehall, Jan. 20th. One of the king's messengers, dispatched by the Right Hon. William Eden, arrived here on Thursday morning last, with a convention between his majesty and the most christian king, concerning the execution of the late treaty of navigation and commerce, which was signed at Versailles on the 15th instant, by Mr. Eden and his most christian majesty's plenipotentiary.

Brussels, Jan. 20th. The emperor has abolished the court dresses hitherto worn by the ladies of the court; and also the custom of kissing the hands of the sovereign and the royal family, and all kinds of bending of the knee and kneeling down, his majesty looking upon the latter as only due to the Deity.

Paris, Jan. 23d. The Droit d'Aubaine in France, both as to personal and real property, is abolished so far as may affect any future claims of his majesty's British and Irish subjects. This was declared by an arret which passed a few days ago.

Died.—Lately, at Upsal, aged 77, the famous Walerino, the most celebrated natural philosopher of the present age, and well known through France for his curious works in mineralogy.

At Horton, near Leak, Staffordshire, Mary Brook, who in August last arrived at the age of 119 years. She lived single 50 years, was then married; lived a married life 50

years, and has been 19 years and ſome months a widow.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. The Severn Eaſt-India packet, Captain Kidd, which was loſt in the mouth of Bengal river, had fifty-five paſſengers on board, chiefly Laſcars, out of whom only fourteen were ſaved. The following is a liſt of the officers and paſſengers loſt: Captain Kidd, Mr. Schobje, chief officer; Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Lacey, Major Adderly, Enſign Sir Richard Cox, Mr. Ryon, Mr. Dunn, and Mr. Friend, one of the hon. company's pilots.

Extract of a letter from New-York, via France, dated January 22.

"Congreſs have lately concluded a negotiation with the court of Liſbon, in reſpect of trade, by which the ſhips and ſubjects of the United States are to have all the privileges and immunities of the moſt favoured nation in the ports and dominions of Portugal, but are excluded from bringing away any of its current gold coin, under the ſame penalties as are affixed, in other nations, to ſuch caſes. Don Ximenes Perrai is come to reſide here as conſul for the Portugueſe nation; and this treaty is to be in force ten years."

Letters from Conſtantinople import, that nothing is publicly known concerning the real ſituation of the Porte's affairs in Egypt; all that has tranſpired for certain is, an order given for a reinforcement of 25,000 men ſent to the aſſiſtance of the Capitan Pacha, to give him an opportunity of diſengaging himſelf from Cairo, where he is in a manner cooped up by the rebellious beys.

Among the illuſtrious perſonages who ſet out from Czarſko Zelo on the 18th January, to accompany the empreſs in her journey to Cherſon, are the Engliſh, Imperial, and French miniſters. The emperor will leave his capital the beginning of March, in order to meet the czarina at the above place. Our letters from Peterſburg alſo add, that the Neapolitan ambaſſador has at laſt, after an uninterrupted negotiation of four years, concluded a very advantageous treaty between his court and that of Ruſſia.

10th. An expreſs arrived from France with an account, that the great caſſoon juſt completed at Cherbourg had given way; this event had been occaſioned by the late violent weſterly winds, which had cauſed an uncommon high ſea.

11th. The following melancholy event happened this day about eleven o'clock, in the forenoon, in Woodſtreet, Cheapſide: Mr. Owen, one of the ſerjeant's at mace to the ſheriff of London, on Thurſday laſt arreſted a gentleman for 200l. and upwards, took him to his own houſe, and having obſerved ſome marks of inſanity about him, Mr. Owen had deſired one of the keepers of the compter's ſervants to ſit up with him, but before the hour of ten at night, Mr. Owen being out, the gentleman took the advantage, knocked down Mrs. Owen, ſeized the key, and made his eſcape, though Mrs. Owen ſeized him by the coat flap, which gave way, and was left in her hand; ſhe then purſued him, calling ſtop thief! but he got clear off. Mr. Owen having intelligence where he was on Sunday morning, went with ſome aſſiſtance

assistance and took him, brought him home into Wood-street, where he had not been five minutes before he took the opportunity, whilst Mr. Owen and his assistants were in an adjoining room, to cut his throat, and in such a manner, that he nearly severed the head from the body. A surgeon was immediately sent for, but nothing could save him, as he died in an instant.

A silver coinage, consisting of shillings and sixpences, to the amount of seventy-five thousand pounds sterling, has at length been completed in his majesty's mint at the Tower, and on Monday the 5th, part was brought to the Bank, and deposited in the treasury.

On the 8th ult. at a concert before the royal family at Naples, the celebrated D. Saveria Savilla, well known for his wonderful vocal powers, being in the act of singing a most charming air, which was honoured with profound attention, expired instantaneously without a groan, in one of the most exquisitely beautiful passages of the song. It is much easier to conceive than describe the surprize which such an event occasioned.

Paris, Feb. 18. This day Comte de Montmorin took the usual oaths, in consequence of being appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs.

21st. A very extraordinary circumstance happened at Covent-garden theatre on Saturday night the 17th, or rather Sunday morning. About one o'clock Mr. Brandon, who resides at the theatre, heard a violent noise in the house, and some person calling very loud, as from the interior part of the theatre; he procured a light, and went to the place where he heard the noise, and found a gentleman in the pit, much bruised, and his finger broken. On enquiring how he came thither, the only account he could give was, that he remembered coming to the play in the evening, and hanging by his finger on some place, but had no recollection where or when. His hat and cane were found in the upper boxes. There is no doubt but that he fell asleep during the performance, and was locked in the house, and walking in his sleep, fell out of the boxes into the pit—as it is probable, from the situation of his hat and cane, that he fell from the upper boxes, it was highly fortunate that he did not receive much more injury.

The barons of the Scotch court of Exchequer lately determined a question, Whether the town-councils of the royal boroughs of Scotland were obliged to account for the public money of the borough in exchequer?

Baron Sir John Dalrymple and Baron Stewart Montcrief delivered their opinions, that, by the Scotch act of parliament, 1535, the town-councils were obliged to account for the expenditure of the revenue of the borough.

On the other side, the Lord Chief Baron Montgomery, Baron Norton, and Baron Gordon, thought the Act, 1535, was gone into desuetude; and it was consequently found, that the town-councils were not obliged to account for the revenues of the borough.

The barons regretted, in the strongest terms, the mal-administration of the royal boroughs of Scotland, and recommended to the burgesses to apply to parliament for redress.

22d. A cauſe was tried in the court of Exchequer, of ſome conſequence to the trading part of the community. The action was brought by Mr. Stewart, an eminent perfumer, of Broad-ſtreet, in the city, againſt Mr. Gale, a reſpectable merchant in the ſame place. It appeared that the clerk of the defendant had given two diſtinct written orders for articles in the buſineſs of the plaintiff; and that ſubſequent to this, the defendant himſelf had in perſon given a third order for goods of a ſimilar kind; and upon application being made for payment of the whole, he expreſſed ſome ſurprize at the two former orders, as they were not made under his ſanction, and at the ſame time refuſed to pay for what had been thus received without his concurrence. It was ſtated on the part of the plaintiff, that he had ſufficient claim for payment, on the ground of the orders having been brought by the acting clerk of the defendant's houſe, and that if any clerk was veſted with a power of tranſacting ſuch buſineſs for his principal, that principal muſt be reſponſible for the conſequences of ſuch an indiſcreet delegation. On the part of the defendant it was ſtated, that the order in queſtion was ſubſcribed by his brother, who was gone to the Bay of Honduras, and that as the defendant received no part of the articles in queſtion, and had in reality given no order upon the ſubject, he ought not to ſuffer for a debt that was contracted by another. Upon a thorough examination into the affair, however, it appeared clear to the court, that as the defendant's clerk had received no directions from his maſter againſt ordering goods on the part of the brother, that as the defendant was a part-owner in the veſſel that conveyed away the goods, and that as there was no ſpecific diſtinction of chriſtian name upon the door of the defendant, to ſhew whether in his commercial character he acted for himſelf, or under a firm, there was ſufficient ground for the plaintiff to truſt the clerk of the defendant, and for demanding payment. This cauſe was deemed an intereſting one, as involving conſequences that might affect the trading world; and was therefore amply inveſtigated, and finally decided in favour of the plaintiff. Much ingenuity was exerted on both ſides, and the matter took up the diſcuſſion of nearly three hours. The counſel for the plaintiff were Meſſ. Newnham and Plumer. Mr. Rous was counſel for the defendant.

Died.—In the 100th year of his age, Levi Whitehead, of Bramham, in the Weſt Riding of the county of York. He was formerly noted for ſwiftneſs in running, having won the buck's head for ſeveral years at Caſtle Howard, given by the grandfather of the preſent Earl of Carliſle. He alſo won the five Queen Ann's guineas, given by William Aiſleby, Eſq; of Studley, near Rippon, beating the then noted Indian, and nine others, ſelected to ſtart againſt him. In his 22d year, he ran four miles over Bramham Moor in 19 minutes; and, what is ſtill more remarkable, in his 95th and 96th years, he frequently walked from Bramham to Tadcaſter, four miles, in an hour. He retained his faculties to the laſt.

In the pariſh of Alberbury, Shropſhire, Catherine Jeffreys, widow, aged 104. The noted old

Par

Par was a native of the ſame pariſh.

MARCH.

1ſt. Were executed in the Old Bailey, purſuant to ſentence, Sophia Pringle, John Fatt, John Ball, Benjamin Naſh, Charles Franklin, Richard Notley, Robert Richardſon, Luke Hurſt, and John Marſhall.

Sophia Pringle, the unhappy woman convicted of forgery at a former ſeſſions, for two hours prior to her execution was in ſtrong convulſive fits. The ſheriffs, judging that her being placed upon the ſcaffold with the others, doomed to the ſame fate, might have interrupted their devotion, kept her within the priſon until a few minutes before eight. When orders were ſent for her to be conducted from her cell, ſhe again fainted, and was obliged to be brought forth by the ſerjeants at mace.——She was ſupported on either ſide by two men, until the ſcaffold dropped, and put a period to her exiſtence. She was dreſſed in plain mourning, and had a kind of veil over her face, which being removed, her head appeared very neatly dreſſed in a morning cap. Her deplorable ſituation affected the ſpectators with the moſt poignant grief, every one preſent lamenting her miſerable end.

Samuel Burt, a capital convict, who had refuſed accepting his majeſty's mercy on condition of tranſportation, being ſet to the bar, and the conditional pardon read to him, after an apology for ſuch his refuſal, and the motives inducing him thereto, humbly thanking his majeſty for his goodneſs to ſo poor an object, moſt thankfully accepted the ſame.

Was tried a ſecond time at Guildhall, before Mr. Juſtice Buller and a ſpecial jury, the great cauſe relative to the tea ſold by Meſſ. Voute, of Amſterdam, to the Eaſt-India company, and which amounted in value to above a million ſterling. 3d.

The company ſtill contended, that, under the contract, they were not obliged to receive any tea of the denomination of very ordinary.

It appeared in the cleareſt manner, from the evidence, that there are nine deſcriptions of the qualities of tea; conſequently one ninth part is ſomething more than eleven per cent. but the company objected to more than three per cent. of very ordinary, inſtead of eleven per cent. which Meſſ. Voute were entitled to deliver. Alſo, that the company ſold, at every ſale, very ordinary tea, and frequently of qualities inferior to very ordinary; the execution, therefore, of the contract on the part of Meſſ. Voute, appeared to be fair and honourable.

The judge ſummed up the evidence with great ability and correctneſs, and the jury, without going out of court, gave a ſecond verdict in favour of Meſſ. Voute.

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel has taken poſſeſſion of the eſtates occupied by the late Count de la Lippe Buckebourg, whoſe ſon and heir, aſſiſted by the privy counſellor of his father, fled by night to Minden, taking with him the archives. The dowager is kept as a priſoner. To juſtify this proceeding, the landgrave of Heſſe alledges, that the deceaſed count was a baſtard, got by his father on 12th.

a woman named Frieſenhauſen: but on the ſide of the dowager and her ſon, it is contended, that this allegation has been rejected twice already by two ſucceſſive judgments of the ſupreme tribunal of the empire. The troops of the landgrave have obliged the officers of the deceaſed count to take the oaths of fidelity to their maſter; and being three regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and a corps of artillery, they are ſufficient to keep the ſubjects in obedience, and to remain maſters, unleſs ſome higher power interpoſes in behalf of the young prince.

Vienna, March 20th. An imperial edict has been publiſhed here, dated the 8th inſtant, prohibiting the importation into any of the Auſtrian dominions of hardware, cutlery, turnery, toys, ſtationary, cordage, whalebone, leather gloves, ribbons, cottons, linens, watches, fans, thread, ſadlery, &c. unleſs by individuals for their own uſe, and not for ſale; but cambricks, gauzes, muſlins, and lawns, are permitted to be imported by paſſport for ſale, paying a duty of ſix florins per pound weight.

Extract of a private letter, dated Paris, March 25.

"On the 23d inſtant, the ſon of the emperor of Cochin-China was preſented to his majeſty, by the Mareſchal de Caſtries. The princely child is in his 7th year; he fell on his knees before the king, who took him up in his arms, whilſt two of the child's relations lay proſtrate with their foreheads to the ground. He had in his train three pages, and next to him ſtood the miſſionary biſhop, who accompanied him to France. The young prince ſtaid at court the whole day, and made himſelf a welcome gueſt. He is much more graceful in his deportment than is cuſtomary at his tender years. His dreſs conſiſts of a looſe muſlin robe, covered with a kind of a mantle of gold tiſſue. It appears, from the account given by the prince's followers, that the uſurper of the ſovereignty is the collector of cuſtoms and taxes. The dethroned emperor has retired to the remoteſt part of his dominions, towards the ſea. There the unfortunate monarch, who has not yet completed his 30th year, defends himſelf at the head of a handful of truſty ſubjects, who have followed his fortunes. He has, it is ſaid, proudly rejected all aſſiſtance offered to him by the Dutch and Engliſh; the biſhop above mentioned having perſuaded him to place no confidence but on his moſt chriſtian majeſty."

From Leghorn we learn, that on the 27th of February, the largeſt galley in the ſervice of the Dey of Algiers, which had committed the greateſt depredation off that port, was taken, after an obſtinate combat, by a Malteſe man of war, and brought ſafe into harbour. Great numbers were killed on both ſides. The Malteſe captain and moſt of his officers were wounded. As to the Algerines, they have been loſt almoſt to a man, and their commanders killed in the action. Both ſhips are repreſented as being in the moſt deplorable condition. The treaſure found on board the Algerine is immenſe, and moſtly conſiſts of Portugueſe coin.

A verdict was given againſt Lord Cowper at the laſt ſittings after term, in which the mercantile and trading part of the community are ſeriouſly

ſeriouſly concerned. His lordſhip had, at ſeveral times, ordered parcels of diamonds to be ſent to him abroad by the conveyance of the general poſt, which were ſometimes inſured, and ſometimes not, according to his lordſhip's order. The laſt parcel ordered was worth one thouſand pounds, the order for which did not direct inſurance to be made; but it was delivered as uſual at the General Poſt-office. Theſe jewels never coming to the noble lord's hands, he poſitively refuſed to pay for them, or even to ſtand half the loſs; upon which the jeweller brought his action for goods ſold and delivered.

Upon this action the queſtion was, whether the delivery at the Poſt-office was good; and the court was of opinion, that, as inſurance was not directed by the defendant's order, the delivery at the Poſt-office was virtually a delivery to him; in conſequence of which the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff of 1000l.

DIED.—A few days ago, at Craigend of Glins, pariſh of Baltron, Scotland, Elizabeth Fiſher, in the 103d year of her age. She retained her faculties to the laſt, and was in the fields with her grand-child in her arms a few hours before her death.

Lately, Dr. Baylis, phyſician to the late and preſent king of Pruſſia. He was a native of England.

APRIL.

9th. Was delivered in to the Admiralty board, the accounts from the commiſſioners, and other officers of his majeſty's dock-yards. Alſo a ſtate of the ordinary of the navy on the laſt day of March; by which it appears there are, in the ſeveral ordinaries of Plymouth, Portſmouth, and in the river Thames and Medway, 125 ſhips of the line, 13 of 50 guns, 109 frigates, 58 ſloops and cutters——Total, 305 ſhips in ordinary.

On the trial of Michael Caſey, James Marſhall, and Edward Lonigen, executed on Saturday morning, April the 7th, at Hind Common, purſuant to their ſentence, at the aſſizes for the county of Surry, held laſt week at Kingſton, the following circumſtances were proved, which were alſo corroborated by the confeſſion of the priſoners—that they were ſailors out of employment—and that on their road to Portſmouth they met with the deceaſed, who was alſo a ſailor, and who having ſome money, and they none, agreed to bear the expences of the journey. Upon their coming to Hind-Common, near the Devil's Punch-bowl, Caſey knocked the deceaſed down: they then ſtripped him, and agreed each of them to have two cuts at his throat, which cruel reſolution they put into effect, and then rolled the body into the Devil's Punch-bowl.—Two countrymen, who had concealed themſelves behind a hedge, were ſpectators of the horrid deed, who following them at a diſtance, gave the alarm, and had the murderers ſecured.

Paris, April 10. On Sunday evening his moſt chriſtian majeſty was pleaſed to remove Monſ. de Calonne from the office of comptroller general of the finances, and on Monday evening Monſ. de Fourqueux, counſellor of ſtate, was appointed

pointed to ſucceed him. His majeſty has alſo thought proper to diſmiſs Monſ. de Miromeſnil from his office of garde des ſceaux, and Monſ. de Lamoignon, one of the preſidents of the parliament of Paris, is named to ſucceed him.

Monſ. d'Aligre, firſt preſident of the parliament of Paris, has retired.

Hereford, April 26. On Wedneſday laſt, the 18th inſtant, at the great ſeſſions holden in Cow-bridge, for the county of Glamorgan, William Owen, and Cornelius Gorton, were found guilty of murder.

The caſe of William Owen was an extraordinary one; in its circumſtances very much reſembling that of Mr. Hackman and Miſs Ray. He had paid his addreſſes to Mary Harris, the deceaſed, and had been well received; but, owing to the interference of his friends, they had been afterwards diſcontinued, and all connexion between the parties broken off: ſo ſtrong however was his attachment, that he was obliged to renew the courtſhip; but ſuch was her reſentment of his former conduct, in deſerting her at the inſtance of his relations, that ſhe perſiſted in declining any further communication with him; the conſequence of which was, that the exceſs of his paſſion, and the fury of diſappointment, precipitated him upon this act of deſperation. The deceaſed was ſervant to Mr. Hill, at Merthyr-Tydfil; ſhe was ſeen about nine in the evening of the firſt inſtant, talking with the priſoner before the kitchen-window of Mr. Cockſlent, next-door neighbour to Mr. Hill; and, in the kitchen, a converſation was heard in a tone of voice that indicated ſome diſpute or difference; then a woman's voice was heard crying out very loud; and the deceaſed almoſt inſtantly came into the kitchen ſtreaming with blood from her neck, fell into the arms of Mr. Cockſlent's gardener, and in half an hour expired. She appeared to have received a ſtab in her neck, two inches deep, with a ſharp-pointed knife. He was found guilty principally upon his own confeſſion, which was (upon being aſked whether he had abuſed her more than this unlucky blow) "I did not touch her any more than that unhappy blow: I loved her in my heart, and I am willing to die for her ſake." When apprehended by Mr. Cockſlent, he ſaid, "You need not hold me; I was not going to run away." He earneſtly requeſted to ſee the body, and has ſince his conviction entreated to be buried in the ſame grave with the deceaſed.

On the 21ſt of laſt month, John Hodgſon, a ſoldier, aged 26, was executed at Buſhmire, in Suffolk, for a highway robbery. He confeſſed, at the gallows, that within the laſt ſix years he inliſted 98 times, with different recruiting parties in England, Ireland, and Scotland; that he received, as bounty-money, 597 guineas; that he ſeldom remained with the party more than two days; and that he committed a number of robberies, by which he gained 236l. 14s. 8d. He was a moſt extraordinary character. He kept a regular account of his receipts and diſburſements, and died worth 80 pounds, which he took care to transfer to a favourite female previous to his trial. He was taken up three times for deſertion, and received 350 laſhes at

Colcheſter

Colcheſter, which he bore without even ſo much as a ſigh.

Calcutta, Oct. 12. The following melancholy accident ſhews that a tyger is not always deterred from approaching fire. A ſmall veſſel from Ganjam to this port, being longer on her paſſage than was expected, ran out of proviſions and water: being near the Saugar iſland, the Europeans, ſix in number, went on ſhore in ſearch of refreſhments, there being ſome cocoa-nuts on the iſland, in queſt of which they ſtrayed a conſiderable way in-land. Night coming on, and the veſſel being at a diſtance, it was thought more ſafe to take up their night's lodging in the ruins of an old pagoda, than to return to the veſſel. A large fire was lighted, and an agreement made, that two of the number ſhould keep watch by turns, to alarm the reſt in caſe of danger, which they had reaſon to apprehend from the wild appearance of the place. It happened to fall to the lot of one Dawſon, late a ſilverſmith and engraver in this town, to be one of the watch. In the night a tyger darted over the fire upon this unfortunate young man, and in ſpringing off with him, ſtruck its head againſt the ſide of the pagoda, which made it and its prey rebound upon the fire, on which they rolled over one another once or twice before he was carried off. In the morning, the thigh bones and legs of the unfortunate victim were found at ſome diſtance; the former ſtript of its fleſh, and the latter ſhockingly mangled.

20th. The comedy of The Way to Keep Him, with ſeveral other dramatic pieces, have been lately performed at Richmond-houſe.

The following were the Dramatis Perſonæ:

Lovemore,	Lord Derby.
Sir Brilliant Faſhion,	Hon. Mr. Edgecombe.
Sir Baſhful Conſtant,	Major Arabin.
William,	Sir Harry Englefield.
Sideboard,	Mr. Campbell.
Widow Belmour,	Hon. Mrs. Hobart.
Mrs. Lovemore,	Hon. Mrs. Damer.
Lady Conſtant,	Miſs Campbell.
Muſlin,	Mrs. Bruce.

Havre, April 23. Monſ. Pirneu's ſcheme for clearing the mouth of the Seine, has been lately begun upon, and is carried on with unremitting vigour and effect. The veſſels employed in this buſineſs, and which were ready in the early part of this month, have already raiſed a vaſt quantity of mud, and much more of gravel and ballaſt. In addition to the 200 galley-ſlaves at firſt employed, 300 more from different parts of the kingdom have been added, and they are daily employed in ſcreening and otherwiſe preparing the ſtuff which is raiſed. Veſſels, from the ſmalleſt ſize up to five hundred tons burthen, will, when it is completed, go up to Rouen with ſafety.

Died.—The celebrated actreſs Mrs. Yates.

MAY.

1ſt. A few days ago, the ſhip Friends Goodwill, with a cargo from Newcaſtle, in the river Delaware, bound to Briſtol, put into Croſhaven, in the county of Corke, the

the maſter of which reports, that every thing remained quiet throughout the Thirteen Provinces on the 12th of April, the day he ſailed, the rebellion being extinguiſhed without much bloodſhed: That congreſs had iſſued a proclamation, offering a free pardon to all concerned in the late diſturbances, except Capt. Shea, who is ſuppoſed to be flying in various diſguiſes from place to place. This adventurer aimed at no leſs than overturning the government, and involving the American provinces in a freſh civil war. He is ſaid to be about 35 years of age, and a native of Kilkenny, which he left ſome time ago, to better his fortune in the weſtern world. He is now, probably, endeavouring to get to ſome ſea port, but can ſcarce hope to evade a diſcovery, as diligent ſearch is making after him, and all ſtrangers are ſtrictly examined at every town and croſs-road.

Paris, May 3. On Monday the grand ceremony *de la benediction des drappeaux* (of bleſſing the colours) was held at Notre Dame, the cathedral of Paris, before the greateſt concourſe of people ever aſſembled in that church on a ſimilar occaſion. There were thirty-ſix new colours to receive the benediction, twenty-four for the French, and twelve for the Swiſs guards. The whole corps of each, preceded by their generals, attended in new uniforms. The muſic, compoſed of the varieties of wind inſtruments, inſpired the aſſembly with martial ardour, and was liſtened to with rapture. The archbiſhop, who pronounced the bleſſing on thoſe emblematical ſupports of Gallic honour, ſeemed delighted in performing this part of his function. This ceremony takes place every fourth year, a few days before the king's review, that the new dreſſes may ſerve for both. The proceſſion was very noble, and formed the fineſt and moſt perfect *coup d'œil* ever beheld. All the regiments were drawn up in the aiſles of that capacious church, which is almoſt as large as Weſtminſter-abbey; and double rows of grenadiers formed two beautiful hedges on each ſide of the middle aiſle. The bulk of the people filled ſome of the other aiſles, and the people of faſhion were in the long galleries that extend from the entrance gate up to the chief altar and the choir. When the ceremony was over, and Marſhal Biron was returning, the ſoldiers could not, even in the church, be prevented from teſtifying their attachment to this venerable and brave chieftain.

Came on at Huntingdon the election for a member of parliament for that borough, in the room of Lancelot Brown, Eſq; who is gone the tour of Europe, when John Willet Payne, Eſq; a captain in the royal navy, was elected without oppoſition. 9th.

A large ſeizure, conſiſting of 300 caſks of ſpirits, and a quantity of tea, wine, and tobacco, was brought to the Cuſtom-houſe warehouſe at Southampton, by the Roſe cutter, together with a large boat, and ſix men, who had violently beat the officers that ſeized the ſame; and on Monday laſt they were committed by a juſtice of the county to Wincheſter gaol. 19th.

They were conveying to Wincheſter in two coaches, guarded by 16 men well armed; but when they had proceeded about four miles, a man,

man, on the approach of the coaches, blew a horn; upon which a body of men, to the number of 30, well mounted, and diſguiſed, having their faces blacked, and handkerchiefs tied round them, with each a brace of piſtols and a blunderbuſs, came galloping over the heath from Lord's Wood, and demanded the priſoners, ſaying they were their good and faithful ſervants, and unleſs they were immediately releaſed, the conſequences would be fatal. The priſoners thereupon ruſhed from the coaches, and were carried off in triumph.

22d. The Houſe of Lords confirmed the judgment of the lord chancellor, and the chief juſtices Mansfield and Loughborough, which reverſed the decree of the court of Exchequer, and determined the important affair of Sutton and Johnſton, in favour of the latter.

26th. The celebrated Mr. Phillidor, whoſe unrivalled excellence at the game of chefs has been long diſtinguiſhed, invited the members of the chefs club, and the amateurs in general of that amuſement, to be preſent on Saturday the 26th of April, at a ſpectacle of the moſt curious kind, as it was to diſplay a very wonderful faculty of the human mind.

In conſequence of this invitation, thirty gentlemen and three ladies attended Mr. Phillidor at Parſlo's, in St. James's-ſtreet, where in their preſence, with his eyes cloſed, he contended with two gentlemen at the ſame time, who had each a chefs-board, and who may, perhaps, be deemed the firſt players in Europe next to himſelf.

Count Bruhl was his adverſary at one board, and Mr. Bowdler at the other, and to each he allowed the firſt move.

The games commenced at ten minutes after two o'clock, and laſted exactly one hour and forty minutes.

The manner in which theſe games were played, was alternately as to each move.—Count Bruhl began, and mentioned aloud the move he had made. Mr. Phillidor then directed his repreſentative, and ſo proceeded to the concluſion of both games.

The game with the count was drawn, and Mr. Bowdler was ſucceſsful in the other, owing to the quickneſs with which the earlier moves in both games were made, and to the extreme ſimilarity in the ſituation of the piece towards the commencement; for if the games had leſs reſembled each other, Mr. Phillidor would have preſerved a more diſtinct recollection.

The idea of the intellectual labour that was paſſing in the mind of Mr. Phillidor, ſuggeſted a painful perception to the ſpectator, which, however, was quite unneceſſary, as he ſeldom paused half a minute, and ſeemed to undergo little mental fatigue, being ſomewhat jocoſe through the whole, and uttering occaſionally many pleaſantries that diverted the company. The whole paſſed in the French language.

28th. The firſt act of the grand muſical feſtival in Weſtminſter-abbey commenced with the overture from Eſther and Dettingen Te Deum, which was performed with wonderful excellence. The band was all force and correctneſs, and the vocal performers contributed a powerful aſſiſtance. Mr. Parry, in "Thou art the King of glory," was not ſufficiently heard.

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We would adviſe him in future not to *draw back the time* ſo much. "When thou tookeſt upon thee to deliver man," employed the powers of Mr. Kelly; but whether his not being accuſtomed to ſing in ſo large a place, or before ſo full an audience, had any influence upon his ſpirits, we know not: it is certain, that though he deſerves reſpectable mention, the expectation which his repute had excited, was not thoroughly gratified.—Meſſrs. Saville, Knyvitt, Norris, and Harriſon, diſplayed conſiderable merit in their reſpective parts through this act; but we lamented that the latter had not a more diſtinct ſcope for his intereſting powers.

The grand funeral anthem led on the ſecond part, and nothing can be conceived more affectingly ſolemn. During the firſt chorus, ſome inaccuracy happened reſpecting the time; but whether this aroſe from the tenors, or ſome other principal inſtruments, we were not near enough to diſcover. In this act, the chorus from Samſon,

"Hear Jacob's God, Jehovah hear!"

was moſt prominently excellent.—Signora Storace ſung, "Every day will I give thanks to thee," with great correctneſs; but we muſt declare, which we do without any partial bias, that her voice is really not calculated for the requiſite ſtyle of ſinging. It wants that energy and fullneſs ſo neceſſary to impreſs the feelings, particularly in ſo large a place.

The firſt grand concerto introduced the third act. Rubinelli followed with the recitative, "Jehovah crowned with glory bright," from Eſther, which he delivered with an uncommon degree of expreſſion.—His voice, which may be deemed the fineſt contralto in this country, entirely filled the abbey, and was wonderfully touching. The grand chorus, "He comes, he comes, to end our woes!" was indeſcribably excellent.—Harriſon, in "O come, let us worſhip," from the anthems, fully exerted all that charming and pathetic taſte for which he is juſtly diſtinguiſhed; and after the intermediate choruſſes, Rubinelli expreſſed with moſt beautiful effect, "Return, O God of Hoſts?" from Samſon. To Mara, only one ſong, "Pious orgies, pious airs," was aſſigned, and the manner in which ſhe ſung it was indeed ſo exquiſitely charming, that it is totally beyond deſcription. This ſong immediately ſucceeded the grand chorus from Samſon, "Fix'd in his everlaſting ſeat," which was peculiarly ſublime; but the great powers of Mara totally effaced its impreſſions, and arreſted the mind as much as if it had been the firſt time of her performing. The whole terminated with the grand chorus from Samſon, "Oh God, who in thy heavenly hand," which was executed with ſuch auguſt force, that the audience was wrapped in a kind of ecſtaſy, that wholly abſorbed every faculty.

The choice of the muſic deſerves great approbation, and it is hardly poſſible to do juſtice to Mr. Bates, who poſſeſſes a ſort of animation in his mode of conducting a band, that produces an ardent ſympathy in the performers; though it muſt be owned, that his zeal was not ſufficiently rewarded yeſterday, as many of them were not ſo alert as they ſhould have been in riſing to their parts, and

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ſome indeed violated the decorum of the place, by indecently prattling with each other.

The place was moſt largely attended.—Their majeſties, with all the royal family, except the prince of Wales, were preſent, and moſt of the rank and faſhion of the country. The duke of Cumberland ſat in the ſame place with the directors.

We underſtand there was a demand from the public of five hundred more tickets, which was rejected, in order that the company might enjoy the moſt perfect accommodation.

JUNE.

1ſt. A very capital ſhip is under repair at the king's yard at Deptford, for the intended voyage to the Society Iſlands, for the purpoſe of tranſporting the bread-fruit trees to the Weſt Indies. A large ſpace is prepared between the decks to receive the trees with their native ſoil. A room is alſo to be fitted up for an aſtronomer, who will go out under the patronage of his majeſty, to make obſervations on the comet that is expected to appear in the year 1788.

9th. A trial of a ſingular nature took place at the court of King's Bench, Weſtminſter, before Mr. Juſtice Buller, and a ſpecial jury. An action was brought by Ann Pigeon againſt Meſſrs. Hammerſly and Moreland, bankers, Pall Mall, for an uſurious contract in taking more than five per cent. diſcount, contrary to the ſtatute. The action was laid for fifteen thouſand pounds, being treble the value of the bills ſo diſcounted. The evidence on the part of the plaintiff was J. M. Millea, who is at preſent, it appeared, a priſoner in the King's Bench, but who ſome time ſince had tranſacted buſineſs to a large amount at the bank of the defendants. In the month of May, 1786, he applied for the purpoſe of diſcounting three ſeveral bills to the amount of 5000 l. being the acceptance of Mr. Cazalet, a merchant in the city, at four, five, and ſix months date. They complied with his requeſt; but inſtead of the caſh which he was entitled to receive, as having paid the full diſcount, they paid him with their own acceptances at ſixty days ſight; and this it was contended was an overcharge, to the amount of theſe two months intereſt on the ſum diſcounted.

In reply, it was proved on the part of the defendants, that the evidence, on being aſked how he would be paid, had made choice of theſe acceptances in preference to caſh; and that he himſelf had antedated the checks, to make it appear as if they had been tranſmitted from Dublin; and it was urged, that theſe acceptances were equivalent to caſh, as if they had been preſented at any time, even within the ſixty days, he would immediately have been paid the full amount. Exceptions were alſo taken to the credibility of Millea as a party intereſted in the cauſe, it being fully proved that the plaintiff now cohabited with him in priſon, and that previous to his confinement they had been generally received as man and wife. From theſe conſiderations the jury, with the fulleſt approbation of the court, inſtantly found a verdict for the defendants.

At

14th. At the January seſſion of gaol delivery, holden at the Old Bailey 1787, John Moffat was indicted for forging and uttering a bill of exchange, in the words and figures following, with intention to defraud one William Ball.

Navy-Office, Dec. 21, 1786.

'Sir,

'Seven days after date, pleaſe to pay to Mr. John Moffat, or his order, the ſum of three pounds three ſhillings, and place the ſame to the account of,

'Sir,

'Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

'(L.S.) WALTER STIRLING.

'To George Peters, Eſq. Accepted,

'Bank of England.' Geo. Peters.

'Indorſed—John Moffat, now ſurgeon of the Scipio guardſhip at Sheerneſs.'

Upon the evidence, the guilt of the priſoner was clearly eſtabliſhed; but upon inſpection of the bill, it was found to be drawn upon paper with only a two-penny ſtamp; whereas by 23 Geo. III. c. 49, upon all paper on which any bill of exchange ſhall be drawn for leſs than 5o l. there ſhall be paid a ſtamp-duty of ſix-pence. It was therefore objected, that as this was not a legal bill of exchange, it not being properly ſtamped, it could not become the ſubject of an indictment for forgery. But upon the authority of the caſe of the king *verſus* Hawkeſwood, the objection was over-ruled. However, in looking over the acts of parliament relating to bills of exchange, it was found to be enacted by 17 Geo. III. c. 30, 'That all negotiable bills of exchange above 20 s. and under 5 l. ſhall ſpecify the names and places of abode of the perſons to whom, or to whoſe order, the ſame ſhall be made payable; and that every indorſement thereon ſhall ſpecify the name and place of abode of the payer; and that both the ſigning and indorſement of ſuch bill ſhall be atteſted by one ſubſcribing witneſs.'—A doubt was therefore conceived by Mr. Recorder, whether this indictment could be ſupported, as for forging a bill of exchange, which upon the face of it, by the expreſs directions of the ſtatute, was void. He therefore recorded the verdict guilty, but reſpited the judgment until the opinion of the judges was had upon this point.—And at the laſt ſeſſion, Mr. Juſtice Aſhhurſt delivered the opinion of the judges, that the indictment could not be maintained.

18th. Arrived with his ſuit, in perfect health, at Portſmouth, from Gibraltar, Sir George Auguſtus Elliot. On his coming on ſhore he was ſaluted with the guns of the ſeveral batteries, and honoured with every teſtimony of public gratitude. At night there was a general illumination, and every demonſtration of joy. He was accommodated at the houſe of the commiſſioner, and arrived in town the 20th.

Oxford, June 18. One of the greateſt efforts in walking that has been known was this day performed by a ſawyer of this place in Port Meadow; he walked fifty miles in nine hours and an half. At eight in the morning he ſtarted, walked till one, when he dined, and at half after five won his wager. He was allowed ten hours to do it in, but went over his ground with eaſe in nine hours and an half, and was ſo little fatigued with his expedition, that

that he refuſed a carriage, and walked into town two miles from the field, amidſt the acclamations of numbers who occaſionally accompanied him in the courſe of the day.

26th. Andrew Robinſon Bowes, Eſq; Edward Lucas, Francis Peacock, Mark Provoſt, and Henry Bourn, were, purſuant to order, brought into the court of King's Bench to receive judgment for a conſpiracy, of which they were convicted in April laſt, againſt Lady Strathmore. The reading of the ſeveral affidavits took up almoſt four hours.—After the counſel on both ſides had concluded, Judge Aſhurſt pronounced the ſentence of the court as follows; viz.

"That Andrew Robinſon Bowes, Eſq; do pay a fine of 300l. to his majeſty; that he be impriſoned in his majeſty's priſon of the King's Bench for three years, and at the expiration of the ſaid term, he find ſecurity for 14 years, himſelf in 10,000l. and two ſureties of 5,000l. each."

"That Edward Lucas (the conſtable) do pay a fine of 50l. and be impriſoned in his majeſty's gaol of Newgate for the term of three years."

"That Francis Peacock do pay a fine of 100l. and be impriſoned in the King's Bench priſon for two years."

That Mark Provoſt be impriſoned in the gaol of Newgate for one year.—No fine."

"That Henry Bourn do pay a fine of 50l. and be impriſoned in the gaol of Newgate for ſix months."

Lucas, Peacock, and Provoſt, were already under bail, by order of the court of King's Bench, themſelves in 500l. together with two ſureties in the ſum of 250l. each, for keeping the peace towards Lady Strathmore for fourteen years.

Extract of a letter from Utrecht, June 28, Nine o'clock in the evening.

"We have this inſtant received accounts that this day at noon the Princeſs of Orange, with two of the princes, her ſons, together with the well-known Chevalier Bentinck, were arreſted by a detachment of burghers of Gouda, between Schoonhoven and Oudewater. Early intelligence had been received that a great perſonage would paſs that way, and the detachment of burghers above named was placed on purpoſe to intercept her paſſage. The garriſon of Woerden is drawn out on purpoſe to bring the above perſonages into that place."

We are informed from reſpectable authority, that the French miniſtry laſt week diſpatched two private memorials; one to the Britiſh, another to the court of Berlin, to the following purpoſe:

"That in the preſent commotions in Holland, it is their fixed and decided determination not to intermeddle, except ſeparately or conjunctively called upon as mediators;—but if any power in Europe ſhall take up arms either for or againſt the republic, they no longer hold themſelves pledged to this determination; but ſhall conſider themſelves at liberty to act, as the exigencies of affairs may require."

M. de Calonne being ſtripped by the king of France of his ribband, has diſpoſed of his whole eſtate, his

beautiful ſeat of Halonville, in Lorraine, and all his other fixed property, and has retired from France for ever.

DIED.—Mr. Abel, the celebrated compoſer, after three days illneſs. This great character expired on the 20th inſtant without pain, and with him a genius that was an honour to the ſcience he profeſſed. His various compoſitions are the progeny of knowledge, taſte, and feeling, and will be held in admiration as long as muſic has any influence over the paſſions of mankind. Nor was he only diſtinguiſhed as a compoſer; as a performer he realized thoſe beautiful conceptions which his works abundantly involve. The Viola di Gamba is not an inſtrument in general uſe, and will perhaps die with him; but his performance rendered it exquiſitely charming.

JULY.

Extract of a letter from Bury, in Lancaſhire, July 5.

"I am ſorry to acquaint you with a moſt dreadful accident which has happened in this town. The theatre here being crowded, and the people in the gallery very riotous, on a ſudden the whole gave way, and the walls, roof, and every part fell in, by which myſelf, wife, two brothers, and a ſiſter, with upwards of three hundred perſons, were buried in the ruins.—I believe I was the firſt who got out. The ſpectacle now was very ſhocking, the cries of the wounded pierced the ear. Happily, out of ſo great a number, only five perſons were killed on the ſpot, amongſt whom I have to regret the loſs of one of my brothers and ſiſter. Many more, however, are dangerouſly wounded; and eight or ten paſt all hopes of recovery. In ſhort, our little town is all in ſorrow on the occaſion. When it is conſidered that the heavy timbers in the roof, the ſlate, the walls, and all fell in, it is next to a miracle that one eſcaped."

The ſtates of Holland, in full aſſembly at the Hague, publiſhed an edict the 30th ult. ſtrictly forbidding all perſons whatever from quitting the province, or going into other ſtates with their effects, under pretence of flying for ſafety; the ſtates being themſelves of ſufficient ability to protect their ſubjects: adding thereto, that in time of public diſaſter it was the duty of every good citizen to continue at home, and uſe his endeavours in the defence of his country.

20th. John Elliot was tried upon an indictment on the black act, with wilfully and maliciouſly diſcharging two piſtols, loaded with powder and divers balls, at the perſon of Miſs Mary Boydell. The ſecond count charged him with firing one piſtol, loaded with powder and one or more bullets, at the ſaid Miſs Boydell.

The evidence produced for the proſecution was as follows:

Mr. George Nicol, bookſeller to his majeſty, ſwore, that in walking up Princes-ſtreet in company with Miſs Boydell, he heard the loud exploſion of a piſtol cloſe to his ear. It was ſo near, and the concuſſion of the air ſo ſtrong, that it ſtruck his ear like a blow. He turned round, and ſeeing the priſoner quite cloſe to him with a piſtol in his hand, which

which afterwards however turned out to be two piſtols ſtrongly tied together, he ſeized him by the throat, and ſaid, "Are you the villain that fired?" The man ſaid he was, and a footman coming up at the ſame moment, either wrenched the piſtols out of his hand, or took them up as he dropt them: that then, having ſeen the lady taken into a ſhop, he went with the priſoner to Juſtice Hyde's. In going there he expreſſed great joy at what he had done; and in particular ſaid, that now he ſhould die in peace, as he had ſent the lady before him; that two more piſtols were found in his pocket, apparently loaded to the muzzle, and thoſe Mr. Nicol delivered into the hands of Juſtice Hyde, and had not ſeen them ſince. That during the examination, a lady came into the office, and ſaid, ſhe was happy to find that Miſs Boydell was not dangerouſly wounded; upon which the priſoner, claſhing his hands together, ſeemingly in an agony of diſappointment, exclaimed, "Is ſhe not dead?"—and from this time, and during the continuance of the examination, he burſt into a torrent of abuſe againſt the lady, the Alderman, and his family.

Theſe facts were clearly and circumſtantially corroborated by the evidence of the livery ſervant and of Mr. Griffith, a ſhoemaker in Princes-ſtreet, who ſaw him fire the piſtol, and who aſſiſted in ſecuring him. The ſervant ſwore that Elliot dropt the piſtols, and he took them up. He found the one upon half cock, and the pan ſhut down, and ſome grains of powder in the pan—the other had all the appearance of having been inſtantly fired, and he thought indeed that they had both been fired, notwithſtanding the circumſtance of the lock being on half cock. In all the points of the priſoner's declarations of his intentions—of his behaviour at the juſtice's—of the two loaded piſtols in his pocket, &c. they agreed with Mr. Nicol.

Mr. Nicol then ſwore that almoſt one half of the lady's cloak was burnt, and that there were two marks on her gown, juſt below the ſhoulders, which ſeemed to correſpond with the marks of the piſtols as they were tied together.

A ſurgeon ſwore that Miſs Boydell had two contuſions juſt below the ſhoulder blade, which correſpond with the marks on the gown, and which evidently proceeded from blows received from ſome hard ſubſtance. Being aſked, if piſtols loaded with bullets diſcharged ſo near the body could have made ſuch marks? He ſaid, he did not know; but it was certain, that a piſtol put quite cloſe home to any reſiſting body, and diſcharged ſo as not to have the aſſiſtance of the air, loſt much of its force.

The cloak, handkerchief, and gown, were produced, to ſhew the effects of the exploſion and ſhot.

Juſtice Hyde was ſworn, and he gave an account of the piſtols. He ſaid, that about a quarter of an hour after Mr. Nicol had withdrawn, a perſon who called himſelf Thomas Brown, and whom he obſerved in converſation with the priſoner, came to his office, ſaid he came from Mr. Nicol, and deſired to have the piſtols, which he accordingly delivered to him. He could not find this Brown, nor did he know him. He ſwore that the piſtols were loaded to the muzzle, and that the paper wadding

being broken in the ramming of the bullets down, he clearly saw the lead of the bullets.

There was some other evidence not so material. A gardener belonging to Mr. Josiah Boydell in the country, swore that the prisoner had lodged with him six months last winter, and that by so doing he had often got into the house of Mr. Boydell, where Miss Boydell frequently visited.

Mr. Silvester, on the part of the prisoner, called a Dr. Symmonds to prove that he was insane. The doctor gave it as his opinion that he was so, and he had first formed this opinion from a letter he had received from him in January last, the purport of which was a philosophical hypothesis, that the sun was not specifically a ball of fire, but that his heat proceeded from the quality of the atmosphere that surrounded his body.—Some part of this paper was read, and so far from betraying symptoms of insanity, it had all the marks of quick and cultivated parts. The hypothesis, however false, was ably argued—and as to the absurdity of the doctrine itself, the recorder aptly asked the doctor, whether, if he judged of his intellects merely from a vague supposition as to the nature of the sun's heat, he might not equally declare Buffon, and many other philosophers, to be mad.

Mr. O'Donnell, the successor of Mr. Elliot, said, he had observed symptoms of insanity in him, although he attended his patients very regularly and very properly. This inconsistency drew from Mr. Garrow some sharp questions, which Mr. O'Donnell said did not, by the way in which they were put, enable him to give so clear an account of the case as he otherwise would do, if not puzzled by the council.

Two people with whom he lodged also said, they remarked insanity; but he was a good, quiet lodger, and they saw no harm of him.

The recorder was beginning to sum up the evidence; and he stated, that as the indictment varied, it was necessary that the jury should be convinced that one or both pistols were loaded with ball—That at least one of them was fired, and fired at the lady—That it was done wilfully and maliciously, was clear and manifest, on the testimony of three concurring witnesses—It was evident, first from the exultation, and afterwards the disappointment expressed by Elliot, as well as by the declarations, that his intention was to take away the life of the lady—that he had deliberated on the fact, and had coolly prepared the means;—but it was for them to inquire, whether, in the anxiety incident to so horrid a project, he had not either blundered in the loading, or had chosen the wrong pair of pistols—for if they were not convinced that one or both of them was loaded with ball, they must acquit the prisoner. Here one of the jurymen said, "Surely, my lord, nothing can be more clear, than that the pistols were not loaded with ball." On this the recorder said, if they were all of this opinion, it was needless for him to enumerate the evidence in defence of the prisoner.

The jury, after some consultation, brought in a verdict, Guilty of shooting, but they do not find that there was ball. On this the recorder directed them to acquit the prisoner, which they did.

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The recorder said, this was no ground for exultation to the prisoner. His crime in the eye of Heaven was the same, and he should order him to be detained to be tried for the assault; and it was a duty which the prosecutors owed to society to bring him to his trial in that way.

21st. Arrived a mail from Holland, by which we have advice, that the prince stadtholder found in the hospital of the town of Wyck, lately captured by his troops, ten pieces of cannon, two hundred and fifty muskets, and a great quantity of gunpowder and military stores; and in the town-house three flags, the first *white*, adorned with three *fleurs de lys*, and the motto, *Pro His Morimur*: the second *green*, with the motto, *Terror Tirannidas*; and the third *red*, with a French motto, *Prerogatives & Privileges*, and under it *Majestas populi*.

23d. An account is received by late advices from Madras, of the following very extraordinary circumstance.

Shaik Soyliman, a private soldier of the 20th battalion of the seapoy corps, stationed at Chepauk, was tried at the Madras quarter session, in October last, for murdering his wife: the fact being sufficiently proved, the prisoner made the following very extraordinary defence: that he and his family having, from a variety of circumstances, been plunged into an insupportable state of distress, himself and his wife thought death infinitely preferable to the lingering rack of existence; that, after debating again and again the melancholy subject, it was resolved that he should first destroy their infant daughter, then his wife, and afterwards himself. This horrid plan was defeated, he said, by his wife's maternal feelings, who not being able to endure the dreadful thought of beholding the slaughter of her beloved and only child, entreated him to give her the first fatal blow; that, in compliance with her request, he put an end to her misery, by plunging a dagger into her bosom, and that whilst, in an agony of despair, he was preparing to destroy his daughter, the guards, alarmed by her cries, rushed in, and prevented the execution of his purpose.

The jury, taking all the circumstances into their consideration, brought in their verdict, "Guilty without malice"—but the court representing the illegality of such a verdict, they agreed to find him "Guilty," at the same time strongly recommending the unfortunate wretch to his majesty's mercy. He will therefore remain closely confined till his majesty's gracious pleasure shall be known.

The removal of the minor lord viscount Gormanstown, from Ireland to Liege, supposed to have been accomplished by the means of his uncle, a Roman catholic, has been thought a measure of sufficient magnitude to call for the interference not only of the government of Ireland, but also of the cabinet of Great Britain. The marquis of Caermarthen wrote in his majesty's name to the prince bishop of Liege, to desire that his highness would cause the young lord to be delivered into the hands of such persons as his majesty shall commission to receive him. But his highness returned for answer, that though he was the sovereign of Liege, he was

bound by the laws and conſtitutions of his principality, and therefore could not take upon himſelf finally to determine in ſuch a matter without the advice and concurrence of his grand chapter and his government; that he would, however, immediately communicate the affair, together with his majeſty's wiſhes, to his council, and without delay make the marquis acquainted with the reſult of their deliberations. Accordingly the affair was maturely conſidered and debated in the prince's council; and it was at laſt reſolved, that his highneſs could not, conſiſtently with the laws of the ſtate, force a catholic out of his dominions, for the purpoſe of putting him into the hands of thoſe who would bring him up a proteſtant.

26th. Orders were yeſterday ſent off from the admiralty office, to the commiſſioners of the ſeveral dock-yards, to take on a number of additional workmen immediately, to expedite the work now in hand.

DIED.—4th, about two o'clock, at his houſe in Powys-place, Great Ormond-ſtreet, ſir Richard Jebb, phyſician to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales. Sir Richard has bequeathed the bulk of his fortune to a niece; and has left his brother a legacy of 2000l. with an eſtate of 300l. a year.

12. At his houſe, near the Biſhop's Palace, Lambeth, at about a quarter before ſix in the evening, by a flaſh of lightning, Mr. Bacon, clerk to the Salt-office. At the beginning of the ſtorm he was drinking tea with his wife; the back windows of the one pair of ſtairs to the ſouth having been open all day, he went up for the purpoſe of ſhutting them; and in the action of lifting up his right arm received the ſtroke, which tore his coat eight inches in length, and four in breadth; from whence it entered his right ſide, nearly oppoſite his heart, went through his body, and out at the left hip, and down his left leg to his buckle (which melted) and tore the upper-leather of his ſhoe from the ſole. His dog, being at that foot, was alſo ſtruck dead; after which, the lightning penetrated the wainſcot and floor of the one pair of ſtairs, and made its way into the front parlour, north, where it tore the wainſcot in a ſingular manner, and went off with an exploſion louder than any piece of ordnance.—Another account ſays, That he owed his death to a gun being laid acroſs the window, placed there to prevent thieves from breaking into the houſe, which, on this occaſion, operated as a conductor for the lightning; for at the inſtant that he was ſhutting the window he received the electrical fire from the barrel of the gun, which he accidentally touched, and was immediately ſtruck dead. The violence of the ſtroke was ſuch, that it tore out his inteſtines, and made his body a moſt ſhocking ſpectacle. He was firſt diſcovered by a little girl in the houſe, who was ſo terrified as to be unable to explain the cauſe of her alarm to Mrs. Bacon, who went into the room herſelf, and, in conſequence of ſeeing this dreadful ſight, has been at times in fits ever ſince, and great doubts are entertained whether ſhe will ever recover.

AUGUST.

AUGUST.

Hague, Aug. 2. According to letters from Berlin, the reigning Duke of Brunſwick, Field Marſhal of the Pruſſian army, has accepted the command of the forces which are to be aſſembled at Cleves. The ſame accounts add, that the Pruſſian huſſars were on their march to Cleves.

Extract of a letter from Breſt, Aug. 11.

"The meaſures which have been lately taken, and which are, agreeable to order, carrying on with the utmoſt diſpatch, appear to indicate an approaching diſturbance.

"All the regiſtered ſeamen within this admiralty have received monitions to attend the naval commiſſioners; the dock-yards have been augmented with additional hands, and 400 men have juſt arrived in addition to the garriſon.

"The Marquis de Poligne, an experienced officer, and of the Croix St. Louis, has the entire conduct of the new arrangement."

Naples, Aug. 15. By letters from Sicily we have had a relation of an extraordinary eruption of Mount Etna, ſuch a one as has not happened in the memory of man; a rumbling noiſe and numberleſs ſhocks of earthquakes preceded this eruption; but on the 18th of laſt month, about three o'clock in the morning, a terrible volume of fire iſſued from the mountain like a whirlwind, and of ſuch a prodigious height, that it ſeemed as if the mountain was opened, and the column of fire appeared two thirds higher than the ſummit. An immenſe cloud of ſmoke preceded the flame, the blaze of which was ſo great that people could ſee to read at twenty miles diſtance;—beſides that a ſhower of ſand, or calcined lava, and ſtones of an enormous ſize, were caſt to a prodigious height, and fell down again with a moſt terrible noiſe. Sulphurous ſtones, lightnings, and horrible noiſes followed this dreadful eruption. The column of fire took its direction towards the Ionic Sea, to the eaſtward of the coaſt of the Morea, but at a certain diſtance it ſhifted towards Africa. We learn that the ſhower of ſand and ſtones fell on the city and ſuburbs of Meſſina and Calabria, and on all the iſlands and adjacent coaſts as far as Malta.

All the ice and ſnow on the tops of the mountains was melted, and ſome perſons wounded by the ſtones which fell in the neighbouring countries; the inhabitants ſuffered from a ſuffocating ſmell of ſulphur and bitumen, and from the extreme heat of the air; all the produce of the earth, the olives, fruits, and Indian corn are burnt; in ſhort, for many miles diſtance, the land reſembles the ſcorched deſerts of Lybia.

It is remarkable that Veſuvius at the ſame time began to ſend forth flames, and the lava flows at preſent along the valley which ſeparates that mountain from Mount Somma.

Conſtantinople, Aug. 18. M. de Bulgakow, envoy from the court of Ruſſia to the Sublime Porte, was this day ſummoned to a public audience, when it was propoſed to him to affix his ſignature to an inſtrument for the reſtitution of the Crimea, and the annihilation of all the conventions ſubſequent to the treaty of Kainardgik, and upon his refuſal he was conducted to the caſtle of the Seven Towers.—To-mor-

row war againſt Ruſſia will be ſolemnly declared in all the ſtreets of this capital.

When the empreſs of Ruſſia finiſhed her laſt war with the Ottoman Porte, the following was the ſtate and condition of her naval force fit for ſervice:

	Guns.		Guns.
Jezekil	76	Kergopolte	54
San Pantelemaine	74	Moſcouen	54
Elizabeth	74	Vollne	42
Anna Petrowna	74	Touſa	36
San Sedair	74	Aleſſandre	36
Teſſerdoi	70	Kuleden	36
St. Aleſiandro	70	Simione	36
Alexandre Neuſko	70	Oczakow	36
America	66	Jazeker	35
Azaï	66	Holmne	32
Hermolandie	66	Jenekuin	32
Victoire	66	Kolegah	32
Slave Roſſai	66	Maria Anne	32
Spiridone	66	Pleina	30
Dabide	64	Veliſcone	28
Europaine	64	San Andrea	28
Dariſi	64	La Patriche	26
Knees Voldimere	64	La Volga	26
Nebren Alengo	64	La Ruſſe	26
Parnet Jeſneff	64	La Donne	24
San Nicolai	62	Pantaine	24
Vologda	54	Giddies	20
		Knies Ghent	20
		Ibrahim	20
		Bianco	20
		Dartoffe	20

Beſides cutters, pinks, &c.

That Ruſſia has conſiderably increaſed her marine ſince that period is beyond all contradiction, as the following, among others, are known to be now in her ordinaries at Revel, Cronſtadt, &c. where the men of war are uſually laid up.

	Guns.		Guns.
La Catherine	90	Cronſtadt	80
Holſteine	86	Patriarque	76
Orlowe	80	Uladimeer	74
Zarchoe	74	Tigreſſille	74
La Cherſon	74	Kamſchatka	70
L'Adm. Borriſow	74	Maen	64
La Duc	74	Knowleneer	64
San Pedro	74	Moſcow	64
Unione	74	Krueſenchte	64
San Chriſtian	74	La Zealoſſe	64
Potemkin	74	La Sophie	64
San Stephane	74	Denbrog	64

Of frigates, &c. upwards of thirty of different force have been built; but as there is no real account, it is impoſſible to ſpeak with preciſion.—Ruſſia has, however, at leaſt an hundred men of war at this time, of which number about half are of the line, from 90 to 54 guns.

The Turkiſh navy, according to the lateſt accounts, conſiſted as follows:

Ships.		Guns.	Ships.		Guns.
1	of	100	8	of	64
2	—	92	7	—	60
4	—	80	8	—	58
5	—	76	6	—	56
8	—	72	2	—	54
4	—	66			

Beſides frigates, ſloops, bombs, xebecks, and gallies.

Out of theſe are the two fleets, one in the Black Sea, under the command of the Pache Ali Gabriel Beyd; and the other in the Archipelago; the firſt conſiſts of ſixteen ſhips, and the other of eleven.

There is a third fleet at Conſtantinople, which conſiſts of forty ſail, of which two were of the line.

A ſpecial court of directors was held at the India houſe, for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the conduct of the captain and officers of the ſhip Hartwell, unfortunately loſt in her paſſage to China off Bona Viſta, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands—and after an examination

22d.

examination into all the particulars, which laſted ſeveral hours, came to a reſolution to diſmiſs the captain and chief mate, and ſuſpend the ſecond mate from the ſervice.

The following is an exact ſtate of the preſent commerce of Ruſſia. The laſt year the exports amounted to — 13,360,011 Roubles
And the importation to — 11,775,577

Bal. in favour of Ruſſia — 1,584,434 Roubles

The Cuſtom Houſe duties amounted to — 3,274,050
Independent of theſe duties they have levied on fingers & ſchools 55,091

Athy, Aug. 28. The following curious attempt to evade juſtice was practiſed a few days ago. At the laſt aſſizes of Trim, one Kelly, a noted robber, was capitally convicted, and received ſentence to be executed on Wedneſday the 22d of Auguſt; previous to being led out he contrived to cut his blanket into ſtrips of four inches broad, joined the pieces together with ſtrong woollen thread, and formed a double ſling, which paſſed under each ham, and the ends faſtened at his neck with an iron hook to receive the rope; thus accoutred, he proceeded to the place of execution, where he addreſſed the hangman (who by the by is ſuppoſed to have been bribed) told him he forgave him, but requeſted he would draw him up cloſe to the pully, and when dead let him down gently, the unfortunate wretch, too confident of ſucceſs, was ſhortly after launched from the table, but not having allowed for the extenſion of the blanket by his own weight, after hanging about eight minutes, without appearance of life, the hook faſtened in his windpipe, and gave him ſuch exquiſite pain, that he ſuddenly raiſed his arms, ſeized the rope, and ſtruggled for a conſiderable time till he expired. After being cut down the whole appartus was diſcovered, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſheriff and a number of gentlemen preſent.

The right honourable lord Dunboyne read his recantation from the errors of the church of Rome, in the pariſh church of Clonmel, on the 22d of Auguſt laſt. The earl of Earlsfort, chief juſtice of the King's Bench, with ſeveral others of the nobility, and a very numerous congregation, were preſent at the ſolemnity. His lordſhip, who was titular biſhop of Corke, had very lately entered into the holy ſtate of matrimony, and was, conſequently, ſuſpended from his eccleſiaſtical dignity.

30th. The directors of the India company have preſented the ſociety for promoting Chriſtian knowledge with one hundred reams of ſuperfine paper, for the purpoſe of enabling the ſociety to complete a verſion of the Bible in the Malabar language, for the uſe of the natives of India.

31ſt. A full board of admiralty was held, when ſeveral officers who applied for leave of abſence for ſix months were refuſed, and informed, that if they attempted to quit England, without obtaining leave, they would be ſtruck off the liſt, and not allowed to ſerve any longer.

Same day orders were ſent down to Portſmouth and Plymouth, for the

the houſes of rendezvous there to give bounties to ſuch ſeamen as ſhall enter into his majeſty's ſervice, and to ſend up information to the admiralty twice a week, of the number entered.

DIED.—Letters from Spain, of the 6th and 8th of July, mention the death of Marcus Bagot, Eſq. lieutenant-general in the armies of his catholic majeſty, at the caſtle of Seragoſſa, in Arragon, of which city and province he was governor. His excellency was a native of the county of Kildare, and is ſaid to have been immenſely rich. He was the oldeſt officer in Spain, being 93, wanting a few days, at his deceaſe.

SEPTEMBER.

Extract of a letter from Berlin, Sept. 1.

"A terrible fire has reduced to aſhes the city of Ruppin, ſituated in the March of Brandeburg, about eight or nine leagues from Berlin; there are not above 240 houſes ſtanding; more than 600 have been burnt, as well as three churches, the town-houſe, and the building belonging to the prince Ferdinand of Pruſſia; the royal magazine, where there was a quantity of cloathing ready to be delivered to the troops, &c. The fire laſted twelve hours. They eſtimate the loſs at many millions; and the inhabitants are reduced to the laſt miſery. The queen and prince Henry of Pruſſia went there to comfort the unhappy people;—M. de Mauſchwitz, miniſter of ſtate, alſo went there by order of government. Collections are making here for the ſufferers, and the contributions have been very liberal. General Mollendorf has applied to all the military in garriſon for their donations."

A meeting of the Weſt India captains was held, when they came to a reſolution not to take any ſailors on board their ſhips that could not bring with them certificates of their good behaviour from the captains they have laſt ſerved, and likewiſe from the owners, or huſbands of the ſhips they have ſerved on board the laſt voyage. 3d.

Leeds, Sept. 4. The captain of the Swediſh ſhip ſeized at Hull a few days ago, for having a quantity of wool on board, has now made an open confeſſion, and impeached ſeveral people in that neighbourhood, who it ſeems have carried on a large trade in this iniquitous practice for ſome time paſt.—The mate of the ſhip has declared upon oath, that he believes every Swede or Daniſh veſſel that comes into the port of Hull ſmuggles wool abroad every voyage, both captain and crew being concerned in this buſineſs; and although the quantity in each ſhip is but trifling, yet when it is conſidered, that there are twenty or thirty ſhips of thoſe two nations which make three or four voyages to Hull annually, the wool ſmuggled even from the above port becomes conſiderable.—Two other ſhips were alſo ſeized on Saturday laſt at Hull, with wool.

Extract of a letter from Glaſgow, Sept. 4.

"It is with very great concern I ſit down to give you an account of a deſperate affray, which happened here this forenoon. For ſome time paſt, the operative weavers have been in very bad humour reſpecting the reduction of their wages upon ſome

ſome kinds of work. This forenoon a number of them aſſembled and cut ſeveral webs out of the looms of thoſe perſons who had agreed to work at the reduced prices. The magiſtrates met and ſent the town officers to ſeize the perpetrators, but finding themſelves too weak, they returned. The magiſtrates then went along with them, and came up with the operative weavers (who had ſeveral of the webs they had cut out in their hands) about the eaſt end of the Gallowgate. The magiſtrates remonſtrated with the weavers, who, in place of liſtening to their arguments, pelted them with vollies of ſtones, and one of them ſtruck the lord provoſt a violent blow on the arm; ſome others were wounded with ſtones. It was then neceſſary to call for the aid of the military, who conducted the magiſtrates back to the council-chamber, where they deliberated upon what was to be done. The military were ordered to draw up at the Croſs with ſcrewed bayonets, and their muſquets loaded with ball. The magiſtrates then came out, and cauſed the Riot Act to be read to an immenſe multitude, who were now aſſembled, and gave ſuitable advice to the populace, warning them of their danger, and deſiring them to diſperſe, but in vain. The ſoldiers then were ordered to the Gallowgate, where the principal body of the weavers were. On approaching them, the military endeavoured to line the ſtreet and lanes, when a ſcuffle enſued, upon which they fired, and killed four or five perſons, and wounded ſeveral. After this a number were taken priſoners and lodged in gaol. The military ſtill remain under arms, and expreſſes have been ſent to Linlithgow and Hamilton for a reinforcement of troops.

"This morning early, an expreſs arrived at Edinburgh, for ſome dragoons to be ſent, and orders are diſpatched by his excellency general Mackay, for detachments of thoſe ſtationed at Irvine, Ayr, Beith, and other places, to repair immediately to Glaſgow."

Extract of a letter from Glaſgow, Sept. 6.

"I have the pleaſure to acquaint you, that all is now quiet, and good order reſtored. Six perſons, who were active in the late diſturbances, and a petty writer who acted as their ſecretary, are committed to gaol. The eight perſons who were killed, and died of their wounds, were buried to-day, and not the ſmalleſt diſturbance; every thing reſpecting the interment was carried on with the greateſt decency. Several reinforcements of troops are arrived from different quarters, and the town is at preſent full of ſoldiers."

Among accidents of an extraordinary nature, the following may be recorded, and it is vouched for as truth:—A man who reſided at Chicheſter, having gone upon the rocks in ſearch of ſhell-fiſh, perceived a large lobſter in a chaſm, and raſhly thruſt in his hand to pull it out. The lobſter ſeized on his thumb, and the man, as it is ſuppoſed, actuated by the impulſe of pain, thruſt his arm forward to diſengage his thumb, but was unable afterwards to draw it back, and the tide flowing, he was drowned. He was found in the ſituation deſcribed, his thumb dreadfully cut, and the bone broken.

8th. One Thomas Stone underwent a long examination before

fore ſeveral of the faculty and ſome juſtices of the peace; when evident marks of inſanity having appeared in many parts of his late conduct, he was ordered to be confined till farther orders in Bedlam hoſpital.

Some days before this her majeſty received a very extraordinary letter from Stone, mentioning a very warm paſſion which he had conceived for her eldeſt daughter; and hoping, if their majeſties approved of the idea of his marrying her, he and the princeſs royal would be a very happy couple! After this, the man appeared at St. James's, and begged leave to be introduced in form, as, from not having had an anſwer, he conceived his propoſal was acceded to. Silence gave conſent! This however was not much attended to by the people to whom he ſpoke. On his going afterwards to Kew, he was ſeized, and confined till he could be taken to the public office in Bow-ſtreet to be examined, where he confeſſed to have conceived an attachment for her royal highneſs; alſo that ſhe had conceived the ſame for him. A great many papers on the ſubject of love were found upon him, addreſſed to her Serene Highneſs the Princeſs Royal.

Stone is a heavy looking man, about 33 years of age: he is a native of Shafteſbury, and his father is a floor-cloth painter.—He was brought up an attorney, and has an uncle of the name of Sutton living in Iſlington. He wrote a letter to Mr. Delaval, of Pall-mall, ſaying he propoſed a plan for paying off the national debt.

His converſation is truly that of a lunatic. He ſays, his heart was ſtole from him three years ago, and till laſt March he did not know who was the robber, till being at the play, he ſaw the princeſs royal look up at the two ſhilling gallery.

The following are the lines which at the time of the above examination were ſubmitted to the critical examination of Dr. Munro, and which Stone acknowledged to be his production:

To her Highneſs the PRINCESS ROYAL.

Thrice glad were I to be your willing ſlave,
But not the captive of the tool or knave;
With woe on woe you melt my ſighing breaſt,
Whilſt you reject your humble would-be gueſt.

Auguſt 22. T. S.

Utrecht, Sept. 21. On the 17th inſtant, at ten in the forenoon, the Pruſſian troops ſummoned the city of Naarden to ſurrender; but M. de Matha, in the name of the commiſſion of defence, refuſed to capitulate on any terms.

22d. This night's Gazette contains a proclamation for encouraging ſeamen and landmen to enter themſelves on board his majeſty's ſhips of war; and promiſing that all ſuch able ſeamen, not above the age of fifty, nor under the age of twenty years, who ſhall, on or before the thirty-firſt day of October next, voluntarily enter, ſhall receive the ſum of three pounds each man; all ordinary ſeamen, two pounds each man; and all able-bodied landmen, twenty ſhillings each man.

24th. The prince of Orange made his public entry into the Hague on Thurſday the 20th, in the afternoon. His carriage was drawn in by the populace; and he was

was congratulated by all the public bodies.

Hague, Sept. 18. On Thurſday laſt, the Pruſſian army, under the command of his ſerene highneſs the duke of Brunſwick, paſſed the river at Nimeguen, and advanced from thence in three columns. On their approach the Rhingrave of Salm evacuated Utrecht, after having nailed up 140 pieces of cannon, which he was obliged to leave behind him, and deſtroyed, as far as he was able, the powder and other ſtores, retiring with what he could collect of the garriſon, in great diſorder, towards Amſterdam and Naerden. On Sunday the prince of Orange's troops entered the towns of Utrecht, Montfort, and the Vaart; and no oppoſition was made in any part of the province.

Intelligence was received at the Hague, of Gorcum, Dort, Schoonhoven, and ſeveral other of the principal towns of South Holland, having ſurrendered, without bloodſhed, to the duke of Brunſwick. The ſtates of Holland iſſued orders for breaking and diſarming the free corps; and late this evening they paſſed a reſolution for reſtoring his ſerene highneſs the ſtadtholder to all his rights and honours, with the command of this garriſon: and a deputation is appointed to the duke of Brunſwick, and a letter ſent off to invite the prince of Orange to return to his reſidence here.

Hague, Sept. 25. The ſtates of Holland having agreed on Saturday laſt to write a letter to her royal highneſs the princeſs of Orange, inviting her to return to the Hague, and expreſſing their earneſt deſire to grant her royal highneſs ſatisfaction for the inſult offered her near Schoonhoven, in the manner demanded by his Pruſſian majeſty; her royal highneſs accordingly arrived here from Utrecht yeſterday, about three o'clock, and was received with the moſt joyful acclamations of all ranks of people. The deputations of the ſeveral ſtates, and of the principal department, waited on her royal highneſs immediately after her arrival, and every poſſible mark of honour and diſtinction were ſhewn her.

To-day her royal highneſs received the compliments of the foreign miniſters, the deputies of the different towns, &c. This evening ſhe had a drawing-room, and at night the Hague was entirely illuminated.

The duke of Brunſwick removed his head quarters on Saturday from Gouda to Alphen; and yeſterday his advanced poſts moved forward as far as Amſterwen and Oudekerke, within four miles of Amſterdam. General Gaudi with his diviſion has attacked and taken Nieuwenſluys, with 800 priſoners, 10 pieces of cannon, and 60 officers.

The ſtadtholder was certainly reinſtated fully in all his rights on Thurſday afternoon, the 20th, at the Hague; for in two hours he was reinveſted in complete power, and all the foreign miniſters, except the French, Spaniſh, and Americans, paid their compliments to him on the event.—Three of the principal adherents of France, and who had been moſt active in oppoſing the intereſts of the ſtadtholder, had avoided the indignation of the Orange party by making their eſcape. It was feared that the ſtadtholder's party, in the ebullition of their joy, would proceed to outrages againſt their opponents, whoſe violence and acrimony had, in the abſence of the prince, led them to inſults

sults of the groſſeſt kind. Great pains, however, were taken to repreſs the indignation of the people, and the conduct of the Pruſſian army was exemplary.—No tumult had happened when the expreſs came away.

Extract of a letter from Canterbury, Sept. 28.

"Powell, the great walker, ſet off at four o'clock yeſterday, and arrived at London-bridge ten minutes before three o'clock. He was at Dartford, on his return, at ſeven o'clock; at Rocheſter, at ten o'clock; and he came running into Canterbury (amidſt thouſands of ſpectators) at ſix minutes and a half before four o'clock, and appeared to have done his beſt:—ſo that at 53 years old he has travelled on foot 112 miles in 23 hours 53 minutes and a half."

DIED.—On the 14th, on his paſſage from Jamaica, on board the Amity, Captain Nixon, the Hon. John Jackſon, Eſq; advocate-general, and one of his majeſty's privy council in the ſaid iſland.

OCTOBER.

Amſterdam, Oct. 4. At four o'clock in the morning of the 1ſt of this month, the duke of Brunſwick attacked this city, and a vigorous conteſt was maintained till about ſix.—The poſts of Muyden, Diemardam, Duivendrecht, Ouderkerk, and that of the dyke of Haaerlam, were aſſaulted at the ſame time.—The enemy was repulſed from the four firſt-mentioned poſts with very great loſs. The poſt of Ouderkerk ſuſtained three different attacks in the ſpace of three hours. Unable to withſtand the fire from this place, the enemy abandoned their enterprize, which coſt them dear. The poſt of the dyke of Haaerlam being attacked in two places, and by a ſuperior force, was abandoned almoſt without reſiſtance, and the auxiliaries who defended the place retired without loſs. The poſt of Amſtelveen was carried by the Pruſſians in the afternoon; and it is ſaid that it might have been better defended. The loſs of this poſt occaſioned Ouderkerk to be evacuated, for by the above event it would have been ſituated between two fires, and could not poſſibly have been defended. An armiſtice for an unlimited time enſued; and each party is to give twelve hours notice before the commencement of hoſtilities. We do not expect that the contention will be renewed, as freſh negotiations are begun. The number of killed and wounded is not known.

Authentic extract of a letter from a gentleman in Dominica, to his correſpondent in London, dated September 1, 1787.

"The iſland is at preſent in a deplorable ſituation, from three gales of wind that have happened here in the laſt month, which have laid deſolate the whole iſland.—The firſt was on the 3d, of ſhort duration, and did little damage to the country, but caſt on ſhore an African ſhip, and ſeveral ſloops and ſchooners, which were totally loſt. The ſecond gale or hurricane began at ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 23d, and continued with unabating fury till eight in the evening; the wind ſhifting from the north to the ſouth, which caſt on the ſhore another Guinea ſhip that was conſigned to this iſland, three brigs, and all the drouging veſſels belonging to the iſland; and the damage done to

to the country is much more than I can inform you of. The windward part of the iſland has ſuffered moſt, the ſugar works and canes being totally deſtroyed; and to complete the ruin of this iſland, it was attacked a third time, on the 29th, at four o'clock in the morning, much ſeverer in this quarter than the former, deſtroying and carrying away every thing before it (the like I have never ſeen in the Weſt Indies). A third African ſhip conſigned here, loaded from hence, and ready to ſail with a cargo worth eight or ten thouſand pounds, two brigs alſo, loaded with rum, &c. &c. totally loſt; Mr. G——'s brig, and the Cork brig, diſmaſted. All the barracks and buildings on Morne Bruce entirely blown down and deſtroyed. Many houſes in town ſhared the ſame fate, and few have eſcaped without very great damage; the proviſions totally deſtroyed, and the country apparently ruined."

The following is an exact copy of an American paragraph in a Boſton news-paper:

"At the ſupreme judicial court held at Worceſter, Ichabed Hayward and Patience Twitchell were convicted of the crime of adultery, and received ſentence as follows:—Hayward to ſit one hour on the gallows with a rope about his neck, one end thereof caſt over the gallows, to be publicly whipped on the naked back thirty ſtripes, and ſuffer three months impriſonment. Patience Twitchell to ſit one hour on the gallows, with a rope about her neck alſo, one end thereof caſt over the gallows, and to be publicly whipped twenty ſtripes on her bare back."

This ſentence was literally executed in the preſence of a gentleman juſt arrived from America; and as it happened to be the firſt circumſtance of the kind, an innumerable quantity of people were aſſembled. The culprits were both young and handſome, and by no means in low ſituations of life.

Paris, Oct. 23. A Turk, from Algiers or Tripoli, who was going from Paris to Auxerre (40 leagues from the capital) in the *coche d'eau* (a barge where paſſengers pay 7s. 6d. and are four days in going) being provoked by ſeveral jocular remarks on his dreſs, ſome ſcurrilous reflections on his religion, and, as they ſay, by having his whiſkers cut off and burnt while he was aſleep, committed great outrages the beginning of laſt week, which ended very fatally. He ſtabbed furiouſly with a dagger four or five of thoſe that were neareſt to him, who died inſtantly of their wounds. He ſeized then a hatchet, which had been brought with an intention to knock him down, and cut and maimed the arms and faces of fourteen or fifteen more. The guards being called on board, fired a piſtol at him, loaded with caſe-ſhot, in order to make him let go the fatal hatchet, but the ſhot hit him in the lower part of the under jaw, which, added to his mad efforts and furious blows, forcibly diſtributed to the barge-planks and the empty air, occaſioned his falling quite exhauſted to the ground. He was immediately ſecured and conveyed to the hoſpital at Sens. Thus, five perſons owe their untimely end, and others are in danger of their lives, to the folly of ſome unguarded expreſſions, wanton jeſts, or inhoſpitable inſults on a peaceful ſtranger, becauſe he happened to wear an African

African or Oriental dreſs, a long beard, and to deny the Pope's infallibility.

Moſt of the imperial troops under-mentioned are already on their march towards the frontiers of Turkey; and which, with thoſe under marching orders for the ſame deſtination, amount to

94 battalions of infantry, of 1400 men each	135,306
3 battalions of artillery, 1000 each	3,000
63 diviſions of cavalry, 400 each	25,200
In the whole	163,560

To command which the following general officers are appointed; viz. one chief general, one quarter maſter general, two generals of cavalry, three generals of artillery, 14 lieutenant generals, and 27 major generals.

20th. A court martial has been ſitting ſome time at the Horſe-guards, on the trial of major John Browne, of the 67th regiment, upon a complaint exhibited by the members of a court-martial at Antigua, of diſreſpect to them, and on a charge of cruelty to Thomas Edwards, a private ſoldier. And yeſterday the court-martial delivered their ſentence, that the major was ſo far guilty of the diſreſpect laid to his charge, in that he had diſclaimed the authority of the Antigua court-martial to put him in arreſt, refuſed to pay obedience to them as a court, and ſubmitted to the arreſt on the ſole ground of the preſident being an officer of ſuperior rank to him. But for this contempt it was judged, that the very long period of the major's arreſt was a ſufficient puniſhment.—With reſpect to the private ſoldier, he was found guilty, not of *cruelty*, but of *oppreſſion*, and was ſentenced to be ſuſpended from pay and duty 309 days, the time during which he had confined the ſaid ſoldier without trial; and he was alſo ſentenced to pay the ſoldier 40 l.

The court alſo declared, that all courts-martial are entitled to obedience, how low ſoever the rank of the members that compoſe it; and that an attempt to depreciate the military character of a commanding officer, when not in the exerciſe of his command, was not an injury of a mere private nature, but within the cognizance of a court-martial.

NOVEMBER.

10th. At the court of directors for the Eaſt India company, held on the 7th, a letter was read from Sir Elijah Impey, acquainting the court that his majeſty has been pleaſed to accept of his reſignation of the office of chief juſtice of the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal. The ſalary annexed to the office, which is in the gift of his majeſty, is eight thouſand pounds a year.

12th. At about ſix o'clock on Saturday the 10th, a cruel murder was committed by Timothy Hardy, fellmonger, of Newton Flotman, near Norwich, on the body of Mr. John Aggus, his brother-in-law, who kept the Lamb inn in the Haymarket, at which houſe the barbarous deed was perpetrated.—Hardy, a ſhort time before he put his inhuman purpoſe in execution, was with

with Aggus's wife, who reproached him with his prodigality and diſſolute courſe of life, at which he did not ſeem to be much diſcompoſed, but turning about, he, with much ſeeming friendſhip, offered his hand to Aggus, and obſerved that "he did not wiſh to be at variance with him, although he diſagreed with his wife," and in the very act of ſhaking hands, he drew a knife and ripped up his belly about three inches on the left ſide above the navel, ſo that a large portion of the bowels came out, one of which was divided near two inches; ſeveral perſons were in the kitchen at the time, who, upon the coroner's inqueſt, gave evidence, that immediately after the ſhocking tranſaction Hardy ſaid, "I have done for you; and was my brother, John Hardy, of Lynn, here, I would ſerve him the ſame; and now I'll ſtab myſelf, for I know I muſt die for it."—He did make a feeble attempt for that purpoſe on his own body, but the wound was ſuperficial. Meſſrs. Donne, Norgate, and Rigby, were ſent for to the deceaſed, who ſtitched up the wounds, and adminiſtered every means of relief, notwithſtanding which he languiſhed until nine o'clock on Sunday evening, and then expired. Hardy was immediately taken into cuſtody, and upon the jury bringing in their verdict "wilful murder," was committed and properly ſecured to prevent his committing an act of violence upon himſelf, to elude the hand of juſtice.—It is not known what gave occaſion to ſuch unnatural conduct in Hardy towards his brother, who had always behaved to him with the greateſt kindneſs.

Bois le Duc, Nov. 13. Language can give but a feeble idea of the ravages and diſorders that have prevailed here from Thurſday the 15th to the following Saturday. Drums were beating inceſſantly to arms, and guns firing, with the moſt lamentable cries, and tumultuous ſhouts, which greatly terrified the burghers. Vaſt numbers of the ſoldiery ran in the utmoſt diſorder through the ſtreets with their bare ſabres, intent on plunder. In fact, the beſt houſes in the town were ſacked, not excepting even thoſe of the magiſtrates, and all ſuffered in a ſmaller or greater degree. The houſes of the ſtadtholderians were not exempted from ravage; the only diſtinction made between them and the patriots was, that the perſons of the latter were violated, while the property only of the others was in danger. This ungovernable tumult continued till ſome cavalry were diſpatched by the ſtadtholder, with orders to repreſs all diſorder.—They arrived about noon on Saturday, and were obliged to fire on the rioters, and killed ſome of them before they could reſtore tranquillity to the diſtreſſed inhabitants. On the following day, we were buſily employed in loading carts with goods that had been carried out of the houſes of their reſpective owners, and put in hiding-places till they could be conveniently carried away. In the gardens, the hedges, and the walls, money and jewels were found, which have been reſtored to their ſeveral proprietors, whenever they could be aſcertained. But a conſiderable part, and that the moſt valuable of the property, had been carried off by the rioters.

Her royal highneſs the princeſs of Orange, having written a letter to the reigning duke of Brunſwick, requeſting that 4000 Pruſſian troops might remain during the winter in

Holland—his ſerene highneſs has thought fit to comply therewith. The duke has alſo, in compliance with the princeſs's wiſhes, promiſed to recommend the unfortunate Dutch priſoners confined at Wezel, to the clemency of his Pruſſian majeſty.

The prince ſtadtholder has publiſhed an amneſty and general pardon to all thoſe who took up arms againſt him, or who ſigned addreſſes or declarations inimical to the dignity and intereſt of his ſerene highneſs.

The king of Spain has ordered, that a calculation ſhould be taken of the number of inhabitants of Madrid, which are accurately ſtated as follow:

Up to 16 years of age	Boys	17,276	34,218
	Girls	16,942	
From 16 to 25	Men	14,182	27,364
	Women	13,182	
From 25 to 40	Men	23,495	43,601
	Women	20,106	
From 40 to 50	Men	10,221	19,161
	Women	8,940	
From 50 upwards	Men	8,603	20,545
	Women	11,942	
Friars — —		1,824	2,646
Nuns — —		822	
Reſidents in the convents, colleges, and hoſpitals		6,483	
	Total		154,018

Dublin, Nov. 17. This morning the funeral proceſſion of his Grace the Duke of Rutland commenced about twelve o'clock, at the Houſe of Lords, and proceeded through Grafton-ſtreet, Naſſau-ſtreet, Dawſon-ſtreet, round Stephen's green, King's-ſtreet, William-ſtreet, Church lane, Dame-ſtreet, Parliament-ſtreet, Eſſex-bridge, Capel-ſtreet, Mary-ſtreet, Henry-ſtreet, Sackville ſtreet, Summer-hill, Circular-road, to the platform on the north-wall, where the barge waited with the king's boat to receive the body, and conveyed it from thence in proceſſion to his majeſty's yacht.

The town-major attended by a troop of horſe preceded the proceſſion. The train of royal Iriſh artillery followed. Their rear was brought up with the regimental band playing a ſolemn dirge. The battalion companies of the ſeveral regiments in the garriſon followed; and after them their reſpective grenadier companies. They were ſucceeded by the whole of the army eſtabliſhment, and the commander in chief, followed by the bands of muſic belonging to the ſix regiments embodied, which formed a moſt affecting combination of plaintive harmony. The ſtandards of the orders of the garter and St. Patrick were borne on lances, and the arms of theſe reſpective orders, along with thoſe of his grace, were diſplayed on the mourning horſes. The Dublin herald carried the coronet on a velvet cuſhion—between which and the viceregal body, a few officers of the houſhold intervened—The body was attended on each ſide by pages, aid-du-camps, and twelve yeomen of the guards, carrying eſcutcheons on their halberds—the mourning chariot was drawn by eight horſes, covered with velvet, each horſe led by a groom, the coachman in deep mourning—the chief mourners were the lords juſtices in their coaches, with their train-bearers, &c. attended by a troop of horſe—then ſucceeded the lord mayor, as chief magiſtrate of the metropolis—the nobility, judges, commons, ſtate officers, king's counſel, and corporations of Dublin, the univerſity, rectors, and curates of the ſeveral pariſhes, the different boards, governors of the bank of Ireland, &c. and

a ſquadron

a ſquadron of horſe cloſed the proceſſion.

The multitude of ſpectators was innumerable—but owing to the precaution of the commiſſioners of police, in conjunction with the right honourable the lord mayor, no material accident happened—no ſcaffolds were ſuffered to be erected in the ſtreets.

The minute guns in the park commenced firing at ſix o'clock this morning—and the bells of the churches rung their dead peals during the day.

A few days ago, while one Fenner, a turner, and Philpot, a carpenter, were drinking together at the ſign of the three compaſſes at Tunbridge Wells, a quarrel aroſe between them, which proceeded to blows. During the battle, which was ſeverely conteſted for ſome time, the fright had ſo great an effect on Mrs. Peek, the landlady, that ſhe expired, though the moſt immediate and neceſſary means were applied for her recovery. But what is more extraordinary, on the news of her death being carried to a Mr. Field, at Mount Ephraim, about half a mile diſtant, and a relation of the deceaſed, the ſhock was ſo great, that he died while the melancholy ſtory was relating to him.

DIED.—In Drury-lane, in the 104th year of her age, Mrs. Alchorne, who ſeveral years ſince was ſhewn about as the ſtrong woman.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. This day ſome fiſhermen fiſhing in the river Thames, near Poplar, with much difficulty, drew into their boat a ſhark yet alive, but apparently very ſickly; it was taken on ſhore, and being opened, in its belly were found a ſilver watch, a metal chain, and a cornelian ſeal, together with ſeveral ſmall pieces of gold lace, ſuppoſed to have belonged to ſome young gentleman, who was unfortunate enough, to have fallen overboard; but that the body and other parts had either been digeſted, or otherwiſe voided; but the watch and gold lace not being able to paſs through it, the fiſh had thereby become ſickly, and would in all probability very ſoon have died. The watch had the name of Henry Watſon, London, N° 1369, and the works are very much impaired. On theſe circumſtances being made public, Mr. Henry Watſon, watch-maker, in Shoreditch, recollected, that about two years ago he ſold the watch to Mr. Ephraim Thompſon, of Whitechapel, as a preſent to his ſon, on going out on his firſt voyage on board the ſhip Polly, captain Vane, bound to Coaſt and Bay. About three leagues off Falmouth, by a ſudden heel of the veſſel, during a ſquall, maſter Thompſon fell overboard, and was no more ſeen. The news of his being drowned ſoon after came to the knowledge of his friends, who little thought of hearing any thing more concerning him. Mr. Thompſon is ſaid to have purchaſed the ſhark, to preſerve it as a memorial of ſo ſingular an event. It is the largeſt ever remembered to have been taken in the Thames, being from the tip of the ſnout to the extremity of the tail 9 feet 3 inches; from the ſhoulder to the extremity of the body, 6 feet one inch; round the body, in the thickeſt part, 6 feet 9 inches. The width of the jaws, when extended, 17 inches. It has five rows of

teeth, consequently five years old, having an additional row every year, till it arrives at its full growth.

7th. Between one and two o'clock, Lord George Gordon was apprehended at a jew's house in Birmingham, for a contempt of the court of King's Bench, in consequence of a libel.

On Saturday evening he was brought before Mr. Justice Buller, when a warrant was made out, and his lordship is now lodged in the King's Bench.

8th. All of the Westminster gang of house-breakers, who have been apprehended, were finally committed to Newgate for trial at the ensuing sessions.—Fudge, the youngest in the gang, is about thirteen years of age, and the rest between that and twenty-one.—Durham was formerly one of the choir at Westminster-abbey; and Grace Mattocks, at whose house the gang usually met to play at cards, dance, and regale themselves, is said to have been the cause of hanging more young men than any other character, of a similar description, in the metropolis.

There were present, at the examination, the Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Braddyll, Sir James La Roche, &c.

Fleming, the pawnbroker, and receiver of the various property taken by these depredators, gave information of twenty-eight robberies, the greater part of which, it appears, was committed in the neighbourhood of Westminster.

By the vigilance and activity of Mr. Justice Addington, of King's-street, Westminster, late on Saturday evening Marshall and Willoughby, who belong to the gang, were taken in custody at a private house in the neighbourhood of St. Giles's, and, after an examination, were committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell. It has been discovered that some of the property taken by this desperate and alarming combination of villains, was sunk in the New River, near Islington; in consequence of which diligent search was made on Saturday last to recover it; but we have not been able to learn whether it has been taken up.

Particulars relative to the horrid murders committed lately at his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin's palace.

His grace intending to remove from Tallagh to Dublin, for the winter, sent his steward before him, on Tuesday morning, with orders to the servants in town, consisting of a porter and housekeeper, to prepare for his reception. The steward coming to the palace in Kevin-street, about ten o'clock, found the outward gate fast; this incident surprised him, and seeing fire and smoke issue from the roof, he forced the gate, and on entering the palace found the housekeeper on the floor of an apartment near the kitchen, stark naked and weltering in her blood, her skull being broke in various places, and several stabs in the body. On searching other parts of the house in company with a few of the neighbours, the porter, an aged man, late a pensioner of the royal hospital, was discovered on one of the staircases, with his throat cut, so as almost to sever the head from the body. A man was after found on the leads, who is sent to prison on a strong suspicion of being concerned, and two women have been since taken up and committed

as accomplices in the attrocious act. It ſeems probable that the villains, to conceal the murder of the innocent ſervants, and diſappointed in their expectations, as neither money nor plate were in the houſe, ſet it on fire. The flames were ſoon extinguiſhed, without doing much damage.

His grace's porter had been ſuppoſed to have accumulated a ſum of money, and againſt this only, it is thought, were the efforts of the bloody villains directed. It is imagined they firſt proceeded to attack him; and it is evident he made a great reſiſtance, from the marks of violence on his body. On one of his ſhoulders there is a great ſwelling, from a bruiſe he received; and the arm, near the elbow, is intirely broken, with the bone almoſt perforating through the ſkin. An iron ſpade lay near him, which was probably the inſtrument uſed in diſpatching him—when down they cut his throat quite acroſs—the young woman they butchered in the ſame horrid manner above ſtairs. They then dragged the body of the murdered man to the head of the ſtaircaſe, and placing his head juſt over the ſtairs, ſcattered a great quantity of greaſe all over them, and ſet them on fire. The fire, however, did not ſpread according to their wiſhes, and very little damage was ſuſtained from it. A quantity of plate was in the houſe, which they never touched. It is evident the miſcreants muſt have been acquainted with the houſe, as not a ſingle lock or bolt was forced.

The manner in which the woman was murdered, bore, if poſſible, more marks of barbarity than that of the man. One of her thigh bones was broken: ſhe had ſeveral marks of violence on her body, and was run through the heart apparently with a ſmall ſword. The ſcull at the back of her head was broken to ſplinters, and ſeemed as if it had been pounded with a weighty hammer. The greaſe which the wretches ſcattered about the grand ſtairs, they obtained from a ſtore-room, in which tallow and candles were kept.

Prince William Henry, in the Pegaſus, arrived at Plymouth. 27th.

DIED.—At Ryde, in the Iſle of Wight, Mr. Walter Henry Franklin, aged 103 years.

BIRTHS for the year 1787.

Jan. 5. The Counteſs of Granard, of a daughter.
6. Lady of Sir John W. Pole, Bart. of a ſon.
14. Viſcounteſs Turner, of a ſon.
23. Lady Brownlow, of a daughter
26. The Hon. Mrs. Arundel, of a ſon.
29. Hon. Mrs. Watſon, of a daughter.
Feb. 17. The lady of Sir David Carnegie, Bart. of a daughter.
The lady of Sir John Frederick, Bart. of a daughter.
24. The lady of the Right Hon. Charles Townſhend, of a ſon.
26. Mrs. Pretyman, lady of the Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, of a ſon.
March 21. Lady Melbourne, of a daughter.
29. Lady of Sir Thomas Dyke

Dyke Acland, Bart. of a ſon.

April 2. Counteſs of Leiceſter, of a daughter.

16. The lady of Sir H. Paulett St. John, Bart. of a ſon.

24. Lady Harrington, of a ſon.

May 10. The Viſcounteſs Falmouth, of a ſon.

14. At Dublin, Right Hon. Lady Earlsfort, of a daughter.

At Dublin, Lady of the Right Hon. J. Fitzgibbon, attorney-general of Ireland, of a daughter.

June 7. Lady Charlotte Dundas, of a daughter.

20. Lady of the Hon. Col. Stanhope, of a ſon.

21. The lady of Sir Henry Gough, Bart. of a ſon.

23. The Ducheſs of Northumberland, of a ſon.

July 8. Marchioneſs of Buckingham, of a daughter.

11. Lady of Sir H. S. Liddell, Bart. of a ſon.

26. Lady Elizabeth Fane, of a daughter.

Lady of Sir E. Smyth, Bart. of a ſon.

Aug. 10. Lady of Sir Thomas Whichcote, Bart. of a ſon.

16. Viſcounteſs Galway, of a ſon.

22. Lady Hawke, of a daughter.

29. Counteſs Waldegrave, of a ſon.

Lady Ruthven, of a ſon.

30. Ducheſs of Beaufort, of a ſon.

Lately, in Ireland, the Ducheſs of Leinſter, of a daughter.

Sept. 16. Mrs. Thurlow, lady of the Lord Biſhop of Durham, of a daughter.

Lady Liſmore, of a ſon.

Lady Stourton, of a ſon.

Oct. 3. Counteſs of Warwick, of a daughter.

Lady Forteſcue, of a daughter.

21. Lady of Sir James Grant, Bart. of a ſon.

Nov. 11. Lady George Henry Cavendiſh, of a daughter.

21. Lady Bayham, of a daughter.

22. Lady Deerhurſt, of a daughter.

29. Counteſs of Tankerville, of a daughter.

Dec. 1. Lady of Henry Bankes, Eſq; M. P. of a ſon.

9. Lady of the Right Hon. Richard Pepper Arden, attorney-general, of a daughter.

Lady of Sir Henry Daſhwood, Bart. of a ſon.

MARRIAGES for the year 1787.

Jan. 9. Hugh Owen, Eſq; member of parliament for Pembroke, to Miſs Owen, daughter of the late General Owen.

25. Lord Sempill, to Miſs Melliſh, daughter of the late Charles Melliſh, Eſq.

Feb. 27. Lord Arden, to Miſs Wilſon, daughter of Sir Thomas Spencer Wilſon, Bart.

March

March 10. Hon. John Townſhend, to Miſs Poyntz, daughter of the late William Poyntz, Eſq.

31. Joſeph Yates, Eſq; ſon of the late Sir Joſeph Yates, to Miſs Charlotte St. John, daughter of the late Lord St. John, of Bletſoe.

Hon. W. Forward, to Miſs Caulfield.

April 8. Lord Herbert, ſon of the Earl of Pembroke, to Miſs Beauclerk.

9. Rob. Dundas, ſolicitor general of Scotland, to Miſs Dundas, daughter to the treaſurer of the navy.

12. Lord Carysfort, to Miſs Grenville, ſiſter to the Marquis of Buckingham.

May 12. Hon. Geo. Neville, brother to the Earl of Abergavenny, to Miſs Walpole, daughter of the Hon. Richard Walpole.

24. Earl of Aldborough, to Miſs Henniker, daughter of Sir John Henniker, Bart.

27. The Earl of Altamont, to the Hon. Louiſa Howe, youngeſt daughter of Lord Viſcount Howe.

29. The Hon. R. Lumley Saville, to the Hon. Henrietta Willoughby.

June 5. Edward Place, Eſq. to Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Aberdeen.

7. Reverend Sir Thomas Broughton, Bart. to Lady Anne Windſor.

20. Lord Mulgrave, to Miſs Cholmley, daughter of Nathaniel Cholmley, Eſq.

26. Lord Ballendon, to Mrs. Sarah Cuming, of Jamaica.

July 7. Sir John Whalley Smythe Gardiner, Bart. to Miſs Mary Newcombe, daughter of the late Dean of Rocheſter.

Sir John Ramſden, Bart. to the Hon. Louiſa Suſannah Ingram Shepheard, daughter of the late Lord Viſcount Irwin.

12. Sir John Swynburne, Bart. to Miſs Emma Eliz. Bennet, of St. James's, Weſtminſter.

30. Penn Curzon, Eſq; to the Hon. Miſs Howe, daughter to Lord Viſc. Howe.

Aug. 3. Hon. Charles Redlynch Strangeways, brother to the Earl of Ilcheſter, to Miſs Jane Haine, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Haine.

11. At Milan, by diſpenſation from the pope, the Marquis Lewis Mariſcotti, to Lady Sophia Butler, daughter of the late Earl of Laneſborough.

18. Lord Compton, to Miſs Smith, daughter of Joſhua Smith, Eſq. of Earl Stoke Park, Wilts.

Sept. 17. Lord Barnard, eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Darlington,

lington, to Lady Catharine Powlet, daughter of the Duke of Bolton.

22. Howell Price, Esq; of Carmarthenshire, to the Right Hon. Lady Aylmer.

Oct. 29. Sir John Senhouse, Bart. of Carlisle, to Miss Asley, of St. Leger's Ashby, Northamptonshire.

Dec. 29. Viscount Sudley, son of the Earl of Arran, to Miss Tyrrel, daughter and co-heiress of the late Sir John Tyrrel, Bart.

PROMOTIONS *for the Year 1787, from the London Gazette, &c.*

Jan. 5. Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, secretary of state in Ireland, to be privy counsellor in Great Britain.

— 10. Henry Lyte, Esq. to be secretary and keeper of the privy seal, &c. to the prince of Wales.

Henry Lyte, Esq. Col. Gerrard Lake, and Col. Smith Hulse, to be treasurers and receivers-general of his royal highness's revenues.

Col. Samuel Hulse, to be one of his privy council.

— 20. George Brown, Thomas Wharton, James Stoddart, James Balmain, and Robert Graham, Esqrs. to be commissioners of excise in Scotland.

— 26. Sir James Eyre, Knt. to be chief baron of the exchequer.

— 27. Dr. Thomas Thurlow, bishop of Lincoln, to be bishop of Durham.

Jan. 30. Rev. George Cotton, LL.D. to be dean of Chester.

Feb. 9. Sir Alexander Thomson, Knt. Simon Le Blanc, and Soulden Laurence, Esqrs. to be serjeants at law.

Sir Nash Grose, Knt. to be one of the Justices of the King's Bench.

Sir Alexander Thomson, Knt. to be a baron of the exchequer.

— 19. Right Hon. John Charles Villiers, sworn of his majesty's privy council.

— 20. Dr. George Pretyman, to be bishop of Lincoln.

— 24. George Miller, Esq. to be consul in North and South Carolina, and Georgia, and deputy-commissary for commercial affairs to the United States of America.

— 27. Dr. George Pretyman to be dean of St. Paul's, and canon residentiary.

March 17. Rev. Samuel Smith, LL.D. to be a prebendary of Westminster.

Rev. William Pearce, B. D. to be master of the Temple.

— 23. Sir John Skynner, Knt. sworn of his majesty's privy council.

April 17. John Seton, Esq. to be governor of St. Vincent.

Arthur Philip, Esq. to be governor of New South Wales.

— 24. John Edward Astley, Esq. son of Sir Edward Astley, Bart. to be one of the equerries to the Duke of Cumberland.

— 25. Gerard Forteſcue, Esq. to be Ulster king at arms, and principal herald of all Ireland.

— 27. Sir Thomas Wroughton, K. B. envoy extraordinary to Sweden, to be minister plenipotentiary at the same court.

William Fawkener, Esq. to be envoy

envoy extraordinary to the grand-duke of Tuſcany.

May 1. Earl of Leven, to be high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland.

Dr. George Hill, to be dean of the order of the Thiſtle, and of the chapel royal, in Scotland.

Earl of Dunmore, to be governor of the Bahama Iſlands.

— 5. William Cockell, Eſq. ſerjeant at law.

— 10. Hugh Carleton, Eſq. to be chief juſtice of the common pleas in Ireland.

John Bennett, Eſq. to be one of the judges of the King's Bench, in Ireland.

— 11. Arthur Wolfe, Eſq. to be ſolicitor-general of Ireland.

— 14. Lord chief juſtice Carleton, to be a privy counſellor of Ireland.

— 23. Appointments in the houſehold of the prince of Wales, viz.

Lord Southampton, groom of the ſtole.

Viſcount Parker, Viſcount Melbourne, Lord Spencer Hamilton, and Viſcount St. Aſaph, gentlemen of the bedchamber.

Henry Lyte, Eſq. treaſurer.

Hon. Hugh Conway, maſter of the robes and privy purſe.

Col. S. Hulſe, comptroller of the houſehold.

J. Kemys Tynte, Eſq. Col. Sir John S. Dyer, Bart. Hon. G. Fitzroy, Col. Stevens, Lieut. Col. St. Leger, Hon. Lieut. Col. Stanhope, Warwick Lake, Eſq. Lieut. Col. Sloughter, and the Hon. Edward Bouverie, grooms of the bed-chamber.

Rev. Dr. J. Lockman, clerk of the cloſet,

Col. Gerard Lake, firſt equerry and commiſſioner of the ſtables.

Col. Charles Leigh, Edward Scott, Eſq. Major Churchill, Hon. Capt. Ludlow, and Anthony St. Leger, Eſq. equerries.

June 1. Henry, Duke of Beaufort, to be lord lieutenant of the county of Brecon.

— 23. Lord Carteret and Lord Walſingham, to the office of poſtmaſter-general.

— 27. Henry Partridge, Foſter Bower, and Edward Law, Eſqrs. to be king's council.

John Toler, Eſq. to be the king's ſecond ſerjeant at law, and the Hon. Joſeph Hewitt to be his third ſerjeant at law in Ireland.

July 5. Dr. Richard Warren and Dr. Robert Hallifax, to be phyſicians in ordinary to the prince of Wales.

— 7. Sir George Auguſtus Eliott, K. B. to be baron Heathfield, of Gibraltar.

— 10. Geo. Auguſtus, Lord Heathfield, to have the arms of Gibraltar, as an honourable augmentation of his family arms.

— 14. Sir George Baker, Bart. to be phyſician in ordinary to his majeſty.

Aug. 2. George Hardinge, Eſq. to be judge of the counties of Glamorgan, Brecon, and Radnor.

— 4. Lord Hervey, to be envoy extraordinary to the great duke of Tuſcany.

— 8. The Duke of York, ſworn of his majeſty's privy council.

— 10. Major-general Grenville, to be comptroller; Col. George Hotham, to be treaſurer; Col. Robert Abercrombie, Lieut. Col. William Morſhead, Capt. Charles Crauford, and Henry Bunbury, Eſq.

Esq. to be grooms of the bedchamber to the duke of York.

Aug. 11. Rev. Charles Inglis, D.D. to be bishop of the new see of Nova Scotia.

— 18. Right Hon. W. Eden, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Spain.

— 28. William Richardson, John Craven Carden, Charles Desvoeux, Edward Leslie, Henry Mannix, and Richard Gorges Meredyth, Esqrs. to be baronets of Ireland.

Sept. 15. Henry Fraser, Esq. to be secretary of legation at Petersburg.

— 24. Richard, Viscount Howe, and John Montagu, and Hugh Pigot, Esqrs. to be admirals of the White.

Molyneux, Lord Schuldam, Sir Hugh Palliser, and Sir Peter Parker, baronets, John Vaughan, John Reynolds, and Matthew Barton, Esqrs. and the Hon. Samuel Barrington, to be admirals of the Blue.

Marriot Arbuthnot, Robert Roddam, George Darby, John Campbell, James Gambier, William Lloyd, and Francis William Drake, Esqrs. to be vice-admirals of the Red.

Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. Sir Joshua Rowley, Bart. Sir Edward Vernon, knight, John Evans, Mark Milbanke, Nicholas Vincent, and Robert Edwards, Esqrs. to be vice-admirals of the White.

Samuel, Lord Hood, Sir John Lockhart Ross, Bart. Sir Chaloner Ogle, knight, Thomas Graves, Robert Digby, Benjamin Marlow, and Alexander Hood, Esqrs. to be vice-admirals of the Blue.

Sir Richard Hughes, Sir Francis Samuel Drake, and Sir Edmund Affleck, Barts. to be rear-admirals of the Red.

*** The following captains were appointed flag-officers, viz.

Sir John Lindsay, K. B. and John Elliot and William Hotham, Esqrs. to be rear-admirals of the Red.

Sir Charles Middleton, Bart. Sir Richard King, Knt. John Peyton, John Carter Allen, John Dalrymple, Herbert Sawyer, and Jonathan Falconer, Esqrs. to be rear-admirals of the White.

Sir John Jervis, K. B. Sir Richard Bickerton, and Sir Charles Douglas, Barts. Hon. John Leveson Gower, and Philip Affleck and Adam Duncan, Esqrs. to be rear-admirals of the Blue.

Hon. William Cornwallis, and Philip Cosby and George Bowyer, Esqrs. to be colonels of marines.

— 28. Major-generals Spencer Cowper, William Wynyard, Edward Mathew, Richard Burton Philipson, Francis Smith, John Pattison, John Douglas, Hon. Alexander Leslie, Samuel Cleayland, Hon. Henry St. John, Sir William Erskine, John Campbell, and Sir George Osborn, Bart. to be lieut. generals.

Colonels Thomas, Earl of Lincoln, John Campbell, John Leland, James Hamilton, John Scratton, Allan Campbell, James Rooke, Samuel Birch, Charles Crosbie, John Martin, Winter Blathwayte, John, Earl of Suffolk, Ralph Abercrombie, Hon. Chapel Norton, Alexander Rigby, and John Gunning, to be major-generals.

— 29. John Douglas, D.D. to be bishop of Carlisle, and dean of Windsor.

Oct. 2. John Cayley, Esq. to be consul-general of Russia.

Oct. 25. Samuel Wallis, Esq. to be a commissioner of the navy.

— 26. Paul Joddrell, M. D. knighted.

— 27. George, Viscount Townshend, to be marquis Townshend.

Samuel Marshall, Esq. to be a commissioner of the victualling-office.

John Daniell, Esq. to be comptroller of the salt duties.

— 20. Richard, Lord Rokeby, archbishop of Armagh; James, Lord Lifford, Lord Chancellor; and the Right Hon. John Forster, speaker of the house of commons; to be lord justices of Ireland.

Nov. 2. George, Marquis of Buckingham, to be lord lieutenant of Ireland.

— 6. Hon. and Rev. Dr. John Harley, to be bishop of Hereford.

— 17. Dr. Beilby Porteus, bishop of Chester, to be bishop of London.

— 27. Charles Runnington, Samuel Marshall, and James Watson, Esqrs. to be serjeants at law.

— 30. Right Hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert, a privy counsellor.

Dec. 5. Henry, Duke of Beaufort, to be lord lieutenant of Leicestershire.

— 7. Beilby, bishop of London, a privy counsellor.

— 8. Beilby, bishop of London, to be dean of the chapels royal.

Rev. Benjamin Blayney, to be Hebrew professor at Oxford.

— 15. Rev. William Longford, D. D. to be prebendary of Windsor.

Rev. John Plumptree, M. A. to be prebendary of Worcester.

— 16. Right Hon. Alleyne Fitzherbert, chief secretary to the lord lieutenant, to be a privy counsellor of Ireland.

Dec. 29. Thomas Millar, of Barskimming, Esq. to be president of his majesty's college of justice in Scotland.

Robert M'Queen, of Braxfield, Esq. to be his majesty's justice-clerk in Scotland.

John Swinton, of Swinton, Esq. to be one of his majesty's commissioners of justiciary in Scotland.

John Maclaurin, Esq. to be one of the ordinary lords of session in Scotland.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majesty in Council, for* 1787.

Berkshire. William Byam Martin, of White Knights, Esq.

Bedfordshire. Joseph Partridge, of Cranfield, Esq.

Bucks. R. Dayrell, of Lillingstone Dayrell, Esq.

Cornwall. Sam. Thomas, of Tregols, Esq.

Cumberland. Thomas Whelpdale, of Skirsgill-Hall, Esq.

Chester. Sir Richard Brooke, of Norton, Bart.

Cambridgeshire and *Huntingdonshire.* William Camps, of Wilburton, Esq.

Devonshire. J. Quick, of Newton Saint Cyres, Esq.

Dorsetshire. Peter William Baker, of Ranston, Esq.

Derbyshire. Sir Rich. Arkwright, of Cromford.

Essex. J. Judd, of Chelmsford, Esq.

Gloucestershire. Sam. Richardson, of Newent, Esq.

Herefordshire. R. Cope Hopton, of Cannon Froome, Esq.

Hertfordshire. J. Roper, of Berkhamstead St. Peter, Esq.

Kent.

Kent. J. Cotton, of Hill Park, Esq.
Lancashire. William Bamford, of Bamford-Hall, Esq.
Leicestershire. John Goodacre, junior, of Ashby Parva, Esq.
Lincolnshire. Theoph. Buckworth, of Spalding, Esq.
Monmouthshire. Thomas Lewis, of Chepstow, Esq.
Norfolk. Edward Billingsley, of Hockwold with Wilton, Esq.
Northamptonshire. William Walcot, jun. of Oundle, Esq.
Northumberland. Edward Collingwood, of Chirton, Esq.
Nottinghamshire. T. Waterhouse, of Beckenham, Esq.
Oxfordshire. Charles Marsack, of Caversham Park, Esq.
Rutlandshire. George Belgrave, of Ridlington, Esq.
Shropshire. Humphry Sandford, of the Isle, Esq.
Somersetshire. Nath. Dalton, of Shanks, Esq.
Southampton, county of. Sir Henry Powlett St. John, of Dogmersfield, Bart.
Staffordshire. Thomas Whieldon, of Fenton, Esq.
Suffolk. J. Meadows Theobald, of Henley, Esq.
Surrey. Richard Ladbroke, of Tadworth Court, Esq.
Sussex. Richard Wyatt, of Trimmings, Esq.
Warwickshire, Thomas Mason, of Stratford upon Avon, Esq.
Worcestershire. Richard Harrison, of Temple Langhern, Esq,
Wiltshire. Isaac Webb Horlock, of Ashwick, esq.
Yorkshire. Francis Ferrand Foljambe, of Aldwork, Esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Breconshire. John Jones, of Llanavanvawr, Esq.
Cardiganshire. J. Martin, of Allt-goch, Esq.
Carmarthenshire. Hugh Mears, of Llanstephar, Esq.
Glamorganshire. John Price, of Llandaff-court, Esq.
Pembrokeshire. James Phillips, of Penty-park, Esq.
Radnorshire. John Price, of Penny Bont, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea. J. Griffith Lewis, of Tryselwyn, Esq.
Carnarvonshire. John Lloyd, of Gassel Gysarch, Esq.
Denbighshire, Sir Foster Cunliffe, of Acton, Bart.
Flintshire. P. York, of Maes y Groes, Esq.
Merionethshire. John Jones, of Rhyd y sen, Esq.
Montgomeryshire. Trevor Lloyd, of Llanasen, Esq.

DEATHS *for the Year* 1787.

Jan. 2. Mrs. Moss, lady of the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells, sister to the Countess Dowager of Radnor and Sir Philip Hales, Bart.

5. Sir John Tottenham, Bart. father of Lord Loftus.

7. The Hon. Thomas Compton Ferrers Townshend, second son to the Earl of Leicester.

8. Lieut. general Sir William Draper, K. B.

10. Henry Peckham, Esq. king's counsel.

13. Hon. Mr. Justice Willes, one of the judges of the court of King's Bench.

14. The Earl of Carhampton, father to her royal highness the Dutchess of Cumberland.

15. The

15. The Right Hon. Lady Petre.

18. Dr. John Egerton, biſhop of Durham.

29. Lady Frederick, relict of the late Sir John Frederick, Bart.

Feb. 10. Drigue Billers Olmius, Lord Waltham: the title extinct.

13. The Compte Gravier de Vergennes, late prime miniſter of France.

16. George, Duke of St. Alban's.

March 8. Samuel Graves, Eſq. admiral of the White.

15. Sir William Boothby, Bart. lieut. general, and colonel of the 6th regiment of foot.

April 1. Mary, Counteſs Talbot, Dowager of William, Earl Talbot.

2. Major-general Sir John Wrotteſley, Bart. col. of the 45th regiment.

Hon. General Gage, brother to Lord Viſcount Gage.

6. Sir Merrick Burrell, Bart. the title extinct.

Hon. Charlotte Fettiplace, third ſiſter of Lord Howe.

Lord Viſcount Montague, only ſon of Earl Beaulieu.

9. Right Hon. Joſeph Browne, Lord Viſcount Montague.

Hon. Thomas Moleſworth.

Robert Shirley, Earl Ferrers.

Princeſs Anne Amelia, aunt to his Pruſſian majeſty.

The infant and only ſon of the Marquis of Graham.

May 6. Frederick, Viſcount Bolingbroke.

14. St. Leger St. Leger, Lord Viſcount Doneraile.

Lord Viſcount Strongford.

24. Francis Pierrepoint Burton Conyngham, Lord Conyngham.

Governor Johnſtone.

25. Hon. Francis Colyear, youngeſt ſon of the Earl of Portmore.

26. At Paris, Lord John Murray.

Lately at Paris, Lord Elcho.

June 1. Lady Jane Home, ſiſter of the late Earl of Home.

4. Miſs Dawſon, only daughter of Viſcount Cremorne.

6. Vice-admiral Robert Duff.

12. Hon. Grey Bennet, youngeſt ſon of the Earl of Tankerville.

Hon. Mrs. Moleſworth, ſiſter to the preſent Lord Moleſworth.

20. Hon. Mrs. Magnus, eldeſt daughter of Lord Newark.

22. Lady Iſabella Moore, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Drogheda.

27. Sir Thomas Heathcote, Bart.

July 1. James Townſend, Eſq. alderman of London.

Sir James Hunter Blair, Bart.

4. Sir Richard Jebb, Bart. M. D.

7. General John Severne, col. of the 8th regiment of Dragoons.

15. Lady Iſabella Stanley.

20. Viſcounteſs Dowager Wenman.

21. George, Earl of Shrewſbury.

Auguſt 4. Major-general John Salter.

14. Lady Boughton, relict of Sir Edward Boughton, Bart.

Edmund Law, D. D. Lord Biſhop of Carliſle.

16. Right Hon. John Ponſonby, late ſpeaker of the Iriſh houſe of commons.

22. Sir Thomas Wroughton, K. B.

Sept. 8. William Campbell, Eſq. brother-german of the late John, Duke of Argyle.

12. Jane, Counteſs of Northington, relict of the late lord chancellor Northington.

24. Anna Maria, Counteſs Dowager of Pomfret.

Oct. 9. Hon. Mr. Dawſon, only ſurviving ſon of Lord Cremorne.

12. Sir Richard Hoare, Bart.

20. Lord

20. Lord James Beauclerk, lord biſhop of Hereford.

24. Charles, Duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Lately in France, George, Earl of Dalhouſie.

22. Hon. George Shirley, only ſurviving ſon of Robert, firſt Earl Ferrers.

Nov. 2. Admiral Sir James Douglas, Bart.

3. Dr. Robert Lowth, lord biſhop of London.

16. George, Marquis of Tweedale.

26. Hon. and Rev. Mr. Hamilton, brother to the Earl of Abercorn.

Dec. 1. Sir Richard Sutton, Bart. M. P. for Boroughbridge.

7. Mrs. Mary Pitt, youngeſt ſiſter of the late Earl of Chatham.

15. Lady of admiral Sir Edmund Affleck, Bart.

21. John, Earl of Hyndford.

23. Madame Louiſa of France, daughter of the late king.

27. Thomas, Earl of Kinnoul.

Jane, Marchioneſs of Lothian.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

A Narrative of the Proceedings in Two Informations exhibited in the Court of King's Bench, in January 1787, *againſt Lord* George Gordon—*One at the Suit of the* French *Ambaſſador, for a libellous Publication againſt the* Queen of France, *and* Monſieur Barthelemy *Charge des Affaires from that Court; the other at the Suit of his Majeſty's Attorney General, for a libel entitled,* "The Priſoners Petition," *reflecting upon the Adminiſtration of Juſtice in this Country, particularly with reſpect to the Tranſportation of Convicts to* Botany Bay, *and tending to excite Priſoners to Mutiny.*

ON Tueſday the 25th of January, Lord George Gordon appeared in the Court of King's Bench, and ſtated to the judges, that he had received a ſummons from the ſolicitor of the treaſury to appear perſonally in court on Tueſday next after the octave of St. Hilary, to anſwer to an information to be exhibited againſt him on the king's behalf, for certain crimes and miſdemeanours. His lordſhip ſaid, that he had looked into the popiſh calendars, and thoſe ſort of books, to ſee what an octave meant; and that he found it was eight days from the celebration of the feaſt of the ſaint; that he had come himſelf, becauſe he was deſired perſonally to appear, and did not intend to be at any expence, or to employ any ſolicitor or counſel; his reaſon for which was, that one learned gentleman, who had formerly aſſerted his innocence, Sir Lloyd Kenyon, was raiſed (he was glad to ſee it) to a very high ſituation; and of the aſſiſtance of the other (Mr. Erſkine) he was deprived, he having been retained againſt him ſome time ago. The court informed Lord George of the courſe he muſt purſue; namely, to plead in the crown office, and that then he would have regular notice to prepare for trial; upon which he retired.—This information was at the ſuit of the French ambaſſador, for a libellous publication againſt the court of France.

On the day following, at the riſing of the court, Lord George appeared within the bar, with Blackſtone's Commentaries tied up in a handkerchief. He ſaid, that the attorney-general had filed an information againſt him, which blended the diſtinct and different informations, *Qui Tam* and by the maſter of the crown office, as the judges would perceive, by recurring to the doctrines contained in their good and worthy brother Blackſtone. [Here the bar could not refrain from laughter.] His lordſhip turned round, and told them,

them, they were ignorant of this diſtinction, becauſe it had originated in bad times; and that the only apology which could be made for the attorney general was, that he was equally incompetent on the ſubject. His lordſhip continued, that he did not chuſe to join iſſue with the attorney general, until he had communed with the court, for that he was *bonus et legalis homo*, and entitled to all the privileges of other ſubjects, *notwithſtanding he was excommunicated.*—The court told him, that the firſt ſtep was to appear. He replied that he had appeared yeſterday. The court then begged his attention; and told him, that the appearance muſt be filed; that then he might either move to quaſh, or might demur to the information, if it were defective on the face of it; or he might plead to it, and ſo come to trial.

On the 26th Lord George Gordon appeared again in the court of King's Bench, and informed the court, that he had an objection to ſtate to a proceſs which had been ſerved upon him. Mr. Juſtice Buller informed him that he interrupted the buſineſs of the court. Lord George anſwered, he was counſel for himſelf, and was as much entitled to be heard as any king's counſel. Mr. Juſtice Buller replied, that the attorney-general could not be heard out of his turn. Upon this information Lord George ſtepped within the bar, and took a ſeat between Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Cooper. The court having heard the motions of the king's counſel, called on Lord George, who aroſe and ſaid, that the nature of the buſineſs he had to ſtate to their lordſhips would render an apology for the interruption he had given totally unneceſſary. There was a *miſnomer*, or, at leaſt, a want of proper addition to the name inſerted in a proceſs ſerved upon him, of which he did not intend to take advantage, either by moving in abatement, or availing himſelf of a dilatory plea; for he wiſhed to accelerate his trial, and prove his innocence as ſoon as poſſible. For this reaſon he came forward to correct the court, by pointing out the error in their proceſs. This proceſs was directed to "George Gordon," without any addition whatever, which was an error; the other names were properly deſcribed, the chief juſtice had his ſtyle of William Earl Mansfield, and Richard Pepper Arden was denominated an eſquire. He had as good a right to the additions to his name as either of theſe, or even George Guelph himſelf. This proceſs did not deſcribe him; it ordered George Gordon to appear in court, but did not ſay, whether the George Gordon ſummoned was the right honourable Lord George Gordon, George Gordon, knight, eſquire, or yeoman. He knew four Lord George Gordons—which of them did this proceſs mean? He knew above a hundred gentlemen of the ſame name, to which of them was this proceſs directed? For theſe reaſons he called upon the court to correct their proceſs, which he knew was wrong, having as competent a knowledge in the buſineſs as any man in court. The court informed the noble lord, that in the preſent ſtate of the buſineſs the addition was unneceſſary, but that in caſe of proceſs of outlawry, then the additions would be eſſential to the proceeding. Lord George roſe and ſaid, that unleſs the court called upon him by his right name and additions, he

he would not anſwer; and bowing reſpectfully to the bench and bar, retired.

On the 1ſt of February Lord George Gordon made another appearance in the court of King's Bench, and took the ſame exceptions to the ſecond ſummons as he had to the firſt. He was interrupted by Mr. Baldwin, who ſubmitted to the court, that his lordſhip ought firſt to *appear*, before he could be heard. Lord George deſired he would *uſe his eyes, and judge whether he did not appear*. The court then told him, that formally, it was neceſſary that his appearance ſhould be recorded; and his lordſhip ſaying, that he meant to meet the charge *regularly* and fairly, the maſter was ordered to record his appearance to the information.

The information was then read, charging him with inſerting a libel in the Public Advertiſer of the 22d and 24th of Auguſt, on the queen of France, reſpecting the affair of Count Caglioſtro, with which information his lordſhip was charged by the clerk of the crown; and on being aſked whether he was guilty or not guilty, he attempted to ſhow the court, that *a confeſſion* ought not to be recorded; and produced ſome caſe of adultery. The attorney-general roſe, and candidly ſubmitted to the court, that as his lordſhip had *voluntarily* appeared, he was entitled to an imparlance to plead till next term; and his lordſhip making no objection to it, it was granted accordingly.

On the 25th of April Lord George Gordon appearing in the court of King's Bench, and being called upon to plead to the ſeveral informations exhibited againſt him, he deſired to plead to them ſeparately; but this requiſition being refuſed, he pleaded "not guilty" to them all. His lordſhip was attended by a corporal of the guards, who carried his books and papers.

On the 26th Lord George Gordon again appeared in court. He went up to the maſter of the crown-office, and the ſecondary, and told them, that the court had been wrong in preſſing him to plead, the day before, to two informations, as Mr. Jones, of the crown-office, had only ſerved him with one: however, he would ſpeak to the judges at the proper time; and when the other cauſes were over, and the court riſing, he addreſſed the judges, ſaying, that yeſterday he would not contend with their lordſhips, as to the propriety of pleading guilty to two informations at once, though he had only been ſerved with one, becauſe the court were his friends; and a grenadier having carried his bag, gave occaſion to one of the counſellors privately to aſk him, "if he came to beſiege them?" That day he had brought the bag himſelf, and requeſted the court to inform him, if he might ſubpœna one witneſs, and obtain the authority of the court to recover a letter relating to the firſt information, as the niceſt delicacy ought to be attended to, great perſonages only being involved in the cauſe between the court of France, St. James's, and himſelf.

The court informed his lordſhip, that the trial being now at iſſue, the delicacy was out of the queſtion; and that he might apply to their proper officers for whatever ſubpœnas and papers were neceſſary for his defence.

On the 30th of April Lord George Gordon appeared in court, with Mr. Wilkins the printer, who publiſhed

the papers charged upon his lordſhip as libellous. The information being read, he pleaded Not Guilty. Lord George took his ſeat among the king's counſel, and when the ordinary buſineſs of the court was concluded, aroſe, and addreſſed the bench. His lordſhip ſaid, he came for information; that he found by the books, that in all caſes where informations were brought on the part of the crown, the officers of the crown only could proceed, whereas, in this caſe, not one king's counſel appeared; he therefore deſired to know, if Meſſrs. Baldwin and Law, who had moved againſt him, were crown officers; or whether, in caſe they were not, they could act by delegation from the attorney-general? Mr. Juſtice Buller anſwered, they certainly could. Lord George then informed the court, that as a perſonal enmity was harboured againſt him by the ſheriff, who, he underſtood, was to ſtrike the pannel of the jury by which he was to be tried, he hoped the court would order the pannel to be ſtruck by ſome other officer of the court. Mr. Juſtice Buller ſaid, his lordſhip was irregular; that if he had any challenges to make, he might make them on the trial. Lord George anſwered, that if the ſheriff ſtruck the jury, he ſhould certainly challenge the array; but his wiſh was to come to trial upon ſuch fair grounds, as not to offend the jury by challenges. Mr. Juſtice Buller replied, that if his lordſhip had any objection to the ſheriff, he muſt ſtate it by affidavit. Lord George rebutted, that, if called upon, he was ready to ſtate his objections upon oath. Mr. Juſtice Buller ſurrebutted, that the jury was to be ſpecial, of courſe the ſheriff could not act partially, as he muſt give in a liſt of the freeholders at large, from which forty-eight being taken, each party had a right to ſtrike out twelve. Lord George made his bow, and retired.

Mr. Wilkins being called to plead to the information of the attorney-general againſt him, for printing the petition of the priſoners to his lordſhip to prevent their baniſhment to Botany Bay, pleaded Not Guilty.

On the 6th of June his lordſhip was tried before Juſtice Buller, at the court of King's Bench, on this information, for having written and publiſhed a pamphlet, intitled, "A Petition to Lord George Gordon from the Priſoners in Newgate, praying for his Interference, and that he would ſecure their Liberties, by preventing them from being ſent to Botany Bay."—This ſtrange performance being read, appeared to be a farrago of vague reaſoning, and abſurd reference, interlarded with a great number of Scripture phraſes. The paſſage quoted in the information was to the following purpoſe: "At a time when the nations of the earth endeavour wholly to follow the laws of God, it is no wonder that we, labouring under our ſevere ſentences, ſhould cry out from our dungeons and aſk redreſs. Some of us are about to ſuffer execution without righteouſneſs, and others to be ſent off to a barbarous country. The records of juſtice have been falſified, and the laws profanely altered by men like ourſelves. The bloody laws againſt us have been enforced, under a nominal adminiſtration, by mere whitened walls, men who poſſeſs only the ſhew of juſtice, and who have condemned us to death contrary to law, &c."

The

The attorney-general opened the profecution by remarking, that nothing could be more obvious than the purpofe for which this publication was intended.—It purported to be an addrefs to Lord George Gordon; but, as it would appear, had been actually written by himfelf, with a view either to raife a tumult among the prifoners within, in an endeavour to procure their deliverance; or, by exciting the compaffion of thofe without, to caufe a difturbance, and produce the fame effect. It was now but a few years fince, he faid, without meaning any particular application in the prefent inftance, that the citizens of London had feen thofe effects completed, which this pamphlet went to produce; and the confequences were too well known to need a repetition. It included the law and the judges in indifcriminate abufe: he would not contend for abfolute perfection in the latter; but thofe who condemned our laws, fhould not refide under their jurifdiction. The criminal law was no where attended to with more care, or enforced with fo much lenity.—This, however, had nothing to do with the prefent cafe, as the defendant had fufficiently fhewn, by his conduct, that reformation was not his object.

John Pitt, the turnkey of Newgate, was then called. He depofed, that, in the month of December laft, Lord George Gordon had repeatedly vifited the lodge, and afked to fee the prifoners, particularly thofe under fentence of death; which requeft was often denied. On the publication of the pamphlet in queftion, Lord George fent a copy to him, and others to Mr. Akerman, and Mr. Villette the ordinary. A few days after he found a man and woman diftributing them in great numbers at the door of the prifon. In confequence of this, he waited on Lord George, at his houfe in Welbeck-ftreet, and told him that there was fad work about the diftribution of the pamphlet; to which his lordfhip replied, "No matter; let them come on as foon as they pleafe; I am ready for them." He then faw a great number of the books in the room, and took one to Mr. Akerman, at Lord George's particular defire; and alfo gave a direction to the refidence of thofe perfons who had diftributed the pamphlets in the Old Bailey.

The records of the conviction of feveral perfons were then read and authenticated; and Mr. Akerman, and Mr. Hall, the keeper of the New Gaol, Southwark, were called, for the purpofe of proving, that there exifted, at the time, convicts of the fame defcription as thofe who were fuppofed to have addreffed the pamphlet to the defendant.

Lord George afked the witneffes, feverally, whether he had ever any conference with the perfons mentioned in the record; to which they replied in the negative.

His lordfhip then entered on his defence; which was of a ftrange and defultory kind. A petty fraud, he faid, committed in his own family, had firft drawn his attention to the laws againft felony, when he found that it conftituted a capital crime, though the fum taken was no more than *eighteen pence*. He then entered into a hiftory of our criminal law from the time of Athelftan, for the purpofe of proving that code, in its prefent ftate, to be by much too fanguinary. This, he faid, was a fubject which ftruck

his heart. He had communicated his ideas to Lord Mansfield, and to the recorder, who had admitted their propriety; and to Judge Gould, who had desired him to put his thoughts on paper. This was all he had done in the present instance. His idea was only to enlarge the powers of the judges, though wicked lawyers had attributed to him another intention. He quoted the act of parliament for sending the convicts to New South Wales, as a proof that the legislature thought with him on the subject: he quoted the Gazette of last Saturday, as a proof of his majesty's attention to God's laws *, which he said were directly contrary to the present practice: and he assured the court, that, if he had time to send for his books, he could shew them that every word of his pamphlet was actually in the Bible!—His lordship complained very much of those vexatious prosecutions which were instituted against him. He quoted Blackstone's Commentaries, book iv. cap. 23. who says, that "informations filed *ex officio*, by the attorney-general, are proper only for such enormous misdemeanors as peculiarly tend to disturb or endanger the king's government, and in the punishment or prevention of which a moment's delay would be fatal." This, he said, had by no means appeared in his case, as one of the informations against him had been pending for *ten*, and the other for *six* months. This extraordinary mode was therefore a grievance on him, which was not justified, as it appeared, by any pressing necessity. He exhorted Judge Buller not to lose the present opportunity of instructing the jury on the disputed point, whether they were to judge of law as well as of fact. He then complained, that spies had been set over him by the treasury for several months; and concluded with repeating his declaration, that his object had been reformation, not tumult. His lordship spoke for upwards of an hour and a half.

Judge Buller, having briefly summed up the evidence, remarked, that there could be no doubt of the fact of the defendant's having written and published the libel, the former of which he had actually confessed. There remained, therefore, only to determine whether the averments in the information were equally true; that is, whether the judges of the different courts, his majesty's law officers, were those alluded to, on which the jury were to determine.

The jury, without hesitation, returned their verdict GUILTY.

The printer, Thomas Wilkins, was then tried, and found GUILTY.

Lord George then presented an affidavit for the purpose of putting off his trial on the second information; stating, that he had proceeded, accompanied by a proper person, to Mrs. Fitzherbert's, in order to serve her with a subpœna: that, on appearing at the door, he read the original subpœna, and at the same time presented the copy and a shilling; but was, together with his attendant, turned out of doors by the servants: under these cir-

* Alluding to his majesty's proclamation for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for the preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality.—See State Papers for this year.

cumstances,

cumſtances, ſo contemptuous both to the name of the king himſelf, and his "*dearly beloved Francis Buller*," it would, he was convinced, render it indiſpenſably neceſſary for the court to poſtpone his trial; and, as he conſidered the virtues of the judge equal to his abilities (both of which he admitted to be bright), he truſted his integrity would ſtill remain unſullied, and that the court would not proceed to try him till they had evinced their power ſufficient to the production of his witneſſes, and believed they would not attempt to decide on him till they were firſt enabled to do him juſtice.

The attorney general ſaid, that he could not poſſibly allow the merits of this affidavit. The notice of trial had been given near three weeks ago; therefore an ineffectual attempt to ſerve a ſubpœna but two days ago, could not form a ſufficient claim to any farther delay. He wiſhed alſo to know to what parts of his defence the evidence of Mrs. Fitzherbert would be applicable.

Lord George replied, by mentioning a converſation which, he ſaid, he had with Mrs. Fitzherbert at Paris; in relating which he intermingled ſo many remarks, too abſurd for repetition, that Judge Buller was compelled to interpoſe. His lordſhip was with ſome difficulty ſilenced; and it was then ordered that the trial ſhould proceed.

The information was then read; which ſtated, as libellous and ſeditious, two paragraphs which appeared in the Public Advertiſer, on different days in the month of Auguſt laſt, relating the particulars of a viſit paid by Count Caglioſtro, accompanied by Lord George Gordon, to Monſ. Barthelemy, the French *Charge des Affaires*, enlarging on the merits and ſufferings of the count, and concluding with ſome ſevere reflections on the French queen as the leader of a faction, and on count d'Adhemar, the French ambaſſador, and Monſ. Barthelemy, as the inſidious agents of the queen and her party.

The attorney general opened the caſe, and ſaid, that amongſt the great number of libellous papers which the gentleman now before the court had publiſhed; it ſeemed to be ſtrange that he ſhould go ſo far out of his way as to libel the French ambaſſador, or any gentleman left in charge for him, as it could have no view whatever but to create a miſunderſtanding between the two courts. The characters of gentlemen repreſenting their ſovereign were not thus wantonly to be attacked; otherwiſe no man could ever ſerve as an ambaſſador from any foreign court to the court of London, becauſe they would be under the apprehenſion of ſeeing themſelves attacked in the public papers, and held up as baſe and infamous characters, without an opportunity of gaining redreſs.

John Bolt was then called, who purchaſed two newſpapers at Mr. Woodfall's office. Mr. Woodfall ſwore to the hand-writing of Lord George. Mr. Fraſer, one of the under ſecretaries of ſtate, proved the official ſituation of Count d'Adhemar and Monſieur Barthelemy. He added alſo, that the abuſe contained in theſe paragraphs had been known and felt in the capital of France.

Lord George then put the following queſtions to Mr. Fraſer:—Do you know any thing of d'Adhemar's family at Paris? No.—Don't

you know he is of a very low and mean extraction? I do not.—Don't you know that he bears a bad character in Paris?—The court ſtopped him by obſerving, that theſe queſtions tended to nothing, as the count was ambaſſador at this court.

Lord George then entered on his defence; when he contented himſelf with re-aſſerting and juſtifying every thing he had written. There did, he ſaid, exiſt a faction in Paris guided by the queen, and the Count Caglioſtro had been perſecuted for his adherence to the Cardinal de Rohan; and although he had been acquitted by the parliament of Paris, yet d'Adhemar continued to publiſh baſe, falſe, and infamous paragraphs about him in the papers, particularly in the *Courier de l'Europe*, a paper in French, publiſhed in London under the immediate patronage and direction of the count d'Adhemar. Caglioſtro, therefore, threw himſelf under the protection of his lordſhip, to extend what influence he might have in his favour in this country. Count d'Adhemar, he proceeded to ſay, was a low man, of no family; but, being plauſible and clever, had puſhed himſelf forward to the notice of men in authority; in ſhort, ſaid his lordſhip, whatever Jenkinſon is in Britain, d'Adhemar is in France. His lordſhip then proceeded to ſpeak of the queen of France in the moſt improper manner, but was ſtopped by the interference of the court.

The attorney-general obſerved, that his lordſhip was a diſgrace to the name of a Briton.

Lord George then continued, and ſaid, that it was in order to have theſe baſe paragraphs explained, that his lordſhip, with Count Caglioſtro, had waited on the French ambaſſador, where not receiving the information they expected, the paragraph in queſtion was written and publiſhed. He therefore contended it was no libel, as it contained nothing but truth in favour of Count Caglioſtro, who had as much right to the protection of the laws as Count d'Adhemar, or any other foreigner.

After a ſhort charge from the judge, the jury inſtantly returned their verdict, GUILTY.

The counſel for the proſecution were the attorney and ſolicitor generals, Meſſrs. Erſkine, Bearcroft, Baldwin, and Law. On the other ſide Lord George ſtood alone, and pleaded his poverty as an excuſe for having neither advocate nor ſolicitor.

Before the time appointed for receiving judgment, his lordſhip went to Holland. Whilſt at Amſterdam he received the following orders from the burgomaſters of that place: "*My Lord George Gordon, by order of the high eſteemed lords the burgomaſters of Amſterdam, you are to leave this city within the ſpace of twenty-four hours. Signed* TELLIER, *ſheriff's officer.*"

In conſequence of the above notice, Lord George Gordon left Holland and returned to England; and on the 7th of December was apprehended at Birmingham, by Mr. Macmanus, on a warrant from Judge Buller, for a contempt of court. It appeared that he had lived at Birmingham ever ſince Auguſt, converſing with nobody but the Jews, whoſe mode of dreſs and manners he had aſſumed, and to whoſe religion, it is ſaid, he had profeſſed himſelf a proſelyte. He was immediately brought up to London, and a few days afterwards, by a general habeas

habeas corpus, moved for by the crown, was committed to the master's side of Newgate.

On the 28th of January, 1788, his lordship was brought before the court of King's Bench to receive judgment; and the court having heard Mr. Wood and Mr. Dallas on behalf of his lordship, and the attorney-general in reply, Mr Justice Ashurst delivered the sentence of the court, as follows:—"George Gordon, commonly called Lord George Gordon, you have been tried and found guilty, on very clear evidence, of publishing two very scandalous and very seditious libels; the one intitled The Petition of the Prisoners, the other published as a paragraph in the Public Advertiser. The first of these libels is addressed to yourself, is merely fictitious, of your own fabrication, and is manifestly calculated to excite insurrection, discontent, and sedition, among the prisoners confined under sentence of death or transportation, and to propagate in the minds of his majesty's subjects a hatred, contempt, and abhorrence of the criminal laws of this country, of all others the most famed for lenity, and to traduce those who are entrusted with the administration of them. In the other, you attempt to asperse the character of her Most Christian majesty the queen of France, and Monsr. Barthelemy, as being the instrument of a faction. It would be doing you too much honour to read in public these libels, and particularly the scurrilous language and low abuse in the prisoners petition. It were to be wished you would make a better use of your reading in the Bible, and not use the scripture style and phrase for the wicked purpose of promoting mutiny and sedition, and to undermine the laws of your country. If you were to read the sacred scriptures to any good purpose, you would find, that one great end of religion is to promote peace and harmony, to teach men submission to government, and obedience to the law. And it will be of great advantage to the public, as well as to yourself, to learn to govern your own practice agreeably to its precepts. One is sorry that you, descended of an illustrious line of ancestry, should have so much dishonoured your family, by deviating from those rules, the observation of which induced their sovereigns at first to confer titles of distinction on your ancestors; and that you should prefer the mean ambition of being popular among thieves and pickpockets, and to stand as the champion of mischief, anarchy, and confusion. As to that part which reflects on the judges, they themselves would pass it over with that contempt which it deserves; but it highly concerns the good of the community, that the dignity of the law, and of the administration of justice, should be maintained against these attempts of ill-minded people, who endeavour to bring them into contempt. By endeavouring to asperse those who are entrusted with the administration of the laws, they at last are apt to bring the law itself into contempt, and to sap and undermine the foundation of all government. With regard to the second of these libels, it appears to be written with the same spirit of malevolence and wicked intention. Every good man is happy to see peace and tranquillity again restored to this kingdom, after having been engaged for a long time in a scene of wars with France and other powers. It has been the business of persons in

this country to cement a friendly intercourſe with the two nations by making a treaty of commerce, and by that means to obliterate the traces of former enmity. This you could not behold with ſatisfaction, and therefore, as far as in you lay, you have endeavoured to rekindle animoſities between the two nations, by perſonal abuſe on the ſovereign of one of them. You have ſuppoſed the queen to be the head of a party, who had conducted themſelves oppreſſively and tyrannically towards Count Caglioſtro, who was ſuppoſed to be guilty of crimes which made himſelf obnoxious to the laws of his country. This was a high degree of inſult on her Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and it was highly neceſſary to repreſs an offence of ſo dangerous a nature. Other nations, who do not know how liberty, and particularly the liberty of the preſs, may be perverted in the hands of deſigning men, could not believe that ſuch wicked publications could go forth without the connivance of the ſtate where they were publiſhed; and well might they think ſo, were not the author dragged forth into public puniſhment. It is not in the power of the law to induce a man to the performance of virtuous and praiſe-worthy actions, to promote the happineſs of his country and the good of his fellow-creatures; but it is in the power of the laws to reſtrain him for a time of that liberty which he has groſsly abuſed. And we ſhould ill diſcharge that truſt which is committed to us, if we were not to ſecure the peace of the public, by impriſoning you for a certain time; and whatever our own feelings may be for your ſituation, we ſhould be criminal if we were to give way too much to thoſe feelings. Your crime conſiſting of two parts, the forms of law require a ſeparate and diſtinct judgment; and you being brought into this court in the cuſtody of the keeper of Newgate, in virtue of a rule of this court; and being convicted of compoſing and publiſhing a ſcandalous paper, called "The Priſoners Petition," and other ſcandals; this court does order and adjudge, that for your offence aforeſaid you be impriſoned in his majeſty's gaol of Newgate for three years, and be immediately remanded back to Newgate, in execution of the judgment aforeſaid. And being convicted of treſpaſſes, contempts, and miſdemeanors againſt the royal conſort of his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and Monſ. Barthelemy, this court does order and adjudge you to be fined in 500l. and to be further impriſoned in Newgate for the ſpace of two years, from and after the termination of the aforeſaid judgment; and that you give ſecurity for fourteen years good behaviour, yourſelf in 10,000l. and each of your ſureties in 2,500l."

The following is a Copy of the Letter of the celebrated Mr. Howard, *addreſſed to the Subſcribers for erecting a Statue to that Gentleman's Memory, and towards the Formation of a Fund, to be called* The Howardian Fund, *and to be applied for the Relief of Priſoners.*

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"YOU are entitled to all the gratitude I can expreſs for the teſtimony of approbation you have intended me, and I am truly ſenſible of the honour done me; but at the ſame time you muſt permit

mit me to inform you, that I cannot, without violating all my feelings, consent to it, and that the execution of your design would be a cruel punishment to me. It is therefore my earnest request, that those friends who wish my happiness and future comfort in life, would withdraw their names from the subscription, and that the execution of your design may be laid aside for ever.

"I shall always think the reforms now going on in several of the gaols of this kingdom, and which I hope will become general, the greatest honour and the most ample reward I can possibly receive.

"I must further inform you, that I cannot permit the fund, which in my absence, and without my consent, hath been called the Howardian fund, to go in future by that name; and that I will have no concern in the disposal of the money subscribed; my situation and various pursuits rendering it impossible for me to pay any attention to such a general plan, which can only be carried into due effect in particular districts, by a constant attention and a constant residence.

I am,
My lords and gentlemen,
Your obliged and faithful humble servant,
JOHN HOWARD."

London, Feb. 16.

Feb. 7, 1787. *Report of the Committee of Shopkeepers, relative to the Tax on Retail Shops.*

1st. THAT, from their continued and unvaried experience, as well as from the most minute enquiry, the tax on retail shops is indeed a personal tax on shopkeepers. What they advanced to the chancellor of the exchequer as theory is now confirmed in practice; from such premises they hold themselves warranted in asserting, that the retail trader has not, in any instance whatever, been able to make an advance on his commodity to reimburse him the shop-tax.

2d, That, from their investigation, the relief held out by the new shop-tax act has not had any beneficial effect on the inhabitants of the metropolis; for as that bill never held out any assistance to the persons more especially aggrieved by the tax, who were the high-rented housekeepers, whilst it was an admission of the principle of personal taxation, it has a tendency to render the shop-tax more burthensome to them, and to appear like a fine and stigma on the city of London and its environs.

3d, That cases have been laid before the committee, of shopkeepers so reduced and distressed by the load of personal taxation, as to be obliged to quit their situation in public streets, and retire, ruined and distressed, into obscure parts of this metropolis amidst penury and want, while their houses and shops have been occupied by fictitious traders, under the appellation of wholesale dealers, factors, or warehousemen, or fallen to the share of gamblers under the denomination of lottery-office-keepers, to the injury of the real trader, to the dishonour of the dignity of the metropolis, and to the prejudice of the revenue of the state.

4th, That the committee, having satisfied themselves in respect to the operation of the tax on the part of the shopkeepers, have also taken into

into conſideration the benefit the ſtate is likely to receive therefrom, and find that it muſt be unproductive to a conſiderable degree; but the committee are not able to ſtate the preciſe ſum deficient, from difficulties and obſtructions thrown in their way, of obtaining information.

5th, That the committee are informed, in order to make up the alarming deficiency in the groſs amount of the ſhop-tax, the ſurveyors and inſpectors have ſurcharged the ſhop-tax on many deſcriptions of perſons not originally charged to it, publicans and manufacturers of different articles; which conduct of the officers under government, whilſt it gives no relief to the high-rented houſekeeper already aſſeſſed to the ſhop-tax, will cauſe it to be held up to the public as a larger object of revenue.

6th, This committee further report, "That they have received many propoſitions for new taxes, which have been ſtated to them as much more productive, and much leſs objectionable, than the ſhop-tax, and that ſuch taxes might be impoſed is apparent; but this committee have held it their duty, as conſtituted for a ſpecial purpoſe, that of obtaining a repeal of the ſhop-tax alone, not to intrude new plans upon his majeſty's miniſters, nor to preſume to give their opinion on ſubjects it might be urged they were incompetent to."

7th, The committee report it as their opinion, "That the conſtant uniform oppoſition of the ſhopkeepers to the ſhop-tax is not founded on party, or a deſire to reſiſt the laws of the land; but ſtands on a ſuperior baſis, and is a claim on the juſtice of the legiſlature."

Thos. Skinner,	W. Seymour,
James Palmer,	Joſ. Stafford,
James Bate,	Jn. Ratray,
William Stock,	Thos. Denham,
Jo. Nodin,	J. Philips,
Francis Thompſon,	Geo. Van Neun-
T. J. Lawrence,	burg,
David Jennings,	William Nan-
Thomas Vallance,	ſon,
John Maberly,	Jacob Bird.

Guildhall, 7th Feb. 1787.

AT a very numerous and reſpectable meeting of the retail ſhopkeepers of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, the borough of Southwark, and parts adjacent, for the purpoſe of conferring with the repreſentatives of the various diſtricts of the metropolis, upon the moſt effectual meaſures to obtain a repeal of the ſhop-tax.

Mr. Jennings, of Fenchurch-ſtreet, in the chair;

The following reſolutions were carried unanimouſly:

Reſolved,

1ſt, That it is the opinion of this meeting, founded on the report of their committee, and from near two years experience of the operation of the ſhop-tax, that it is a grievance of a very heavy and alarming nature, and ſuch as demands every legal and ſpirited exertion on the part of the ſhopkeepers to obtain redreſs.

2d, That the partiality of the ſhop-tax, though ſeverely felt by large towns and cities, is more *evidently* burthenſome upon the inhabitants of the metropolis, where the ſhopkeeper is compelled to ſtand at an enormous rent, as the primary ſtep to obtain ſubſiſtence.

3d, That the evidence delivered at the bar of the houſe of commons, proving the tax to be a perſonal impoſt,

impoſt, ſtands uncontroverted upon the records of that honourable houſe; and the further experience of a year renders that teſtimony incontrovertable.

4th, That the continued and increaſing unpopularity of this tax ariſes not from any party clamours of perſonal attachments, but proceeds from higher motives, the partiality and evil tendency of its principles.

5th, That, the tax being proved perſonal upon the trader, the right honourable chancellor of the exchequer is called upon, by the united voice of the ſhopkeepers, for ſubſtantial juſtice, by the repeal of a tax, from which he himſelf declared, could it be proved perſonal, the ſhopkeepers were entitled to relief.

6th, That this meeting, apprehending the principal obſtacle to their having hitherto obtained relief, has been the difference of ſituation between the members of the legiſlature impoſing this tax, and the ſhopkeepers who were the *objects* of it, are deſirous that their repreſentatives in parliament ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of every information it is in the power of this meeting to communicate, reſpecting the oppreſſion of this tax.

7th, That the number of petitions which were preſented to the houſe of commons laſt ſeſſion of parliament, render it unneceſſary to adopt the mode of proceeding by petition at this period, the principle of the tax being in no reſpect altered; more eſpecially as the honourable members of the houſe of commons now preſent are conſidered as pledged to ſupport the cauſe of the ſhopkeepers, and are in poſſeſſion of the ſentiments of this meeting to enforce their caſe.

8th, That John Sawbridge, Eſq. and Sir Watkin Lewes, Knt. the ſenior aldermen, repreſentatives of the city of London, having agitated the repeal of the ſhop-tax in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, this meeting, out of reſpect to the ſenior repreſentative for the city of Weſtminſter, judge it their duty to requeſt the Right Hon. C. J. Fox to move in his place the repeal of the acts of the 25th and 26th of Geo. III. laying a duty on retail ſhops, unleſs the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, at length convinced of the hardſhips the ſhopkeepers already labour under, ſhall himſelf come forward with a propoſition for their relief.

9th, That the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, whom this meeting requeſts to move the repeal of the act, as well as all the members attending this meeting, be requeſted to communicate to the committee ſuch information as they receive in the houſe of commons, touching the beſt mode of obtaining the repeal; and the committee are directed to continue to aſſiſt the repreſentatives in parliament with ſuch facts from the ſhopkeepers, as they ſhall think may ſtrengthen their cauſe.

10th, That this meeting are duly ſenſible of the exertions of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of this city, to obtain the repeal of a tax ſo detrimental to the city of London; and deſire this committee to attend the next court, with the thanks of this meeting, as well as to aſſure the court, they ſhall be ready at all times to co-operate with the committee of the corporation, in meaſures neceſſary to be adopted in purſuit of this object.

11th, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the ten repreſentatives

ſentatives in parliament, for their attendance upon this occaſion, and for their aſſurances of ſupport in a cauſe ſo highly intereſting to their conſtituents.

12th, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to the right honourable the lord mayor, for his grant of the uſe of Guildhall, for the purpoſe of a general aſſembly of the ſhopkeepers, and for the diſpoſition he has ſhewn to aſſiſt their endeavours to obtain relief.

The chairman having quitted the chair, and Mr. Deputy Birch being placed therein, Mr. Gould moved the following reſolutions:

13th, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Mr. Alderman Skinner and the committee, for the unremitting zeal, perſeverance, and attention, which they have diſplayed in the courſe of two years endeavours to ſerve the ſhopkeepers of the metropolis.

14th. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the chairman, for his prudent, candid, and attentive conduct of the buſineſs of this day.

Mr. Jennings then reſuming the chair, it was reſolved,

15th. That the reſolutions of this meeting be advertiſed in the morning and evening papers, ſigned by the chairman.

DAVID JENNINGS, Chairman.

Some Account of the Loſs of the Hartwell *Eaſt-Indiaman.*

THIS unfortunate event took place near the iſland of Bona Viſta, by the ſhip ſtriking upon a reef of projecting rocks; and was occaſioned by the mutinous behaviour of the crew, over whom all command was at an end from the 20th to the 24th of May, the day on which the was wrecked.

The mutinous diſpoſition of the Hartwell's crew manifeſted itſelf very ſoon after they ſailed from England, and is ſaid to have been occaſioned by a piratical inclination to poſſeſs themſelves of a very large quantity of ſpecie that was on board, for the purpoſe of purchaſing teas at the place of deſtination.

The captain and the greater part of the ſhip's company had the good fortune to ſave themſelves on a reef of rocks, three leagues north-eaſt of Bona Viſta.

Mr. Jackſon, and one of the mates, with the remainder of the crew, arrived, after beating about for ſixteen days, much fatigued, in a ſtate approaching famine, at St. Vincent's.

Captain Fiott arrived in town on Saturday the 11th, in a Portugueſe veſſel, which he had hired for the purpoſe of coming to England, with his purſer, ſome other officers, and a part of the crew. Mr. Criſh the third mate, and the ſixth mate, remain at Bona Viſta, where the mutineers are kept in ſafe cuſtody by the Portugueſe, till an opportunity offers of conveying them to England. The value of the property on board the Hartwell was very large.

On the firſt beginning of the mutiny, the chief mate, Mr. Charles Chriſtie, went forward for the purpoſe of ſecuring one of the ringleaders, who inſtantly drew a knife from his pocket, and attempted to ſtab him; luckily, through the activity of the mate, he avoided the blow, or he muſt inevitably have been killed, as the knife went through his waiſtcoat; in this ſituation finding

ing the mutiny ſtill increaſe, Captain Fiott ſaw there was no other remedy than for him to riſk every thing; and with that ſpirit and reſolution worthy the high charge entruſted to his care, he went forward himſelf among all the mutineers with a brace of piſtols in his hands, and brought the culprit aft, who had ſo daringly attempted the life of his chief officer, and, with the aſſiſtance of his officers, put him inſtantly in irons; during which the villain drew another knife that he had concealed, and made a ſecond attempt to ſtab the chief mate, and nearly accompliſhed his bloody ſcheme on the boatſwain, who was helping to ſecure him.

A letter was after this preſented to Captain Fiott, ſigned with above ſixty names, couched in the moſt abuſive language, inſiſting on the diſcharge of the man in irons; and threatening the captain, if he did not inſtantly comply with their requeſt, that they would releaſe him by force.

Captain Fiott and his officers were unanimous in their opinion not to releaſe him; the mutiny ſtill increaſed, and for three days and nights before the loſs they were under the neceſſity conſtantly to remain armed upon deck; and even then, in order to keep the mutineers from coming aft, two of the quarter deck guns were obliged to be loaded with grape ſhot, and pointed forwards. Fortunately for the captain, all his officers, and ſome few others to whom he had entruſted fire arms, ſtood by him with a ſpirit which merits every encomium, and from their perſeverance and unanimity only was his life, with many of their own, preſerved. Since the loſs, it has been diſcovered it was the intention of the mutineers to have murdered the captain, and have thrown him, with about eight-and-twenty more, overboard, that they might make themſelves maſters of the ſhip, and rob her of the ſpecie ſhe had on board; which attempt was to have been made the night after, had ſhe not been loſt in the morning!

Thus ended the fate of one of the fineſt ſhips that was ever built for the company's ſervice; and a loſs to the public of near 150,000 l. occaſioned by the want of ſubordination and diſcipline, ſo very neceſſary in ſhips of that magnitude and conſequence.

Letter from the Duke of Brunſwick, *delivered to the four Commiſſaries of the Town of* Amſterdam, *who were ſent to his Highneſs to agree on the Satisfaction to be given to the Princeſs of* Orange.

"THE ſatisfaction which his Pruſſian majeſty demands as his right, as you muſt underſtand, gentlemen, is entirely conformable to the articles announced in the laſt memorial * of M. de Thulemeyer.

"All the other members, ſtates of the province, are ready to give this ſatisfaction, and are in expectation of your concurrence. The moment that you have conſented, by your deputies to the ſtates, I ſhall conſider my commiſſion as terminated, and the king's troops will immediately quit the neighbourhood of your town, and the adjacent places. You know too well, gentlemen, the ſentiments of her royal highneſs the princeſs of Orange, to doubt that ſhe would rather paſs over many things, than expoſe

* See the State Papers for this year.

your

your town to troubleſome inconveniences.

CHARLES, reigning duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh."

Leumuyden, Sept. 27, 1787.

After the Return of the four Commiſſaries, the Town Council ſent two Magiſtrates to the Hague, *to offer to give her Royal Highneſs a particular Satisfaction, ſuch as the four Commiſſaries had propoſed in a Plan to the Duke of* Brunſwick; *but it appears by the following Note, ſent to the Town Council, that the Duke only granted an Armiſtice of twenty-four Hours.*

"I regard the truce as expired this evening between ſeven and eight o'clock, the time when meſſieurs the deputies will be returned to Amſterdam. I am firmly reſolved to proceed in the execution of my orders, unleſs I receive a letter from her royal highneſs the princeſs of Orange, by which ſhe denotes, that ſhe deſires no farther ſatisfaction, and intercedes to recal the troops.

CHARLES, reigning duke of Brunſwick Lunenburgh."

Sept. 30, 1787.

Articles of Capitulation, ſigned by the Duke of Brunſwick *on one Part, and* Dedel, B. Elias Arnold, *and* Beiker, *on the other, previous to his Serene Highneſs taking Poſſeſſion of* Amſterdam.

1. A Detachment of the king's troops, conſiſting of one hundred and fifty men, ten chaſſeurs, and four orderly huſſars, ſhall occupy the Leyden gate; and two pieces of artillery ſhall be placed within cannon-ſhot of that gate.

2. Two battalions with chaſſeurs ſhall be poſted at Overtoom.

3. In order to avoid giving occaſion for any diſturbances, none of the king's troops ſhall enter the city without the previous concurrence of the magiſtrate.

4. The burgomaſters and city council ſhall take the moſt effectual meaſures for ſecuring the ſluices at the Haerlem and Muyden gates.

5. Legal information ſhall be given daily to his ſerene highneſs of the progreſs made in carrying into execution the reſolutions of the ſtates, to which the town of Amſterdam has already acceded.

6. Monſ. de Haaren, the Pruſſian commiſſary, ſhall be informed of every thing relative to the diſarming, in order to report an exact account of it.

Done at Overtoom, the 10th of October, 1787.

(Signed) DEDEL, B.
ELIAS ARNOLDE,
BEIKER.

CHARLES, W. F.
Duke of Brunſwick.

Letter from her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of Orange *to his Serene Highneſs the Reigning Duke of* Brunſwick, *dated* Sept. 15, 1787.

"SIR, *Nimeguen, Sept.* 15.

"THE moment your highneſs enters the province of Holland at the head of the body of troops the king my brother has entruſted to you, permit me to recommend again to you the intereſts of that nation which is ſo dear to me, and to whoſe proſperity I ſhall always glory in contributing as much as in my power. I could not foreſee that ſo ſimple an intention as that of my going to the Hague would have had

 ſuch

such serious effects, and so entirely opposite to the salutary views which determined me to undertake that journey.

I expected great obstacles before I succeeded in my endeavours to restore peace and tranquillity; but the only difficulty for which I was unprepared, because it was the least probable, was unfortunately that which deprived me of every means of attaining my end, by stopping my journey by violent means.

But if the unheard-of proceeding used towards me in Holland, a proceeding, the impression of which has only been modified by my inward knowledge of not having merited it: if this proceeding, I say, has been disapproved by all the courts, and every man of honour and good breeding, what must be thought of those who compose the present plurality of the states of Holland, to see them misconstrue and sacrifice the interests of their country to little personal views, and oblige the king to take a satisfaction they have obstinately refused to his friendly exhortations.

The king, by declaring he considered the offence as against himself, penetrated my heart with gratitude; but after the manner they dared to answer him, and the injustice which this pretended majority did not cease committing, that declaration would have raised my greatest fears for that country, which for twenty years I have considered as my own, and whose interests are inseparable from those of my house, if I had not been made easy by the declaration of the states general, that of the principal members of the assembly of the states of Holland, and of the greatest part of the nation, as well as by the magnanimous sentiments which characterize his majesty.

The king could not give a stronger proof of those sentiments than by charging your highness with the execution of his orders; and the sentiments, Sir, you have desired to shew towards me, and which your highness has manifested in your declaration to the states of Holland, do not permit me to doubt of the wisdom and equity of your intentions; but your highness must pardon me if I dare to implore your clemency towards that part of the inhabitants who are blinded and led astray by passion, and to assure you I shall consider your behaviour towards them, and the protection you shew to the wise part of the nation, as so many favours done to myself. In the mean time I do solemnly declare here, that, perfectly agreeable to the moderate principle shewn by the prince in his last declaration, I will never profit from any circumstances whatever to procure my family a greater authority than the constitution and true liberty of the provinces grant it; and that for myself I shall always be ready to employ my good offices for the welfare of this country, and those of my house, without fear of trouble or disputes. I have no ambition for any influence, and I will only accept that which I owe to the confidence and friendship I have merited. It is with these sentiments, and the warmest gratitude, I shall all my life remain, with the highest consideration, Sir, your serene highness's most devoted servant and cousin,

"WILHELMINA."

From

From the Same to the Same; Nov. 3, 1787.

"SIR,

"THE ſtates of Holland having deſired me to requeſt the king my brother to permit 3,000 or 4,000 of his troops to remain ſome time in this province, I haſten to inform your highneſs of this reſolution of their noble and great mightineſſes, a copy of which is annexed, beſeeching your highneſs to ſupport this demand with your good offices: the ſignal marks of kindneſs and protection of his majeſty make me hope he will not refuſe them.

I leave it to your highneſs's conſideration, if, after the arrangement taken to diſarm the unconſtitutional citizens of Amſterdam, you may not regard the conditions of the ſatisfaction required by the king as entirely fulfilled, and withdraw the troops, except the number the ſtates of Holland have demanded, which will be both a relief to this country, and to the troops themſelves, on account of the bad ſeaſon. Your highneſs will at the ſame time permit me to intercede for the inhabitants of theſe provinces who are priſoners of war at Wezel: I requeſt your highneſs to releaſe them, and flatter myſelf you will not diſapprove the ſhare I take in their unfortunate ſituation. When you were on the point of entering Holland at the head of the Pruſſian troops, you deigned to receive the inſtances I addreſſed to you in favour of this nation, whoſe welfare and intereſts in general are the object of my conſtant wiſhes: accept then at preſent the expreſſions of my gratitude, and thoſe of this nation, who have daily diſcovered the eminent qualities which characterize your highneſs. The remembrance of our obligations to you will always remain deeply engraven in our hearts, and we ſhall never forget that your highneſs has not only glorioufly fulfilled the object of your commiſſion, but that the moſt happy revolution has likewiſe reſulted from it, which has reſtored this country to its liberty and independence, by ſtrengthening the conſtitution, and re-eſtabliſhing the prince my conſort in his juſt rights and privileges. I have the honour to remain, with ſentiments of an inviolable attachment, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed conſideration,

(Signed) "WILHELMINA."

The Anſwer of his Serene Highneſs the Reigning Duke of Brunſwick, *dated* Nov. 5, 1787, *to the preceding Letter.*

"MADAM,

"YOUR royal highneſs has notified to me the requeſt which the ſtates of Holland have made, at the ſame time deſiring to obtain permiſſion from the king for a body of 3,000 or 4,000 men to remain for ſome time in this province.

Perſuaded as I am of the ſincere deſire the king has to oblige your royal highneſs, and to concur towards the welfare of the republic and the province of Holland, I think his majeſty will not refuſe that requeſt. I will immediately make my moſt humble report to the king of the contents of your letter of the 3d inſt. and I think, by leaving a body of 4,000 men in this province, until the arrival of his majeſty's orders,

orders, I ſhall only fulfil his deſires. As the commiſſion ſent by his highneſs the prince of Orange to finiſh entirely the diſarming of unconſtitutional armed citizens, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the council of war, accompliſhed all the objects which remained of the ſatisfaction, I think of ſucceſſively recalling the troops of the king, except thoſe who at the requeſt of the ſtates ſhall remain, if his majeſty conſents to it, for ſome time longer in this province.

What your royal highneſs deigns to mention concerning the inhabitants of this country kept priſoners of war at Wezel, is analogous with the generous ſentiments you ſhewed at the entrance of the king's troops on the territory of this republic, and I will certainly repreſent to the king the intereſt you take in the fate of theſe unfortunate men. I eſteem myſelf too happy in having ſatisfied your royal highneſs in a commiſſion which ſo nearly concerned the happineſs of the republic, and which could only ſucceed by the concurrence of the major part of the inhabitants, who endeavoured to free themſelves from a yoke which an oppreſſive cabal placed on them.

Deign, Madam, to grant me a continuance of your good opinion, and to believe that nothing can exceed the profound reſpect with which I am, Madam, your royal highneſs's, &c.

(Signed)

"CHARLES, G. F."

A Copy of Mr. Pitt's *Letter to the Chairman of the Meeting of* Weſt India *Planters and Merchants, in Anſwer to their Reſolutions* * *tranſmitted to him, ſtating the Neceſſity of reducing the Duty upon Rum 5 d. per Gallon, in conſequence of his Intention to fix the Duty on Brandy at 7 s. per Gallon.*

"SIR, *Downing-ſtreet, Feb.* 13.

"HAVING been out of town, I did not receive till yeſterday the favour of your letter, incloſing the Reſolutions of the General Meeting of Weſt India planters and merchants. Though I ſhould be very deſirous of ſhewing all the attention in my power to the ſentiments and wiſhes of the meeting, I cannot ſee ſufficient ground for thinking that a reduction of more than 3d. in the duty on rum would be neceſſary, in caſe the duty on brandy ſhould be fixed at 7s. It will be my duty to propoſe a reſolution in the committee on the French treaty, that the duty on brandy ſhould not be higher than that ſum; at the ſame time, it is my intention to propoſe a ſeparate conſideration of the duties on imported ſpirits in an early period of the ſeſſion, and ſome farther reduction of the duties both in brandy and rum, with a view to the prevention of ſmuggling; but I do not conceive the reduction ought to take place in ſuch a proportion as the meeting appears to have had in view in their ſecond reſolution. I have entered into theſe particulars, from wiſhing to apprize you as fully as I can of the preſent ſtate of this buſineſs, and of my ſentiments upon it. Previouſly to making any more ſpecific

* See State Papers, in the Annual Regiſter for 1786, page 286.

propoſals in parliament on the ſubject, I ſhall be happy in any opportunity of receiving any farther communication which the meeting may think proper.

"I have the honour to be,
"SIR,
"Your moſt obedient,
"and humble ſervant,
"W. PITT."

On the 14th of February it was unanimouſly agreed, That the foregoing letter contained a denial of the requeſt which the committee had made, viz. that the duty upon rum be reduced 5d. per gallon.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 12, 1786, to DECEMBER 11, 1787.

Christened	Males 8929 / Females 8579	Buried	Males 9821 / Females 9528	Decreased in the Burials this Year	1105.

Died under Two Years	6119	—Fifty and Sixty	1556	A Hundred and One	
Between Two and Five	1888	—Sixty and Seventy	1346	A Hundred and Two	1
—Five and Ten	874	—Seventy and Eighty	897	A Hundred and Three	
—Ten and Twenty	363	—Eighty and Ninety	374	A Hundred and Four	
—Twenty and Thirty	1587	—Ninety and a Hundred	44	A Hundred and Five	
—Thirty and Forty	1840	A Hundred		A Hundred and Six	1
—Forty and Fifty	1959				

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and Stillborn	627	Diabetes		Measles	84	BIT by a mad dog	
Abscess	5	Dropsy	820	Miscarriage	2	Broken Limbs	3
Aged	1176	Evil	10	Mortification	182	Bruised	1
Ague	6	Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2887	Palsy	57	Burnt	15
Apoplexy and Sudden	188	Fistula	5	Pleurisy	13	Choaked	
Asthma and Phthisic	358	Flux	7	Quinsy	5	Drowned	106
Bed-ridden	4	French Pox	48	Rash		Excessive Drinking	8
Bleeding	8	Gout	42	Rheumatism	3	Executed	*24
Bloody Flux	1	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	51	Rickets		Found Dead	4
Bursten and Rupture	5	Grief	1	Rising of the Lights		Frighted	1
Cancer	76	Head-Ach	1	Scald Head	1	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	49
Canker	1	Headmouldshot, Horshoehead, and Water in the Head	45	Scurvy	2	Killed themselves	23
Chicken Pox	1	Jaundice	62	Small Pox	2418	Murdered	2
Childbed	213	Imposthume	2	Sore Throat	27	Overlaid	2
Cholic, Gripes, twisting of the Guts	6	Inflammation	168	Sores and Ulcers	7	Poisoned	3
Cold	1	Itch		St. Anthony's Fire	8	Scalded	2
Consumption	4579	Leprosy	1	Stoppage in the Stomach	3	Shot	
Convulsions	4159	Lethargy	7	Surfeit	3	Smothered	1
Cough and Hooping-Cough	228	Livergrown	1	Swelling		Starved	3
		Lunatick	38	Teeth	400	Suffocated	6
				Thrush	32		
				Tympany		Total	254
				Vomiting and Looseness	1		
				Worms	9		

* There have been 105 executed, of which number (24 only) have been reported to be buried as such within the Bill of Mortality.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended 5th* January 1788.

EXPORTED.

1787.	Britiſh Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	75,360	335	
Wheat Flour	43,946	95	
Rye	12,683		
Barley	19,885	1,323	55,882 17 5 Bo.
Malt	111,016		
Oats	11,152	2,113	9 5 11 Dr.
Oatmeal	1,107		
Beans	10,114	893	
Peaſe	6,377	318	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	4		
Wheat Flour	794		
Barley	1,526		
Barley hulled	62		
Bear	3,620	------	1,097 1 4¼ Bo.
Malt	1,276		
Oats	1,258		
Oatmeal	1,469		
Peaſe and Beans	558		

IMPORTED.

1787.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	46,973	
Wheat Flour	2,435	
Rye	2,762	
Barley	17,783	
Oats	394,186	5,061 12 2½
Oatmeal	1,793	
Beans	36,913	
Peaſe	2,267	
Indian Corn	28	

SCOT-

1787. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
		£. s. d.
Wheat	9,876	1,564 7 7
Wheat Flour	55	
Rye	4,352	
Barley	25,461	
Oats	73,241	
Oatmeal	42,784	
Peaſe and Beans	3,705	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1787.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
5	1¾	3	5½	2	10	2	1	3	11¼

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES of STOCK, for the Year 1787.

N. B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	4 pr Ct. Consol.	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778.	India Stock	India Bonds	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchequ. Bills.	Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	152¼	75½	75	94⅞	22½	13¾	164	39	74⅜		2 1/3	16	15 6
	150¾	74	73¼	93⅜	22	13⅝	163	26	73⅝			15	14 18
Feb.	153¾	75¾	74⅝	95⅛	22⅛	14	163½	75	74¾	73¾	2⅛	21	16 9
	151½	74½	73½	93⅞	22⅛	13⅝	163	41	73¾	73⅛	2	16	15 4
Mar.	154¼	76¼	76⅜	96⅝	23	14⅛	168¾	54	76¼	75⅝	2⅛	21	
	152⅜	75¼	75½	95½	22¼	14	164	39	74¼	73⅞		14	
Apr.	154⅞	76⅜	77⅜	96⅛	23⅛	13⅝	170¾	60		76⅛	2⅛	11	
	152¼	75½	76¼	95	23		169¾	38		75¾		5	
May	156⅝	77½	77⅝	96½	22⅞	13⅞	172½	63	77⅛	77¼	2⅛	19	16 3
	154¼	76⅛	77	95½	22⅝	13½	170¼	56	75¼	76⅜		6	15 6
June	155¾	76⅜	77⅜	95¾	22⅝	13⅞	171	63	75⅞	76½	2⅛	16	16 3
	147	72½	73½	91	21¼	13	161½	55	72¼	73½		4	15 18
July	150¾	73⅞	74½	93⅝	22	13½	165⅛	67	72⅜	70½	2½	22	16 0
	145	70⅞	70½	91⅜	21⅛	13⅛	149½	55	69¼	70¼	2⅛	4	15 16
Aug.	153¾	75⅛	74¼	95½	22¼	14	162	80	73	73⅞	2⅛	34	15 19
	147½	71⅞	70⅜	92½	21½	13½	159½	67	71	70¼	2	22	15 16
Sept.	152¾	73⅞	73⅜	94⅝	22¼	14	164¼	83	73½	72⅞	2⅛	32	15 16
	145	73¾	67	91	21	13½	158¼	70	72¼	69	1¾	23	15 11
Oct.	150	70¾	72¾	91¼	21⅝	13¼	161½	78	70¼	70⅝	3	21	15 18
	145½		69¼	90⅛	20⅞		158¼	64	69½	69⅞	2⅛	8	15 11
Nov.	160½	76½	77¼	95⅞	22⅝	13⅞	174½	91	75¼	75½	3	27	16 17
	152½	74⅝	75¼	94⅜	22⅜	13¾	168¼	80	74¼	75⅞	2	21	15 18
Dec.	158¾	76¾	77⅜	96¼	22⅝	13⅞	177	88	76	76½	2⅛	31	16 16
	157	75½	76½	95⅛	22⅞	13¾	174¾	76	75⅛		2	22	16 11

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1787.

NAVY.

MARCH 16.

	£.	s.	d.
FOR 18,000 men, including 3,860 marines, at 4l. per man per month, for 1787 — — —	936,000	0	0
For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay of marines, for 1787 — — —	700,000	0	0
For the extraordinaries of the navy for building and repairing veſſels, over and above the allowance for wear and tear, for 1787 — — —	650,000	0	0
Total of the navy —	2,286,000	0	0

ORDNANCE.

FEBRUARY 12.

For the charges of the office of the ordnance, for land ſervice, for 1787 — — —	328,576	17	3
Total of ordnance —	328,576	17	3

ARMY.

FEBRUARY 12.

For the army 17,638 effective men (including 2,030 invalids) for guards and garriſons in Great Britain	648,687	1	0½
For forces for plantations and Gibraltar, for 1787 —	234,628	18	5
For the difference between Britiſh and Iriſh pay for 6 regiments and 4 companies of foot in North America, for the year 1787 — — —	6,834	19	2
For the pay of general and ſtaff officers in Great Britain in the ſame year — — —	6,409	8	0
For full pay to reduced or ſupernumerary officers of the army — — —	23,110	12	6
For one regiment of light dragoons, and 5 battalions of foot, employed in the Weſt Indies — —	8,230	8	7¼

For the paymaſter general, ſecretary at war, commiſſary general of the muſters, judge advocate general, comptrollers of the army accounts, the deputies, clerks, &c. and for the amount of the exchequer fees to be paid by the paymaſter general, and on account of poundage to the infantry — — —	59,253	12	1
To reduced officers of land forces and marines, for the ſame year — — — — —	172,776	12	6
To reduced officers of the horſe guards, for the ſame year — — — — —	223	7	6
To reduced officers of the Britiſh American forces, for the ſame year — — — —	55,092	10	0
More for the ſame purpoſe — — —	4,907	10	0
To the officers late in the pay of the States General, for the ſame year — — — —	3,422	11	8
For Chelſea hoſpital, for the ſame year — —	172,525	15	10
For penſions to officers widows — — —	11,812	8	6
For difference of Britiſh and Iriſh pay for ſeveral battalions and companies of foot, for ſeveral periods in 1787 — — — — —	3,253	11	0¾
For extra expences of land forces, from 25th December, 1785, to 24th of December 1786 —	465,117	19	11
Total of the army —	1,876,287	16	9½

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

For civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia, from 1ſt January, 1787, to 1ſt January, 1788 — —	5,851	17	6
The like of St. John's iſland, for the ſame time —	1,900	0	0
The like of New Brunſwick, from June 24, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788 — — — —	4,300	0	0
The like of Cape Breton, for the ſame — —	2,100	0	0
The like of Newfoundland, from 1ſt April, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788 — — —	1,182	10	0
For ſalaries, &c. in Eaſt Florida, from 24th June, 1785, to the ſame day in 1786 — —	2,600	0	0
For ſalary of chief juſtice of the Bermuda iſlands, from 24th June, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788 —	580	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of the Bahama iſlands, from 1ſt January, 1787, to the ſame day in 1788, in addition to the ſalaries paid out of the duty funds — — — — —	4,380	0	0
For the civil eſtabliſhment of New South Wales, from 10th October, 1786, to the ſame day in 1787 —	2,877	0	0
To the Britiſh Muſeum — — — —	3,000	0	0
To diſcharge exchequer bills granted the laſt ſeſſion	3,000,000	0	0

To

	£.	s.	d.
To Thomas Cotton, to discharge bills drawn by the governors of the Bahama islands, St. John's, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick — —	5,139	4	1½
To the same, out of the civil list, for the commissioners expences on going to America — —	2,111	0	6
To James Mouat, chief clerk to the commissioners, for fees, &c. for salaries, and expences —	890	0	0
To Richard Bradley, for goods brought by him to pay the purchase of the island Le Main, in the river Gambia, as a settlement for convicts, and fees, &c. — — —	457	10	6
For roads and bridges in Scotland for 1787, by order of General Mackay — —	7,234	0	0
To David Jenkinson, as a compensation for the three first payments towards the loan in 1784, forfeited to the public through his neglect in illness —	522	0	0
For the forts, &c. in Africa — —	13,000	0	0
To Charles Pole, agent for Masahod de la Mar, for the ship Herstelder, Captain Kemp Janssen Kleyn, bound from Amsterdam to Sallee and Mogador, in December 1780, being seized and carried into Dover by the Sultana cutter, Lieutenant Fabian, and detained till February 1782, and then restored by the decree of the court of admiralty, and for goods belonging to the emperor, &c. — —	2,307	9	4
For buildings at Somerset House for the year 1787	15,000	0	0
For the American loyalists, for present relief —	112,000	0	0
To the claimants of East Florida — —	13,600	0	0
For repairs of Catwater harbour — —	1,000	0	0
To the commissioners of public accounts —	15,000	0	0
To the secretary of commissioners of East Florida claims — — — —	700	0	0
To the secretary of commissioners enquiring into claims of American loyalists — —	4,445	19	11
To the secretary of commissioners of crown lands —	2,200	0	0
To make good money issued on addresses by the house of commons — — —	12,138	16	4½
To J. Hatsell, towards printing the Journals of this Session, and an index to the 40th vol. — —	1,000	0	0
To commissioners of public accounts — —	7,500	0	0
To G. White, clerk of committees, for trouble and expences about the returns of the poor rates and charitable donations — —	3,000	0	0
Total of miscellaneous services —	3,248,017	8	2¾

DEFI-

DEFICIENCIES.

	£.	s.	d.
To pay off exchequer bills of laſt ſeſſions —	1,500,000	0	0
The like for a further ſum of deficiencies —	1,500,000	0	0
To make good to the ſinking fund deficiencies of annuities, granted by 31 Geo. II. for 1758 to 5th July 1786 — — —	18,574	13	10¾
The like by 18 Geo. III. for 1778 to 10th October 1786 — — — —	127,796	19	3½
The like by 19 Geo. III. for 1779 to 5th July 1786	35,039	13	5½
The like by 20 Geo. III. for 1780 to 10th October 1786 — — — —	184,234	3	2½
The like by 22 Geo. III. for 1782 to 5th July 1786	11,205	5	11¾
The like by 23 Geo. III. for 1783 to 10th October 1786 — — — —	292,448	14	7½
The like by 24 and 25 Geo. III. for 1784 and 1785 to 5th July 1786 — — —	532,662	18	4¾
For deficiencies and loſs by repeal of duties on tea, by 24 and 25 Geo. III. in 1784 and 1785, to 5th April 1786 — — —	233,410	6	7¼
For deficiencies of grants for 1786 — —	240,324	19	10¾
Total of deficiencies —	4,675,697	15	4¼

Recapitulation of the Supplies.

Navy — — — —	2,286,000	0	0
Ordnance — — — —	328,576	17	3
Army — — — —	1,876,287	16	9½
Miſcellaneous ſervices — — —	3,248,017	8	2¾
Deficiencies — — —	4,675,697	15	4¼
Total of ſupplies —	12,414,579	17	7½

Ways and Means for raiſing the above Supplies, granted to his Majeſty for the Year 1787.

FEBRUARY 8.

By land-tax, at 4s. in the pound — —	2,000,000	0	0
By malt-duty, continued till 24th June 1788 —	750,000	0	0

MAY 8.

By loans and exchequer bills, three acts —	5,500,000	0	0
Out of the conſolidated fund — —	2,400,000	0	0
Surplus of impreſt money — —	74,102	9	10

Savings

	£.	s.	d.
Savings from the army in 1785 and 1786 —	44,806	2	7
Out of ſurplus in exchequer for land forces in 1785	180,000	0	0
Surplus of the ſinking fund remaining in the exchequer, 5th April 1787 — — —	1,226,072	2	11¼
By lottery of 50,000 tickets, at 15l. 2s. 9d. each, 500,000l. in prizes, charged on the ſupplies for this year, to be paid at the bank 1ſt December 1788 — — — —	756,875	0	0
Total ways and means —	12,931,855	15	4½
Total ſupplies — —	12,414,579	17	7½
Exceſs of ways and means —	517,275	17	9

NEW TAXES in 1787.

Additional duty on geneva imported.
Ditto on licences to deal in ſpirituous liquors. And
A duty of exciſe on French glaſs imported.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the opening of the fourth Seſſion of the ſixteenth Parliament of Great Britain, *on* Tueſday *the 23d of* January, 1787.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"I HAVE particular ſatisfaction in acquainting you, that ſince I laſt met you in parliament, the tranquillity of Europe has remained uninterrupted, and that all foreign powers continue to expreſs their friendly diſpoſition to this country.

"I have concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the Moſt Chriſtian king, a copy of which ſhall be laid before you. I muſt recommend it to you to take ſuch meaſures as you ſhall judge proper for carrying it into effect; and I truſt you will find that the proviſions contained in it are calculated for the encouragement of induſtry and the extenſion of lawful commerce in both countries, and by promoting a beneficial intercourſe between our reſpective ſubjects, appear likely to give additional permanence to the bleſſings of peace. I ſhall keep the ſame ſalutary objects in view in the commercial arrangements which I am negociating with other powers.

"I have alſo given directions for laying before you a copy of a convention agreed upon between me and the Catholic king, for carrying into effect the ſixth article of the laſt treaty of peace.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I have ordered the eſtimates for the preſent year to be laid before you; and I have the fulleſt reliance on your readineſs to make due proviſion for the ſeveral branches of the public ſervice.

"The ſtate of the revenue will, I am perſuaded, continue to engage your conſtant attention, as being eſſentially connected with the national credit, and the proſperity and ſafety of my dominions.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"A plan has been formed, by my direction, for tranſporting a number of convicts, in order to remove the inconvenience which aroſe from the crowded ſtate of the gaols in different parts of the kingdom; and you will, I doubt not, take ſuch farther meaſures as may be neceſſary for this purpoſe.

"I truſt you will be able this ſeſſion to carry into effect regulations for the eaſe of the merchants, and for ſimplifying the public accounts in the various branches of the revenue; and rely upon the uniform continuance of your exertions in purſuit of ſuch objects as may

may tend ſtill farther to improve the national reſources, and to promote and confirm the welfare and happineſs of my people."

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, to his Majeſty, for the foregoing Speech from the Throne.

Die Martis 23° Januarii 1787.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your gracious ſpeech from the throne.

"Permit us to expreſs to your majeſty the eagerneſs with which we take the earlieſt opportunity offered to us of joining the unanimous voice of our fellow ſubjects, in congratulating your majeſty on the late providential interpoſition of the Almighty in the preſervation of a life ſo valuable to your people. We acknowledge, with reverence and gratitude, the divine goodneſs, in averting the calamity with which we were threatened. We join in the general admiration of thoſe virtues which compoſe your majeſty's character; and humbly beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that we are happy in teſtifying the ſhare we take in the loyal and affectionate attachment to your ſacred perſon, which pervades the breaſts of your majeſty's ſubjects in every part of your dominions.

"It is with moſt ſincere concern that we condole with your majeſty upon the loſs which you have ſuſtained by the unfortunate death of that illuſtrious and excellent princeſs, your majeſty's aunt, her royal highneſs the Princeſs Amelia.

"The preſent appearances of the preſervation of the public tranquillity, as well as the aſſurances given to your majeſty by foreign powers of their friendly diſpoſition to this country, gives us the greateſt ſatisfaction.

"We return your majeſty our hearty thanks for your goodneſs in directing the treaty of navigation and commerce with the Moſt Chriſtian king, and the convention with his Catholic majeſty, to be laid before us; and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that, in conſidering meaſures of ſo important and intereſting a nature, we ſhall be happy to find in them a tendency to give an additional permanency to the bleſſings of peace, the encouragement of induſtry, and the extenſion of lawful commerce between your majeſty's ſubjects and thoſe of the Moſt Chriſtian king, and that we ſhall with pleaſure concur in any regulations calculated to inſure thoſe ſalutary purpoſes.

"We learn, with great ſatisfaction, that your majeſty has taken meaſures for the tranſportation of a number of convicts, and for removing the inconveniences which ariſe from the crowded ſtate of the gaols; and we beg your majeſty will be aſſured that we ſhall be ready to concur in ſuch farther proviſions as may be found neceſſary for this purpoſe.

"We ſhall with the ſame readineſs co-operate in whatever regulations may appear to be proper for the eaſe of the merchants, and for the ſimplifying the public accounts, in the various branches of the

the revenue; and your majesty may depend upon our best and steadiest exertions in pursuit of such measures as may tend still farther to improve the national resources, and to promote and confirm what has ever been the first object of the parental care and attention of your majesty, the welfare and happiness of your people."

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

"Your expressions of affectionate attachment to my person and government, as well as your assurances of proceeding to the consideration of the important objects which I have recommended to you, give me the greatest satisfaction."

The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King, for the foregoing Speech from the Throne, January 25, 1787.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne; and to take the earliest opportunity of offering to your majesty, in our own name, and in that of all the commons of Great Britain, our most hearty congratulations on the preservation of a life so justly dear to your people. We entertain a just sense of the peculiar favour of Providence, in averting the danger to which we were exposed, and rendering it only the occasion of manifesting, in the fullest manner, those sentiments of duty and affectionate attachment to your sacred person, which are deeply rooted in the hearts of all your majesty's subjects.

"We condole with your majesty on the unfortunate death of that most illustrious and excellent princess, your majesty's aunt, the Princess Amelia.

"It is with great satisfaction we learn that the tranquillity of Europe remains uninterrupted; and that your majesty continues to receive assurances from all foreign powers of their friendly disposition towards this country.

"We are sensible of your majesty's goodness in having directed the treaty of commerce and navigation with the Most Christian king, and the convention agreed upon with the Catholic king, to be laid before us. Both these events, particularly a measure so important and extensive as a commercial arrangement between this country and France, must be highly interesting to us and our constituents; and it will afford us the truest satisfaction to concur in any measure calculated for the encouragement of industry, and the extension of lawful commerce, and which, by promoting a beneficial intercourse between the two countries, shall appear likely to give additional permanence to the blessings of peace.

"Your majesty may at all times rely on our readiness to make due provision for the several branches of the public service; and the state of the revenue, so nearly connected with the national credit and the safety and prosperity of your majesty's dominions, will continue to engage our unremitting attention.

"We shall not fail to take such measures as may be necessary for the

the transportation of convicts, in order to remedy the inconvenience which has arisen from the crowded state of the gaols in different parts of the kingdom.

"We shall diligently apply ourselves to the consideration of any regulations which can be adopted for the ease of the merchants, and for simplifying the public accounts in the various branches of the revenue: and it will be equally our duty and inclination to use our utmost exertions in pursuit of such objects as may tend still farther to improve the national resources, and to second your majesty's gracious and parental wishes for the welfare and happiness of your people."

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

Gentlemen,

"I thank you for this very loyal and dutiful address.

"The warm expressions of your affectionate attachment to my person, and the assurances of your intention to apply with diligence to those interesting objects which I have recommended to your consideration, afford me peculiar satisfaction."

Convention between his Britannic *Majesty and the Most* Christian *King, signed at* Versailles, *the 15th of* January, 1787.

THE king of Great Britain, and the Most Christian king, being willing, in conformity to the 6th and 43d articles of the * treaty of navigation and commerce, signed at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786, to explain and settle certain points which had been reserved; their Britannick and Most Christian majesties, always disposed more particularly to confirm the good understanding in which they are happily united, have named, for that purpose, their respective plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of his Britannick majesty, William Eden, Esq. privy counsellor in Great Britain and Ireland, member of the British parliament, and his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Most Christian majesty; and on the part of his Most Christian majesty, the Count de Vergennes, minister and secretary of state for the department of foreign affairs, and chief of the royal council of finances; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I.

"Their majesties having stipulated in the 6th article of the said treaty, that the duties on hardware, cutlery, cabinet-ware, and turnery, and on all works both heavy and light, of iron, steel, copper, and brass, shall be classed; and that the highest duty shall not exceed ten per cent. *ad valorem*," it is agreed, that cabinet ware and turnery, and every thing that is included under those denominations, as also musical instruments, shall pay ten per cent. *ad valorem*.

All articles made of iron or steel, pure or mixed, or worked and mounted with other substances, not exceeding in value sixty *livres Tournois*, or fifty shillings per quintal, shall pay only five per cent. *ad valorem*; and

* See this treaty, page 266 of the State Papers, in the Annual Register for 1786.

all

all other wares, as buttons, buckles, knives, ſciſſars, and all the different articles included under the deſcription of hardware and cutlery, as alſo all the other works of iron, ſteel, copper, and braſs, pure or mixed, or worked or mounted with other ſubſtances, ſhall pay ten per cent. *ad valorem*.

If either of the two ſovereigns ſhould think proper to admit the ſaid articles, or only ſome of them, from any other nation, by reaſon of their utility, at a lower duty, the ſubjects of the other ſovereign ſhall be allowed to participate in ſuch diminution, in order that no foreign nation may enjoy, in this reſpect, any preference to their diſadvantage.

The works of iron, ſteel, copper, and braſs above mentioned, are not to be underſtood to extend to bar iron or pig iron, or in general to any kind of iron, ſteel, copper, or braſs, in the ſtate of the raw material.

ARTICLE II.

"Their majeſties having alſo ſtipulated, in the 6th article, That for the better ſecuring the due collection of the duties payable *ad valorem*, which are ſpecified in the tariff, they will concert with each other the form of the declarations to be made, and the proper means of preventing fraud with reſpect to the real value of the goods and merchandizes," it is agreed, that each declaration ſhall be given in writing, ſigned by the merchant, owner, or factor, who anſwers for the merchandizes at their entry, which declaration ſhall contain an exact liſt of all the ſaid merchandizes, and of their packages, of the marks, numbers, and cyphers, and of the contents of each bale or caſe, and ſhall certify that they are of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the kingdom from whence they are imported, and ſhall alſo expreſs the true and real value of the ſaid merchandizes, in order that the duties may be paid in conſequence thereof. That the officers of the cuſtom-houſe where the declaration may be made ſhall be at liberty to make ſuch examination as they ſhall think proper of the ſaid merchandizes, upon their being landed, not only for the purpoſe of verifying the facts alledged in the ſaid declaration that the merchandizes are of the produce of the country therein mentioned, and that the ſtatement of their value and quantity is exact, but alſo, for that of preventing the clandeſtine introduction of other merchandizes in the ſame bales or caſes; provided nevertheleſs, that ſuch examinations ſhall be made with every poſſible attention to the convenience of the traders, and to the preſervation of the ſaid merchandizes.

In caſe the officers of the cuſtoms ſhould not be ſatisfied with the valuation made of the merchandizes in the ſaid declaration, they ſhall be at liberty, with the conſent of the principal officers of the cuſtoms at the port, or of ſuch other officer as ſhall be appointed for that purpoſe, to take the ſaid merchandizes according to the valuation made by the declaration, allowing to the merchant or owner an overplus of 10 per cent. and refunding to him the duties he may have paid for the ſaid merchandizes. In which caſe the whole amount ſhall be paid, without delay, by the cuſtom-houſe of the port, if the value of the effects in queſtion ſhall not exceed four hundred and eight *livres tournois*, or twenty pounds ſterling; and within fifteen days at lateſt, if their value ſhall exceed that ſum.

And

And if doubts ſhould happen to ariſe reſpecting the value of the ſaid merchandizes, or the country of which they are the produce, the officers of the cuſtoms at the port ſhall come to a determination thereupon with all poſſible diſpatch, and no greater ſpace of time ſhall be employed for that purpoſe, in any caſe, than eight days, in the ports where the officers who have the principal direction of the cuſtoms reſide, and fifteen days in any other port whatſoever.

It is ſuppoſed, and underſtood, that the merchandizes admitted by the preſent treaty ſhall be reſpectively of the growth, produce, or manufactures of the dominions of the two ſovereigns in Europe.

To oblige the traders to be accurate in the declarations required by the preſent article, as alſo to prevent any doubt that might ariſe on that part of the 10th article of the ſaid treaty, which provides that if any of the effects are omitted in the declaration delivered by the maſter of the ſhip, they ſhall not be liable to confiſcation, unleſs there be a manifeſt appearance of fraud; it is underſtood, that in ſuch caſe, the ſaid effects ſhall be confiſcated, unleſs ſatisfactory proof be given to the officers of the cuſtoms that there was not any intention of fraud.

ARTICLE III.

In order to prevent the introduction of callicoes manufactured in the Eaſt Indies, or in other countries, as if they had been manufactured in the reſpective dominions of the two ſovereigns of Europe, it is agreed, that the callicoes manufactured in the ſaid dominions, for exportation from one country to the other reſpectively, ſhall have at the two ends of each piece a particular mark, woven in the piece, to be ſettled in concert by the two governments, of which mark the reſpective government ſhall give nine months previous notice to the manufacturers; and the ſaid mark ſhall be altered from time to time, as the caſe may require. It is further agreed, that until the ſaid precaution can be put in execution the ſaid callicoes mutually exported ſhall be accompanied by a certificate of the officers of the cuſtoms, or of ſuch other officers as ſhall be appointed for that purpoſe, declaring that they were fabricated in the country from whence they were exported, and alſo that they are furniſhed with the marks already preſcribed in the reſpective countries, to diſtinguiſh ſuch callicoes from thoſe which come from other countries.

ARTICLE IV.

In ſettling the duties upon cambrics and lawns, it is underſtood that the breadth ſhould not exceed, for the cambrics, ſeven-eighths of a yard, Engliſh meaſure (about three quarters of an ell of France); and for the lawns, one yard and a quarter, Engliſh meaſure (one ell of France) and if any ſhall hereafter be made of a greater breadth than what is abovementioned, they ſhall pay a duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*.

ARTICLE V

It is alſo agreed, that the ſtipulations in the eighteenth article of the treaty ſhall not be conſtrued to derogate from the privileges, regulations, and uſages already eſtabliſhed in the cities or ports of the reſpective dominions of the two ſovereigns: and further, that the twenty-fifth article of the ſaid treaty ſhall be conſtrued to relate only to ſhips ſuſpected of carrying, in time of war, to the enemies

enemies of either of the high contracting parties any prohibited article, denominated contraband; and the said article is not to hinder the examinations of the officers of customs, for the purpose of preventing illicit trade in the respective dominions.

ARTICLE VI.

Their majesties having stipulated, by the forty-third article of the said treaty, that the nature and extent of the functions of the consuls should be determined, "and that a convention relative to this point should be concluded immediately after the signature of the present treaty, of which it should be deemed to constitute a part," it is agreed that the said ulterior convention shall be settled within the space of two months, and that, in the mean time, the consuls general, consuls, and vice consuls, shall conform to the usages which are now observed, relative to the consulship, in the respective dominions of the two sovereigns; and that they shall enjoy all the privileges, rights, and immunities belonging to their office, and which are allowed to the consuls general, consuls, and vice-consuls, of the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE VII.

It shall be lawful for the subjects of his Britannic majesty to prosecute their debtors in France, for the recovery of debts contracted in the dominions of his said majesty, or elsewhere, in Europe, and there to bring actions against them, in conformity to the practice of law in use in the kingdom: provided that there shall be the like usage in favour of French subjects, in the European dominions of his Britannic majesty.

ARTICLE VIII.

The articles of the present convention shall be ratified and confirmed by his Britannic majesty, and by his Most Christian majesty, in one month, or sooner, if it can be done, after the exchange of signatures between the plenipotentiaries.

In witness whereof, we the ministers plenipotentiary have signed the present convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be set thereto.

Done at Versailles, the Fifteenth of January, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-seven.

WM. EDEN, (L. S.)
GRAVIER de VERGENNES, (L. S.)

Letter from the King of Prussia *to the States General of the United Provinces, on the Recall of the Comte de* Goertz, *his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary to their High Mightinesses.*

HIGH and mighty lords, and particularly good friends and neighbours:

As I sent my minister of state, the Comte de Goertz, some time since, to assure your high mightinesses of my sincere friendship and consideration for the republic of the United Provinces, and in order to contribute all in my power towards the re-establishment of the interior tranquillity of their country, your high mightinesses must, by that, be fully convinced of my sentiments: but the principal purport of the mission

miſſion of the Comte de Goertz having, to my great regret, not anſwered the end propoſed, I cannot neglect the recall of that miniſter any longer. I charged him to aſſure your high mightineſſes again, that I deſired nothing more warmly than the repoſe and proſperity of your republic. And I am, with conſideration and friendſhip, the good friend and neighbour of your high mightineſſes.

(Signed)

FREDERIC WILLIAM.

and underneath,

FINKENSTEIN HERTZBERG.

Berlin, Jan. 27, 1787.

The Speech of his Grace Charles *Duke of* Rutland, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament*, Jan. 18, 1787.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I HAD hoped, that upon the preſent occaſion of meeting you again in parliament, it would have been in my power to have announced to you the entire ſuppreſſion of thoſe commotions which in ſome parts of the kingdom have diſturbed the general tranquillity. Under the preſent circumſtances I am perſuaded, by my confidence in the accuſtomed proofs of your wiſdom and zeal, that I ſhall receive from you whatever aſſiſtance may be neceſſary for the more effectual vindication of the laws, and the protection of ſociety. Your uniform regard for the rights of all your fellow-ſubjects, and your zealous attachment to the religious and civil conſtitutions of your country, will ſtimulate your attention to their inſeparable intereſts, and will enſure your eſpecial ſupport of the eſtabliſhed church, and the reſpectable ſituation of its miniſters.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have directed the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you: and I truſt you will make the neceſſary proviſions for the exigencies of the ſtate, and the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

An act was paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of the Britiſh parliament for the further increaſe of ſhipping and navigation. You will, I doubt not, take proper meaſures to confirm to this country a full participation of its advantages.

I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, by the king's command, that his majeſty has concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the Moſt Chriſtian king. A copy of this treaty will be laid before you, in which you will not fail to obſerve the attention which is paid to the intereſts of this kingdom; and I truſt that your adoption of it here, by ſuch laws as may be requiſite to give it effect, will be attended with real benefit to the country, by ſucceſsfully encouraging the efforts of her induſtry and emulation.

The trade and manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture of this kingdom; the proteſtant charter-ſchools, and other public inſtitutions for charitable purpoſes, will not fail to engage your conſtant care and encouragement: and I hope that ſome liberal and extenſive plan for the general improvement

of education will be matured for an early execution.

A longer acquaintance with this country ſtrengthens my anxious wiſhes for its welfare; and I ſhall experience the moſt ſenſible gratification, if in my adminiſtration of the king's government, I can, with a ſucceſs in any degree correſpondent to thoſe wiſhes, accompliſh his majeſty's earneſt deſire to promote and ſecure the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland.

The Speech of the Right Honourable the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in Ireland, *to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, on preſenting the Money Bills at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords,* March 17, 1787.

May it pleaſe your Grace.

THE wiſdom of the principle which the commons have eſtabliſhed and perſevered in, under your grace's auſpices, of preventing the further accumulation of national debt, is now powerfully felt throughout the kingdom, in its many beneficial conſequences—public credit has gradually riſen to a height unknown for many years—agriculture has brought in new ſupplies of wealth—and the merchants and manufacturers are each encouraged to extend their efforts, by the ſecurity it has given them, that no new taxes will obſtruct the progreſs of their works, or impede the ſucceſs of their ſpeculations.

Such is the happy ſituation of this kingdom from the ſupport which your grace's conſtant and zealous care has given to the operation of that principle; and this ſituation is peculiarly fortunate at the preſent period, when his majeſty's gracious attention to the intereſts of his people has opened new objects of manufacture, and new channels of commerce to their induſtry.

Happy, however, as our ſituation is, we know that all its bleſſings will be a vain expectation, if a ſpirit of outrage and oppoſition to law ſhall prevent internal induſtry, and depreciate the national character; we have, therefore, applied ourſelves to form ſuch laws as muſt, under the firmneſs and juſtice of your grace's government, effectually and ſpeedily ſuppreſs that lawleſs ſpirit.

His majeſty's faithful commons do now cheerfully continue all the preſent taxes; and having conſtantly experienced how well founded their confidence has been in your grace's prudent adminiſtration of the public treaſure, they do with the greater ſatisfaction declare, that they give and grant them in the moſt decided expectation, that by your grace's frugal and juſt management of the public revenue, they will be rendered ſufficient to anſwer the public expence, without the further accumulation of debt or increaſe of taxes.

The Speech of his Grace Charles *Duke of* Rutland, *Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland, *to both Houſes of Parliament, on their Prorogation,* May 28, 1787.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

IN relieving you from further attendance in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, I have the ſatisfaction of ſignifying to you his majeſty's entire approbation of the wiſe and vigorous meaſures by which you have diſtinguiſhed your zeal for the preſervation of the public peace, and the

the tranquillity of the country. My ſtrenuous exertions ſhall not be wanting to carry your ſalutary proviſions into execution, to aſſert the juſt dominion of the laws, and to eſtabliſh the ſecurity of property, as well as perſonal ſafety, to all deſcriptions of his majeſty's ſubjects in this kingdom.

The decided tenor of your conduct aſſures me of your continued and cordial aſſiſtance, and that you will, with your utmoſt influence, impreſs upon the minds of the people a full conviction what dangerous effects to the general welfare, and to the growing proſperity of the nation, ariſe from the prevalence of even partial or temporary diſturbance. Admoniſh them, that the benevolent but watchful ſpirit of the legiſlature, which induces it to encourage induſtry and exertion, will, at the ſame time, be awake to the correction of thoſe exceſſes, which are the inſeparable companions of idleneſs and licentious diſorder.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I thank you, in the king's name, for the ſupplies which you have ſo cheerfully provided for the ſupport of his majeſty's government. You may depend upon their being faithfully applied to the purpoſes for which they are granted.

The meaſures which you have taken for increaſing public credit and diminiſhing the national debt, are conſonant to that wiſdom and affection to your country which have ever diſtinguiſhed the parliament of Ireland.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

A new and powerful incitement to the national induſtry has been opened by the treaty of commerce with France, in which the utmoſt attention is manifeſted to the intereſts of Ireland. The claims of this kingdom to an equal participation in treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, have been acknowledged by the court of Liſbon. Theſe are decided teſtimonies of his majeſty's paternal regard, and freſh confirmations of his gracious reſolution to conſider the intereſt of Great Britain and Ireland as inſeparable: a principle which, by uniting the faculties and affections of the empire, gives ſtrength and ſecurity to every part of it; a principle which, with your accuſtomed wiſdom, you have ſtill further corroborated by the late arrangement of your laws of navigation.

The loyalty and attachment of his faithful people of Ireland are highly grateful to the king; and by his majeſty's expreſs command I am to aſſure you of his moſt gracious and affectionate protection.

To fulfil my ſovereign's pleaſure, which conſtantly directs me to ſtudy the true happineſs of this kingdom, is the great and ſettled object of my ambition; and upon this baſis I ſhall hope to have eſtabliſhed a permanent claim to your good opinion, and to the confidence and regard of the people of Ireland.

Memorial preſented to the States General of the United Provinces, by his Excellency the Baron de Thulemeyer, *Envoy Extraordinary from his Majeſty the King of* Pruſſia.

THE orders of his Pruſſian majeſty command his envoy extraordinary underſigned, to commu-

nicate to your high mightineſſes the memorial here annexed, which he has the honour of tranſmitting to their noble and grand powers the States of Holland, reſpecting the attack made upon the auguſt perſon of the ſiſter of his majeſty, and the repeated demand of a proportionate ſatisfaction for that inſult.

His majeſty is anxious to give your high and powerful mightineſſes this new mark of his confidence and friendſhip. He gratefully returns his approbation of the conduct which you have adopted and adhered to in the courſe of the whole of this diſagreeable event, and the repeated exortations you have made uſe of to bring about ſuch diſpoſition as his majeſty has a right to expect, from the province chiefly intereſted in rendering ſatisfaction to the honour and juſt demands of a prince, the friend and neighbour of the republic.

His majeſty does not in the leaſt doubt that your high mightineſſes will perſevere in the ſame proceedings, and contribute to effect, without loſs of time, ſuch ſatisfaction as the king demands.

(Signed) DE THULEMEYER.

At the Hague,
Aug. 6, 1787.

Memorial preſented to their noble and grand Powers the States of Holland *and* Weſt Frieſland, *by his Excellency the Baron de* Thulemeyer, *Envoy Extraordinary from his* Pruſſian *Majeſty.*

Noble, grand, and powerful Lords.

THE underſigned envoy extraordinary from his Pruſſian majeſty has tranſmitted to the king his maſter the reſolution which your noble and grand powers have ordered to be returned, in anſwer to his memorial of the 10th of July, reſpecting the attack made upon the perſon of the auguſt ſiſter of the monarch.

The king could not, without extreme ſurpriſe, learn, that inſtead of fulfilling his juſt expectations of an offer of ſatisfaction proportioned to the inſult, an anſwer has been grounded on arguments evaſive and inſufficient. His majeſty will not diſſemble to your noble, great, and powerful lords, that the pretended ignorance of the motives which have conducted her royal highneſs to the Hague, and the apprehenſion of a popular tumult, will never give a colour of excuſe to the proceedings of the commiſſioners ſitting at Woerden. Such a ſuſpicion, oſtentatiouſly publiſhed, is a new inſult. The word of the princeſs, her ſolemn declaration that ſhe did not undertake the journey to the Hague, but from motives the moſt pure,—namely, to quiet all minds, and to point out the means of a general reconciliation in the provinces, were ſufficient to give the deputies of your noble and grand mightineſſes the moſt perfect conviction of her intentions. If the people, overflowing with love and gratitude to the illuſtrious houſe of the founders of the liberty and independence of the Belgic ſtates, ſhould have forgot themſelves, and become tumultuous; if the preſence of the auguſt conſort of the ſtadtholder ſhould have produced ſuch demonſtrations of joy as would have affected the public tranquillity, the means of making the reſidence of the ſove-

reign

reign ſecure from any attack, and unproductive of any danger, which was probably exaggerated in expectation, were left then to the diſcretion of your noble and grand mightineſſes.

The care beſides with which her royal highneſs had prevented any public teſtimony from being made of improper and ill-timed zeal, by concealing from the public the knowledge of her approaching arrival, was a circumſtance which gave her a new claim to the acknowledgements of government.

It is at the Hague, noble, grand, and powerful lords, it is in your own reſidence, where every citizen ought to enjoy full liberty, as eſtabliſhed by the enlightened wiſdom of your anceſtors, that the reſolution was taken, to deny an entrance into the province of Holland to the ſiſter of a great monarch, to the conſort of a prince inveſted with the firſt honours of your ſtate.

The king will not trouble himſelf with enquiring into the legality of the right of refuſal which the commiſſion of Woerden aſſumed to itſelf upon this occaſion.

His majeſty will, however, conſider more attentively the manner in which it was given and executed. A number of armed perſons ſurrounding the carriage of her royal highneſs, and the retinue that followed her, was rather becoming a priſoner of ſtate than a great princeſs, entitled to reſpect from her illuſtrious birth, her noble and eminent qualifications, her virtues, and her ſentiments, which ſhe has conſtantly and invariably conſecrated to the ſervice of the republic. Her royal highneſs is ſcarcely arrived at Schoonhoven, when guards are ſtationed in all the avenues of her houſe, and an officer even placed in her apartment, with a naked ſword in his hand. Proceedings ſo outrageous and offenſive have made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of the king my maſter. His majeſty conſiders this injury as offered to himſelf; and it is at the inſtance, and in conformity with the expreſs orders of his majeſty, that the underſigned again makes a demand from your noble and grand powers, of an immediate and ſuitable ſatisfaction for the inſult which has been offered. His majeſty farther enjoins me not to ſuffer you to remain ignorant that he will inſiſt invariably upon this ſatisfaction; and that he will not content himſelf with a diſcuſſion of detached circumſtances, vague excuſes, or farther ſhifts and evaſions. The king is by no means inſenſible of the reſpect due to the republic of the united provinces, and the illuſtrious aſſembly of the ſtates general, which repreſent the ſovereignty of the ſtates with regard to foreign powers. His majeſty has been pleaſed to approve, with the moſt grateful acknowledgements, of the declared diſavowal and diſcountenance which their high mightineſſes have manifeſted to the meaſures adopted in Holland, reſpecting the point which makes the ſubject of the preſent memorial.

The teſtimonies of friendſhip which the king and his auguſt predeceſſors have at all times been eager to give to the republic of the united provinces, on many intereſting and critical occaſions, authorize his majeſty to expect from your noble and grand powers a juſt return of reſpect, and a reparation of the grievance which the underſigned is

charged to repeat his complaint of. It is from your prudence, noble, grand, and powerful lords, and the reſult of your farther deliberations on this ſubject, that his majeſty expects an anſwer, ſpeedy and ſatisfactory.

(Signed) De Thulemeyer.

At the Hague,
Aug. 6, 1787.

Memorial preſented to their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, Aug. 14, 1787, *by Sir* James Harris, *K. B. the* Britiſh *Ambaſſador at the* Hague.

High and mighty Lords,

THE king, animated with the trueſt and moſt ſincere ſentiments of friendſhip for your high mightineſſes, cannot without extreme pain ſee the continuation of the unfortunate troubles which ſubſiſt in the republic of the United Provinces; and which, by their continuation, threaten the moſt grievous conſequences.

The memorials which the underſigned envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary has preſented to your high mightineſſes, ſince he had the honour to reſide here, have ſhewn, that the king his maſter, as a good friend and neighbour of the republic, has never ceaſed deſiring to ſee peace re-eſtabliſhed; and his majeſty will be always diſpoſed to co-operate on his part, in ſuch a manner as your high mightineſſes may judge proper.

His majeſty having obſerved that the ſtates of the provinces of Zealand and Frieſland have declared their diſpoſition to aſk the mediation of ſome neighbouring powers, (in caſe that your high mightineſſes judge ſuch intervention neceſſary) and that of Zealand, has called to mind, on this occaſion, the repeated aſſurances which the king has given of his friendſhip for the United Provinces; the underſigned has expreſs orders to aſſure your high mightineſſes that his majeſty has conſtantly ſtrongly at heart the re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of the republic, the preſervation of the true conſtitution, and the maintenance of the juſt rights and privileges of all its members. His majeſty feels the greateſt ſatisfaction, in having reaſon to think that the internal means, furniſhed by the conſtitution itſelf, have power ſufficient to accompliſh ſo ſalutary an object. But at the ſame time, if your high mightineſſes are decided, that it is neceſſary to recur to a foreign mediation, and to invite his majeſty; then, in natural conſequence of his affection, and of his good will for the republic, the king will be eager to prove to your high mightineſſes his ſincere deſire to employ all the care that may depend on his majeſty to bring the negotiation to a happy, ſolid, and permanent iſſue.

James Harris.

Convention between his Britannic *Majeſty and the Moſt Chriſtian King.*

Signed at Verſailles, Aug. 31, 1787.

DIFFICULTIES having ariſen in the Eaſt Indies, relative to the meaning and extent of the thirteenth article of the treaty of peace, ſigned at Verſailles, Sept. 3, 1783; his Britannic majeſty and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, with a view to remove

remove every cauſe of diſpute between their reſpective ſubjects in that part of the world, have thought proper to make a particular convention, which may ſerve as an explanation of the thirteenth article above-mentioned. In this view, their ſaid majeſties have named for their reſpective plenipotentiaries, to wit, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, William Eden, Eſq. privy counſellor in Great Britain and Ireland, member of the Britiſh parliament, and his envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and, on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the Sieur Armand Mark, Count de Montmorin de St. Herem, marſhal of his camps and forces, counſellor in all his councils, knight of his order and of the golden fleece, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate, and of his commands and finances, having the department of foreign affairs; who, after having communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. His Britannic majeſty again engages, "to take ſuch meaſures as "ſhall be in his power for ſecuring "to the ſubjects of France a ſafe, "free, and independent trade, ſuch "as was carried on by the French "Eaſt India company," and as it is explained in the following articles, "whether they exerciſe it indivi-"dually, or as a company;" as well in the Nabobſhip of Arcot, and the countries of Madura and Tanjore, as in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, in the northern circars, and in general in all the Britiſh poſſeſſions on the coaſts of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar.

II. In order to prevent all abuſes and diſputes relative to the importation of ſalt, it is agreed that the French ſhall not import annually into Bengal more than two hundred thouſand maunds of ſalt: the ſaid ſalt ſhall be delivered at a place of depoſit appointed for that purpoſe by the government of Bengal, and to officers of the ſaid government, at the fixed price of one hundred and twenty rupees for every hundred maunds.

III. There ſhall be delivered annually for the French commerce, upon demand of the French agent in Bengal, eighteen thouſand maunds of ſaltpetre, and three hundred cheſts of opium, at the price eſtabliſhed before the late war.

IV. The ſix ancient factories, namely, Chandernagore, Coſſimbuzar, Decca, Jugdea, Balaſore, and Patna, with the territories belonging to the ſaid factories, ſhall be under the protection of the French flag, and ſubject to the French juriſdiction.

V. France ſhall always have poſſeſſion of the ancient houſes of Soopore, Keerpoy, Cannicole, Mohunpore, Serampore, and Chittagong; as well as the dependencies on Soopore, viz. Gantjurat, Alſende, Chintzabad, Patorcha, Monepore, and Dolobody; and ſhall further have the faculty of eſtabliſhing new houſes of commerce; but none of the ſaid houſes ſhall have any juriſdiction, or any exemption from the ordinary juſtice of the country exerciſed over Britiſh ſubjects.

VI. His Britannic Majeſty engages to take meaſures to ſecure French ſubjects, without the limits of the ancient factories above-mentioned, an exact and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in all matters concerning their perſons or properties, or the carrying on their trade, in

in the ſame manner and as effectually as to his own ſubjects.

VII. All Europeans as well as natives, againſt whom judicial proceedings ſhall be inſtituted, within the limits of the ancient factories above-mentioned, for offences committed, or debts contracted, within the ſaid limits, and who ſhall take refuge out of the ſame, ſhall be delivered up to the chiefs of the ſaid factories; and all Europeans, or others whatſoever, againſt whom judicial proceedings ſhall be inſtituted, within the ſaid limits, and who ſhall take refuge within the ſame, ſhall be delivered up by the chiefs of the ſaid factories, upon demand being made of them by the governor of the country.

VIII. All the ſubjects of either nation reſpectively, who ſhall take refuge within the factories of the other, ſhall be delivered up on each ſide, upon demand being made of them.

IX. The factory of Yanam, with its dependencies, having, in purſuance of the ſaid treaty of peace, been delivered up by Mr. William Hamilton, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, to Mr. Peter Paul Martin, on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the reſtitution thereof is confirmed by the preſent convention, in the terms of the inſtrument bearing date the ſeventh of March, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-five, and ſigned by Meſſieurs Hamilton and Martin.

X. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified and confirmed in the ſpace of three months, or ſooner if it can be done, after the exchange of ſignatures between the plenipotentiaries.

In witneſs whereof we, miniſters plenipotentiary, have ſigned the preſent convention, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Verſailles, Aug. 31, 1787.

WM. EDEN, (L. S.)

LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN, (L. S.)

Tranſlation of the Declaration and Counter-Declaration which were reſpectively ſigned and exchanged at Verſailles, *on the 27th of* October, *by his Grace the Duke of* Dorſet, *his Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, and the Right Honourable* William Eden, *his Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary, on the Part of his Majeſty; and by the Count de* Montmorin, *his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Miniſter and Secretary of State, having the Department of Foreign Affairs, on the Part of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.*

DECLARATION.

THE events which have taken place in the republic of the United Provinces, appearing no longer to leave any ſubject of diſcuſſion, and ſtill leſs of conteſt, between the two courts, the underſigned are authorized to aſk, whether it is the intention of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty to carry into effect the notification made on the 16th of September laſt, by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary, which, by announcing that ſuccours would be given in Holland, has occaſioned the naval armaments on the part of his majeſty; which armaments have become reciprocal.

If the court of Verſailles is diſpoſed to explain itſelf upon this ſubject,

ſubject, and upon the conduct to be adopted towards the republic, in a manner conformable to the deſire which has been expreſſed on both ſides, to preſerve the good underſtanding between the two courts; and it being alſo underſtood, at the ſame time, that there is no view of hoſtility towards any quarter, in conſequence of what has paſſed; his majeſty, always anxious to concur in the friendly ſentiments of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, would agree with him, that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, ſhould be diſcontinued on each ſide, and that the navies of the two nations ſhould be again placed upon the footing of the peace eſtabliſhment, as it ſtood on the firſt of January of the preſent year.

Verſailles, 27th of Oct. 1787.

DORSET.
WM. EDEN.

COUNTER-DECLARATION.

The intention of his majeſty not being, and never having been, to interfere by force in the affairs of the republic of the United Provinces, the communication made to the court of London on the 16th of laſt month, by Monſieur Barthelemy, having had no other object than to announce to that court an intention, the motives of which no longer exiſt, eſpecially ſince the king of Pruſſia has imparted his reſolution; his majeſty makes no difficulty to declare, that he will not give any effect to the declaration above-mentioned; and that he retains no hoſtile view towards any quarter relative to what has paſſed in Holland. His majeſty, therefore, being deſirous to concur with the ſentiments of his Britannic majeſty for the preſervation of the good harmony between the two courts, agrees with pleaſure with his Britannic majeſty, that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, ſhall be diſcontinued on each ſide; and that the navies of the two nations ſhall be again placed upon the footing of the peace eſtabliſhment, as it ſtood on the firſt of January of the preſent year.

Verſailles, 27th Oct. 1787.

LE CTE. DE MONTMORIN.

In conſequence of the declaration and counter-declaration exchanged this day, the underſigned, in the name of their reſpective ſovereigns, agree, that the armaments, and in general all warlike preparations, ſhall be diſcontinued on each ſide, and that the navies of the two nations ſhall be again placed upon the footing of the peace eſtabliſhment, as it ſtood on the firſt of January of the preſent year.

Verſailles, Oct. 27, 1787.

DORSET.
W. EDEN.
LE CTE DE MONTMORIN.

The Emperor's Declaration to the States of his Belgic *Provinces*, July, 3, 1787, *in Anſwer to their Remonſtrance* * *of the 22d of* June.

To the Right Reverend and Reve-

* This remonſtrance contained the motives of their proceedings in oppoſition to the emperor's reforms; and which proceedings they declare "have no other "foundation than the firmeſt perſuaſion that the *new ſyſtem* is as deſtructive to "the intereſts of his imperial majeſty, as to the welfare of his Belgic people."

rend

rend Fathers in God, noble, dear, and well-beloved, we the Emperor and King.

MY chancellor of ſtate has preſented me your remonſtrance, dated the 22d of June laſt; and I wiſh, in anſwer to its contents, to acquaint you, by theſe preſents, that it never was my intention to overturn the conſtitution of my provinces in Flanders, and that all the inſtructions with which I have charged my governors-general have invariably tended, and without even the ſhadow of any perſonal intereſt, to the advantage of my faithful ſubjects in the Low Countries; at the ſame time that I would not deprive the body of the nation of any of their ancient rights, privileges, and liberties enjoyed by them. Every ſtep I have taken ought to convince you of the truth of this aſſertion, if you yet remain willing to render them the juſtice which is their due.

I occupied myſelf on ſome reforms in the adminiſtration of juſtice, only at the inſtance of numerous and repeated requeſts that were made me, praying to obtain a ſhorter or leſs difficult mode of proceedings in law; and the ſuperintendants appointed in conſequence had no other aim than to ſee that the laws were put in force, and that thoſe who were amenable to them ſhould pay them proper regard.

In regard to many ancient privileges, I only wiſh to reform, at the deſire of thoſe concerned, the abuſes that were become hurtful, and which had crept in by the lapſe of time, contrary to the intent of their original purpoſes.

Far, then, from foreſeeing any oppoſition, and eſpecially one ſo criminal and bold, I expected that the ſtates of my provinces in Flanders would have entered on the new regulations with as much alacrity as gratitude: and I ſtill am willing, as a kind guardian, and as a man who knows how to commiſerate the ill-adviſed, and who wiſhes to forgive, to attribute what has yet been done, and what you have dared to do, to a miſinterpretation of my intentions, made and ſpread abroad by perſons more attached to their private intereſt than to the general good, and who have no eſtate to loſe.

Be it as it may, it is my pleaſure that the execution of the new ordinances in queſtion ſhould remain, for the preſent, ſuſpended; and when their royal highneſſes, my lieutenants and governors-general, agreeably to the intentions which I have lately communicated to them, ſhall be aſſembled at Vienna with the deputies of the different ſtates, to repreſent before me their grievances aloud, and to learn my intentions, which they will always find calculated on the principles of the ſtricteſt juſtice, and tending ſolely to the benefit of my ſubjects, we will then agree on ſome regulations to be made for the general good, according to the eſtabliſhed law of the land.

But if, contrary to every intent, this laſt token of my goodneſs towards you ſhould be diſregarded, inaſmuch that you ſhould refuſe to come and lay before me your complaints, your fears, your doubts, and to liſten to me with confidence, and that you continue your ſhameful exceſſes and unpardonable proceedings, then you will draw on yourſelves all the unhappy conſequences which muſt reſult from them, and which I pray God may never come to paſs.

(Signed) JOSEPH.

(Counter-ſigned)

A. G. DE LEDEROR.

The

*The Emperor's Anſwer to the Deputies * from the States of the* Belgic *Provinces*, Aug. 15, 1787.

"MY juſt diſpleaſure at what has paſſed in my Belgic provinces, is not to be appeaſed by a flow of words only; it muſt be ſuch that follow to prove to me the reality of thoſe ſentiments of fidelity and attachment, of which you have given me an aſſurance on the part of your conſtituents.

I have given orders to the prince de Kaunitz, to communicate to you in writing, and for the notice of your ſtates, *the orders which I have ſent to my government*; and the execution of which I expect to be effected before entering into any deliberation whatever.

The welfare of my ſubjects is the ſole object of all my proceedings, of which you ought to be perſuaded by my calling you together in the moment when you have been bold enough to merit my indignation; and with all the means in my power to puniſh, I have, nevertheleſs, repeated the aſſurance of preſerving you."

The Orders alluded to in the preceding Anſwer, and tranſmitted to the Comte de Murray, were as follows.

The Emperor and King.

Truſty and well-beloved Comte de Murray, my counſellor of ſtate, lieutenant-general of my armies, general-commandant, and my lieutenant-general, and captain-general, *ad interim*, of the Low Countries.

You will find by the narrative annexed, in what terms I explained myſelf to the deputation from the ſtates of my Belgic provinces in the audience which I gave them; and I ſend you this that you may know more particularly my intentions and pleaſure on the ſubject of the indiſpenſable preliminaries of which the narrative makes mention.

All the proceedings, more or leſs, of which the ſtates and a part of the people have been guilty, are notorious. Conſequently it is impoſſible for me to yield to the ſentiments of clemency which I am inclined to cheriſh, nor to the favourable diſpoſitions which I manifeſted to the deputation of the ſtates, until there ſhall not remain the ſmalleſt veſtige of any part of what they have dared to commit in contempt of the ſovereign authority ſince the firſt of April of this year.

To this effect it is neceſſary,

1. That in all the provinces of the Low Countries every thing ſhould be reſtored to the footing on which it ſtood before the firſt of April of this year.

2. The univerſity and general ſeminary of Louvaine, with all the perſons employed and belonging to each, muſt be re-eſtabliſhed in the condition in which they ſtood, or ought to have ſtood, on the ſaid firſt of April; and it muſt be the ſame with the ſeminary of Luxembourg.

3. The ſtates of all the provinces

* They appeared before the emperor on the 15th of Auguſt 1787, in order to juſtify their conduct; and their remonſtrance was made by the Abbé de Grimbergue, in the name of the reſt.

muſt

must submit implicitly to the payment of the subsidies, both those that are in arrear, and those which are current.

4. The companies of burgesses, their military exercises, uniforms, cockades, and all other marks of party spirit, as well as all other illegal associations and meetings, shall be forthwith abolished; and in defect of troops, each magistrate shall take the most effectual measures for the support of the police and of good order.

5. The convents suppressed previous to the first of April last shall remain suppressed for ever, and the nominations that may have been made since that period to the vacant abbey shall be null, and produce no effect in favour of the religious persons so appointed.

6. All the persons in office, whom they have presumed to displace, must be restored; with the exception of the intendants and members of the new tribunals of justice: these two topics being of the number of those on which I am disposed to listen to my states, and to commune with them.

7. It is also indispensable, that all which regards the chapters of Chanonopes, the religious fraternities, and all which respects the clergy as citizens and subjects of the states; and generally, that all things shall be restored to the condition, and be made instantly conformable to the ordinances existing at the above period.

In a word, there must not remain the smallest vestige of any thing committed contrary to my orders and intentions, and since the first of April of this year.

My dignity renders all these preliminary re-establishments absolutely indispensable. The assemblies of the states will perceive, I hope, the necessity; and I consequently flatter myself that every one of them will immediately and peaceably take place if possible.

But if it shall happen, against all expectation, that any one shall dare to oppose this restitution, which must be complete and preliminary, I authorize you, by these presents, to employ for this purpose all the means of authority which I have confided in you, and which, but with much regret, though I find it to be necessary, I am obliged to augment as far as the occasion shall require.

As soon as you shall inform me that all the above preliminaries are fulfilled, and that every thing is restored to order, I shall be ready to concert with the assemblies of the states, or their deputies duly authorized, what will be the best in the several branches of administration, without being contrary to the fundamental constitution of my Belgic provinces; or, on the contrary, I shall find myself under the necessity, for the general good, to employ all the means which are abundantly in my power, and of which I do not desire to make use, from the affection which I yet bear for my Belgic people, although they have in my eyes been highly criminal.

And in so far, my trusty and well-beloved, may God have you in his holy keeping.

JOSEPH.

Vienna, 16th *August*.

Memorial of the Deputies of the Belgic *Provinces to Prince* Kaunitz, *occasioned*

occaſioned by his communicating the foregoing Orders to them.

THE deputies of the ſtates of the Auſtrian Belgic provinces, who are proſtrate at the foot of the throne of their auguſt ſovereign, have ſeen, with the moſt ſenſible grief, their endeavours and hopes fruſtrated in not being able to obtain the proofs of his paternal tenderneſs, and that ſort of declaration, which, by terminating the evils and misfortunes of this nation, would have raiſed its gratitude to its higheſt pitch; inſtead of which, my lord, our concern is augmented, and our alarms are redoubled, at the knowledge of the orders which his majeſty has reſolved to ſend to the government general of our provinces, and which you have deigned to communicate to us.

The faithful inhabitants of thoſe provinces, full of confidence in his majeſty's paternal bounty, did not doubt but he would put the ſeal of approbation to the declarations which we were charged to ſolicit, and thereby renew the public confidence, without which commerce and induſtry muſt languiſh, if not become extinct, which will bring on a certain inactivity, the bane of wealth. They hoped that a ſimple and preciſe declaration, tending to preſerve all our rights, uſages, and privileges, which we had reaſon to expect from his majeſty, would recover in the minds of foreigners that confidence they have a right to expect from an upright honeſt people, living peaceably under the protection of its wiſe and ancient conſtitution, which would have cauſed the national credit (greatly hurt by the fear of a new ſyſtem) to reſume its former vigour. They alſo hoped, that the inhabitants of thoſe countries, who were ready to forſake their native ſoil by reaſon of internal diviſions, would ſeek and find an aſylum with them, which they certainly will not do now, until the new tribunals of juſtice are irrevocably ſuppreſſed, and the fatal intendencies aboliſhed by an expreſs declaration.

In the orders ſent to the government every one will ſee his majeſty relaxes in nothing relating to the eccleſiaſtical affairs, which are ſo ſtrongly linked with the rights and privileges of the other claſſes of citizens, that it ſeems as if it was all one intereſt. They will ſee that his majeſty, previous to entering into any deliberation whatſoever, requires the ſubſidies to be granted and paid, whilſt it has always been an invariable rule that the conſenting to the ſubſidies was dependent upon the exact obſervance of the privileges and liberties of the country.

The penetration of your highneſs cannot fail to obſerve the cruel ſenſations which theſe orders will have on the minds of the Belgic people, as well as on thoſe of foreigners, as they muſt appear to be only given to ſtrengthen the new diſpoſitions iſſued in the ſacred name of his majeſty, and which are the ſubject of our juſt complaints.

We are not ignorant, my Lord, that his majeſty can employ that force which the divine providence has put into his hands; but will the goodneſs of his heart permit him to uſe means ſo contrary to the welfare of his ſubjects? Will he deliver his children to the deſtructive effects of military executions, and that only becauſe they remain

remain attached to a conſtitution, which, in ſupporting the lawful power of the ſovereign, affects at the ſame time the happineſs of the people? Will the paternal tenderneſs of his majeſty ſuffer him to deſtroy his faithful ſubjects, inſtead of ruling them by their indigenous laws, which have cauſed their happineſs and proſperity for ſo many ages? Can ſuch deſtructive means be reconciled with the paternal diſpoſitions which he has deigned to profeſs for them, and which their inviolable fidelity has rendered them ſo worthy of? Will what his majeſty thinks due to his offended dignity be completed, if, to revenge it, he gives up his faithful ſubjects to ſo many horrors, thoſe ſubjects who are always ready to ſpend their wealth and blood in his defence, and for the glory of the country?

We are, therefore, bold enough to implore your highneſs to deign to employ your good offices and great intereſt in our favour, and to inform his majeſty of our juſt fears, that thereby we may obtain a repeal of thoſe orders, or ſome abatement of them, or, at leaſt, the ſuſpenſion of the departure of the courier, that we may have time to give notice to our conſtituents, that they may, with the zeal that has always animated them, prepare the people for the ſad news, and endeavour to avoid thoſe evils which, from the knowledge we have of the ſtate of things, we cannot but expect and dread.

Done at Vienna, Aug. 16, 1787.
Ita eſt, (Signed) De Cock.

Declaration of the Emperor to the States of Brabant, *delivered by his Excellency the Comte de* Murray.

Joſeph *Comte de* Murray, *baron* Melgum, *knight of the military order of* Maria-Thereſa, *chamberlain and privy-counſellor of ſtate to his majeſty the emperor and king, colonel-proprietor of a regiment of infantry in his ſaid majeſty's ſervice, commander in chief in the* Netherlands, *his lieutenant-governor and captain-general*, ad interim, *&c.*

Gentlemen,

THE ſolemn deputation from the provincial ſtates appointed to lay at the foot of the throne the public teſtimony of the nation's attachment to his majeſty's auguſt perſon, and the vote of the ſaid ſtates in the laſt concentration of the troops, being an additional inſtance of that ſincerity, finally, the declaration of the aforeſaid ſtates concerning the execution of the preliminary articles, preſcribed by the royal diſpatch of the 16th of Auguſt laſt, together with the explanatory act of the 1ſt inſtant, which was approved of as ſatisfactory to the dignity of the throne, empowers the emperor to follow the dictates of his paternal heart.

His majeſty, in the firſt place, informed by our report of the ſatisfactory explanation given by the reſpective deputies of the provinces ſucceſſively, was graciouſly pleaſed, in order to calm the alarms of his ſubjects, to ſend us his commands, that in caſe the declarations of the ſtates ſhould be agreeable to the execution of the preliminaries, his royal pleaſure ſhould be ſignified, which his dignity could not permit him before to make known.

We have the ſingular happineſs to have it now in our power to obey his commands: wherefore we here-

by declare, in the name of the emperor and king, and in conſequence of his orders:

1ſt, That all the conditions, fundamental laws, privileges, and franchiſes, in fine, the *joyous entry*, are, and ſhall be maintained, and remain untouched, conformably to the acts of his majeſty's inauguration, both as to the civil and eccleſiaſtical order.

2dly, That the new tribunal of juſtice, the intendancies and their committees, ſhall no longer be ſuſpended, but be, and are entirely ſuppreſſed; his majeſty, by his parental fondneſs, and his juſtice, being induced to give up this point, as well as thoſe which had been regulated by two diplomas, iſſued out the firſt of January laſt, concerning the adminiſtrations, the provincial ſtates, and the intermediary committee, or deputation from the ſaid ſtates.

3dly, This tribunal, ſuperior and inferior juriſdictions of the towns, and of the flat country, in fine, the order and adminiſtrations of juſtice, the ſtates and their deputies, as well as the reſpective adminiſtrations of the towns and of the flat country, ſhall henceforth remain on the former footing, ſo that there will be no further mention made of the new form which had been talked of to be introduced in the different branches of public adminiſtration, in regard to which the two diplomas of the 1ſt of January, 1787, are entirely at an end: wherefore the dignities of grand bailiffs and civil governors ſhall continue in full force; and the ſupport of the ſtates requires that the ſame ſhould be underſtood of thoſe abbeys whoſe abbots are members of the ſaid ſtates, and the latter ſhall be provided with abbots, according to the *joyous entry* and the conſtitutions.

Laſtly, in regard to redreſſing any infraction of the *joyous entry*, conferences ſhall be held with the ſtates according to their requiſition; their propoſals on that head ſhall conſequently be attended to, and his majeſty ſhall diſpoſe thereof according to equity, juſtice, and the fundamental laws of the province. Whereupon, gentlemen, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

Given at Bruſſels, September 21, 1787.

(Signed) MURRAY.

By command of his excellency } DE REUL.

Articles of the New Conſtitution *of the United States of* America, *entered into by a Convention of all the States held at* New York, *and tranſmitted to Congreſs for their Approbation by General* Waſhington, *Preſident of the Convention, on the 17th* September 1787.

In CONVENTION, Sept. 17, 1787.

SIR,

WE have now the honour to ſubmit to the conſideration of the United States, in congreſs aſſembled, that Conſtitution which has appeared to us the moſt adviſeable.

The friends of our country have long ſeen and deſired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money and regulating commerce, and the correſpondent executive and judicial authorities, ſhould be fully and effectually veſted in the general govern-

ment of the union: but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident. Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable, in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals, entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and, on the present occasion, this difficulty was encreased by a difference among the several states, as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American —the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might have been otherwise expected; and thus the Constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state, is not perhaps to be expected; but each will doubtless consider, that, had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable or injurious to others; that it is liable to as few exceptions as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe; and that it may promote the lasting welfare of that country, so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.

With great respect,
We have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your Excellency's most
obedient and humble servants,
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President.

By unanimous order of the convention.

[*To his Excellency the President of Congress.*]

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Sect. 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

Sect. 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen, every second year, by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No

No perſon ſhall be a repreſentative who ſhall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been ſeven years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not when elected be an inhabitant of that ſtate in which he ſhall be choſen.

Repreſentatives and direct taxes ſhall be apportioned among the ſeveral ſtates which may be included within this union, according to their reſpective numbers, which ſhall be determined by adding to the whole number of free perſons, including thoſe bound to ſervice for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all perſons. The actual enumeration ſhall be made within three years after the firſt meeting of the congreſs of the United States, and within every ſubſequent term of ten years, in ſuch manner as they ſhall by law direct. The number of repreſentatives ſhall not exceed one for every thirty thouſand, but each ſtate ſhall have at leaſt one repreſentative; and until ſuch enumeration ſhall be made, the ſtate of New Hampſhire ſhall be entitled to chuſe three, Maſſachuſetts eight, Rhode Iſland and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York ſix, New Jerſey four, Pennſylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland ſix, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen to the repreſentation from any ſtate, the executive authority thereof ſhall iſſue writs of election to fill ſuch vacancies.

The houſe of repreſentatives ſhall chuſe their ſpeaker and other officers; and ſhall have the ſole power of impeachment.

Sect. 3. The ſenate of the United States ſhall be compoſed of two ſenators from each ſtate, choſen by the legiſlature thereof, for ſix years; and each ſenator ſhall have one vote.

Immediately after they ſhall be aſſembled in conſequence of the firſt election, they ſhall be divided, as nearly as may be, into three claſſes. The ſeats of the ſenators of the firſt claſs ſhall be vacated at the expiration of the ſecond year; of the ſecond claſs, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third claſs, at the expiration of the ſixth year; ſo that one third may be choſen every ſecond year; and if vacancies happen by reſignation, or otherwiſe, during the receſs of the legiſlature of any ſtate, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legiſlature, which ſhall then fill ſuch vacancies.

No perſon ſhall be a ſenator who ſhall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who ſhall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that ſtate for which he ſhall be choſen.

The vice-preſident of the United States ſhall be preſident of the ſenate; but ſhall have no vote, unleſs they be equally divided.

The ſenate ſhall chuſe their other officers, and alſo a preſident *pro tempore*, in the abſence of the vice-preſident, or when he ſhall exerciſe the office of preſident of the United States.

The ſenate ſhall have the ſole power to try all impeachments. When ſitting for that purpoſe, they ſhall be on oath or affirmation. When the preſident of the United States is tried, the chief juſtice

ſhall preſide; and no perſon ſhall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members preſent.

Judgment in caſes of impeachment ſhall not extend further than to removal from office, and diſqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, truſt, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted ſhall nevertheleſs be liable and ſubject to indictment, trial, judgment, and puniſhment, according to law.

Sect. 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for ſenators and repreſentatives, ſhall be preſcribed in each ſtate by the legiſlature thereof, but the congreſs may at any time by law make or alter ſuch regulations, except as to the places of chooſing ſenators.

The congreſs ſhall aſſemble at leaſt once in every year; and ſuch meeting ſhall be on the firſt Monday in December, unleſs they ſhall by law appoint a different day.

Sect. 5. Each houſe ſhall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each ſhall conſtitute a quorum to do buſineſs; but a ſmaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of abſent members, in ſuch manner, and under ſuch penalties, as each houſe may provide.

Each houſe may determine the rules of its proceedings, puniſh its members for diſorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each houſe ſhall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publiſh the ſame, excepting ſuch parts as may in their judgment require ſecrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the members of either houſe, on any queſtion, ſhall, at the deſire of one fifth of thoſe preſent, be entered on the journal.

Neither houſe, during the ſeſſion of congreſs, ſhall, without the conſent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houſes ſhall be ſitting.

Sect. 6. The ſenators and repreſentatives ſhall receive a compenſation for their ſervices, to be aſcertained by law, and paid out of the treaſury of the United States. They ſhall in all caſes, except treaſon, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arreſt during their attendance at the ſeſſion of their reſpective houſes, and in going to and returning from the ſame; and for any ſpeech or debate in either houſe, they ſhall not be queſtioned in any other place.

No ſenator or repreſentative ſhall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which ſhall have been created, or the emolument whereof ſhall have been encreaſed, during ſuch time; and no perſon, holding any office under the United States, ſhall be a member of either houſe during his continuance in office.

Sect. 7. All bills for raiſing revenue ſhall originate in the houſe of repreſentatives; but the ſenate may propoſe or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which ſhall have paſſed the houſe of repreſentatives and ſenate ſhall, before it become a law, be preſented to the preſident of the United States: if he approve, he ſhall ſign it; but, if not, he ſhall return it, with his objections, to that houſe

houſe in which it ſhall have originated, who ſhall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-conſider it. If, after ſuch re-conſideration, two thirds of that houſe ſhall agree to paſs the bill, it ſhall be ſent, together with the objections, to the other houſe, by which it ſhall likewiſe be re-conſidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that houſe, it ſhall become a law. But in all ſuch caſes the votes of both houſes ſhall be determined by Yeas and Nays; and the names of the perſons voting for and againſt the bill ſhall be entered on the journal of each houſe reſpectively. If any bill ſhall not be returned by the preſident within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it ſhall have been preſented to him, the ſame ſhall be a law, in like manner as if he had ſigned it, unleſs the congreſs by their adjournment prevent its return, in which caſe it ſhall not be a law.

Every order, reſolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives may be neceſſary (except an a queſtion of adjournment) ſhall be preſented to the preſident of the United States; and, before the ſame ſhall take effect, ſhall be approved by him, or, being diſapproved by him, ſhall be re-paſſed by two thirds of the ſenate and houſe of repreſentatives, according to the rules and limitations preſcribed in the caſe of a bill.

Sect. 8. The congreſs ſhall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſts, and exciſes, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, impoſts, and exciſes, ſhall be uniform throughout the United States.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the ſeveral ſtates, and with the Indian tribes.

To eſtabliſh an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the ſubjects of bankruptcies, throughout the United States.

To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the ſtandard of weights and meaſures.

To provide for the puniſhment of counterfeiting the ſecurities and current coin of the United States.

To eſtabliſh poſt-offices and poſt-roads.

To promote the progreſs of ſcience and uſeful arts, by ſecuring, for limited times, to authors and inventors the excluſive right to their reſpective writings and diſcoveries.

To conſtitute tribunals inferior to the ſupreme court.

To define and puniſh piracies and felonies committed on the high ſeas, and offences againſt the law of nations.

To declare war, grant letters of marque and repriſal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

To raiſe and ſupport armies; but no appropriation of money to that uſe ſhall be for a longer term than two years.

To provide and maintain a navy.

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the union, ſuppreſs inſurrections, and repel invaſions.

To provide for organizing, arming, and diſciplining the militia, and for governing ſuch part of them as may be employed in the ſervice of the United States; reſerving to

the ſtates reſpectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the diſcipline preſcribed by congreſs.

To exerciſe excluſive legiſlation, in all caſes whatſoever, over ſuch diſtrict (not exceeding ten miles ſquare) as may, by ceſſion of particular ſtates, and the acceptance of congreſs, become the ſeat of the government of the United States; and to exerciſe like authority over all places purchaſed by the conſent of the legiſlature of the ſtate, in which the ſame ſhall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arſenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings. And

To make all laws which ſhall be neceſſary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers veſted by this Conſtitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

Sect. 9. The migration or importation of ſuch perſons as any of the ſtates now exiſting ſhall think proper to admit, ſhall not be prohibited by the congreſs, prior to the year one thouſand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be impoſed on ſuch importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each perſon.

The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus ſhall not be ſuſpended, unleſs when, in caſes of rebellion or invaſion, the public ſafety may require it.

No bill of attainder, or *ex poſt facto* law, ſhall be paſſed.

No capitation, or other direct tax, ſhall be laid, unleſs in proportion to the cenſus, or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty ſhall be laid on articles exported from any ſtate. No preference ſhall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one ſtate over thoſe of another: nor ſhall veſſels bound to or from one ſtate be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in another.

No money ſhall be drawn from the treaſury, but in conſequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular ſtatement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money ſhall be publiſhed from time to time.

No title of nobility ſhall be granted by the United States: and no perſon, holding any office of profit or truſt under them, ſhall, without the conſent of the congreſs, accept of any preſent, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign ſtate.

Sect. 10. No ſtate ſhall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and repriſal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and ſilver coin a tender in payment of debts; paſs any bill of attainder, *ex poſt facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of the congreſs, lay any impoſts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be abſolutely neceſſary for executing its inſpection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impoſts, laid by any ſtate on imports or exports, ſhall be for the uſe of the treaſury of the United States; and all ſuch law ſhall be ſubject to the reviſion and controul of the congreſs. No ſtate ſhall, without the conſent of congreſs, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops

or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Sect. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years; and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and, if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president; and, if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But, in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by the states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But, if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose for them by ballot the vice-president.

The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inabi-

lity, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased or diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States."

Sect. 2. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States: he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they may think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sect. 3. He shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient: he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them; and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper: he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers: he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sect. 4. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

ARTICLE III.

Sect. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their

offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sect. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but, when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

Sect. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt-act, or on confession in open court.

The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Sect. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sect. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall fly from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into any other, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Sect. 3. New states may be admitted by the congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state

ſtate be formed by the junction of two or more ſtates, or parts of ſtates, without the conſent of the legiſlatures of the ſtates concerned, as well as of the congreſs.

The congreſs ſhall have power to diſpoſe of and make all needful rules and regulations reſpecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Conſtitution ſhall be ſo conſtrued as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular ſtate.

Sect. 4. The United States ſhall guarantee to every ſtate in this union a republican form of government, and ſhall protect each of them againſt invaſion; and, on application of the legiſlature, or of the executive (when the legiſlature cannot be convened) againſt domeſtic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congreſs, whenever two thirds of both houſes ſhall deem it neceſſary, ſhall propoſe amendments to this Conſtitution, or, on the application of the legiſlatures of two thirds of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall call a convention for propoſing amendments, which, in either caſe, ſhall be valid, to all intents and purpoſes, as part of this Conſtitution, when ratified by the legiſlatures of three fourths of the ſeveral ſtates, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be propoſed by the congreſs; provided that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thouſand eight hundred and eight, ſhall in any manner affect the firſt and fourth clauſes in the ninth ſection of the firſt article; and that no ſtate, without its conſent, ſhall be deprived of its equal ſuffrage in the ſenate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Conſtitution, ſhall be as valid againſt the United States under this Conſtitution, as under the confederation.

This Conſtitution, and the laws of the United States which ſhall be made in purſuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which ſhall be made, under the authority of the United States, ſhall be the ſupreme law of the land; and the judges in every ſtate ſhall be bound thereby, any thing in the conſtitution or laws of any ſtate to the contrary notwithſtanding.

The ſenators and repreſentatives before mentioned, and the members of the ſeveral ſtate legiſlatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the ſeveral ſtates, ſhall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to ſupport this Conſtitution; but no religious teſt ſhall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public truſt under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine ſtates ſhall be ſufficient for the eſtabliſhment of this Conſtitution between the ſtates ſo ratifying the ſame.

Done in convention, by the unanimous conſent of the ſtates preſent, the ſeventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-ſeven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
Preſident;
and Deputy from Virginia.

New

New Hampshire.	John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.
Massachusetts.	Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.
Connecticut.	Wm. Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.
New York.	Alexander Hamilton.
New Jersey.	William Livingston, David Brearley, William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.
Pennsylvania.	Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersol, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.
Delaware.	George Read, Gunning Bedford, jun. John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.
Maryland.	James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.
Virginia.	John Blair, James Madison, jun.
North Carolina.	William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.
South Carolina.	John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.
Georgia.	William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest. WILLIAM JACKSON, Sec.

In CONVENTION, Monday, Sept. 17, 1787.

PRESENT,

The states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. Hamilton from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia:

Resolved,

THAT the preceding Constitution be laid before the United States in congress assembled; and that it is the opinion of this convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to, and ratifying, the same, should give notice thereof to the United States in congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention, that, as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this Constitution, the United States, in congress assembled, should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this Constitution: That, after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected: That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes, certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the Constitution requires, to the secretary of the United States in congress assembled; that the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned; that the senators should appoint a president of the senate, for the sole purpose of

of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for president; and that, after he shall be chosen, the congress, together with the president, should, without delay, proceed to execute this Constitution.

By the unanimous order of the convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President.

William Jackson, Secretary.

Remonstrance of the Parliament of Paris, *presented to his Most Christian Majesty, against the Declaration of a Stamp Duty, on* July 24, 1787.

A Most respectful address, Sire, together with the just alarms of the nation, has been humbly laid at the foot of the throne, by your majesty's most dutiful and faithful parliament. The bare proposal of a duty on paper has alarmed every individual. After a glorious peace of five years, and a progressive increase of at least 130 millions of livres in thirteen years, it seems as if the name of impost were never to come out of a beneficent monarch's mouth, except in rendering it less onerous, or diminishing the number of those already existing. What was our surprise then, Sire, when we were told that new taxes were projecting by the notables; and that a new one, of a most distressing kind, was to be offered for the approbation of parliament!

The first reflection that naturally occurs at the very mention of a new duty, is to enquire into the actual state of the finances. What an administration must the last have been, if the evils that resulted from it require such a desperate remedy! Your majesty must remember how we strove, in 1784 and 1785, to give you a faithful picture of the real situation of the state, which seemed then (or your ministry endeavoured to make it appear so) as if inclined to take a turn for the best; but the truth was, that the state was more involved in difficulties than ever. Your parliament then, Sire, did every thing in their power, but in vain, to set truth in its clearest light; some of your ministers had too great interest to conceal it from your majesty; all our humble remonstrances proved useless; and there were some of your council who went so far as to make you suspect the purity of our patriotic intentions: the terrible situation of affairs, however, required a speedy and efficacious remedy. The notables, assembled by your majesty's orders, have withdrawn the veil that covered that undermining administration; a dreadful spectacle presented itself to the eye of the astonished nation; an immense deficiency was very visible in the treasury; and every body hastened to propose the means of filling it up, and affording a speedy remedy. How grievous, to your majesty's paternal heart must such a discovery have been! How must your astonishment and sorrow have increased, when you reflected on the fatal errors, in which your ministers had long and purposely kept you!

Such is the consequence, Sire, when the choice of ministers falls on persons that are obnoxious to the nation in general: such is the great, but sad example, that teaches monarchs how far they must respect the public opinion, seldom susceptible of error, because men united together

together rarely give or receive an impreſſion contrary to truth. In point of adminiſtration, Sire, the pureſt hands are hardly pure enough. A firſt condeſcenſion, or rather a firſt wrong ſtep, leads to a ſecond: no bounds can circumſcribe the imprudent miniſter when once he ſwerves from his duty; ſucceſſive abuſes produce an utter confuſion, and a fatal diſorder; the deep wounds fixed in the conſtitution demand a remedy; and this, even when certain, will effect but a ſlow cure.

O let your majeſty deign to pauſe a while on one of theſe ſalutary reflections, the importance of which has been acknowledged by all good monarchs.—Evil may happen in a ſingle inſtant, but whole years are ſcarce ſufficient to repair the miſchief it cauſes. The vices of an adminiſtration, or, which is the inevitable effect of them, the involuntary error of a juſt monarch, will ſorely diſtreſs whole generations.

It is not your parliament's intention, Sire, to grieve your majeſty's moſt ſenſible heart by expatiating at preſent on ſo affecting a ſubject, and recalling ſo unpleaſant a thought; but they take the liberty of humbly intreating your majeſty to weigh often theſe important reflections, in ſome of thoſe moments when you are meditating in ſilence on the welfare and happineſs of your ſubjects. It behoves now your parliament to enter, with a noble freedom, upon a ſubject propoſed by your majeſty yourſelf; we mean the projected retrenchments and œconomical ſchemes. We earneſtly entreat you, Sire, to be on your guard againſt the emotions and propenſities of your tender heart, in order that the œconomy already begun may continue, and thoſe reforms adopted and ſettled be of conſtant duration. When a pure and enlightened adminiſtration endeavours to eſtabliſh certain principles of œconomy, it generally meets with ſome ancient cuſtoms that ſeem to have been long attached to the conſtitution, and to enjoy the right of preſcription. If the miniſter acts with firmneſs, he is immediately blamed for his imprudence; if with precaution, the world will cenſure his weakneſs: what difficulties will not then in ſuch a caſe ſurround the monarch, and be inceſſantly multiplying about him! Courtiers will publicly approve of, nay applaud, the projected reforms; but in ſecret they will try to weaken, and even prevent, their effect; all means will be employed to deceive him; it is then that art, addreſs, and fineſſe, appear in a thouſand different forms, actuated by the moſt imperious of all motives, perſonal intereſt: the ſovereign, thus beſet, and attacked on every ſide by claims, ſuits, petitions, &c. is forced to liſten to importunate clamours, and, through the goodneſs of his heart, often grants what could never be obtained through his juſtice.

The moment the word œconomy is mentioned, it echoes through the room; the cunning courtier apparently adopts the plan, and wiſhes to be numbered among the great characters of the nation, whoſe example he affects to imitate; but he calculates at the ſame time how long the œconomical reform may ſubſiſt, and how he may render abortive the retrenchments that diminiſh either his credit or his revenues: all expences but his own ſeem ſuſceptible of diminution: in a vaſt adminiſtration, the weakeſt pretexts

pretexts are eaſily tinged with the colouring of reaſon; and that œconomy which has been ſo often courted, and always expected, appears and diſappears in an inſtant, leaving a black cloud over the beautiful countenance of truth, which ſome faint rays had begun to render conſpicuous.

Theſe reflections, Sire, written in the annals of every nation, are the faithful hiſtory of the human heart: never could the meditation on them be more intereſting to your majeſty than at preſent, for the application ſuits exactly to the urgent circumſtances of the times. The more vigour and firmneſs your majeſty will ſhew for the intended reforms, and ſalutary reſolutions, the more difficulties and obſtacle swill certainly impede the way: and experience may perhaps have already proved, that the perſons intereſted in theſe œconomical views begin to hint as if the propoſed ſums were equivocal and precarious, and the deductions agreed upon incompatible with old cuſtoms, and unlikely to laſt a long time.

It is in your majeſty's power to enforce, with a laudable perſeverance, the order that muſt eſtabliſh with permanency this indiſpenſable reform. Every thing ſhould undergo the ſtricteſt enquiry. Your majeſty's juſtice, which is to us the ſureſt and moſt ſacred pledge, emboldens your parliament to lay before you, without danger of incurring your royal diſpleaſure, ſome of thoſe remarks and obſervations that muſt naturally have occurred to you. Had you known, Sire, the real ſtate of your finances, no doubt you would not have undertaken thoſe immenſe edifices that are now building, nor made ſo many acquiſitions onerous to the ſtate; you would not have permited ſo many exchanges of the crown lands, nor granted thoſe exceſſive liberalities that the importunate and intriguing are always ſure of obtaining. The facility of obtaining money from the treaſury (the fatal bane of all adminiſtrations) would never have been ſuffered to increaſe, for it expoſes every moment the ſovereign to ſome dangerous ſurpriſe; it ſquanders ſecretly the public revenue, and can never overbalance, with its pretended utility, the great inconveniences always attending it. Your majeſty would certainly never have conſented to have Paris ſurrounded by ſuch a magnificent wall; to ſee palaces * erected for your exiſe-officers at an exorbitant expence, in order to coincide with the views of the farmers-general, who, in expectation of a precarious and diſtant gain, expend annually thoſe ſums that ſhould be appropriated to wants of more real neceſſity.

All theſe objects, Sire, and many others, the enumeration of which would aſtoniſh, are ſuſceptible of amendment; ſome require a conſiderable diminution; others an entire ſuppreſſion. But it is not the total only of each department that ſhould be properly diminiſhed; every part of it ſhould be ſcrupulouſly examined, and diveſted of all its ſuperfluous charges; it ſhould be reduced to the ſimple and abſolutely neceſſary expence: in ſo doing, your majeſty might eaſily dou-

* At every *barriere* (turnpike) there are two beautiful manſions, in the form of lodges, adorned with pillars, pilaſters, medallions, &c.

ble

ble the intended reform of the forty millions of livres, and this might then prove a real relief to your ſuffering ſubjects.

There are honourable œconomies, Sire, that, far from diminiſhing the ſplendour of a throne, add luſtre and dignity to it. Majeſty itſelf may ſubmit to privations. The ſovereign is always great when his ſubject are happy; and the ſight of happineſs ſpread over a whole people is ſo pompous and brilliant, that it commands public admiration and univerſal applauſe.

Theſe diminutions, ſuppreſſions, reforms, and œconomies, ſo often ſolicited by your parliaments, demanded by the notables, and promiſed to their ſpirited and juſt perſeverance, are wiſhed for and expected every day by the unhappy huſbandman, whoſe tears bedew the very field that contributes to ſo many uſeleſs expences before it has furniſhed the neceſſary ſubſiſtence to the perſon who ſowed it, for the ſubſiſtence of himſelf and family, and who, deprived of the common neceſſaries, is forced to take from his poverty itſelf, wherewith to furniſh to the exigencies of the ſtate.

Theſe unhappy beings, Sire, Frenchmen by birth, and MEN, have a double right to enjoy their ſacred property even in the boſom of indigence; but as they cannot claim it themſelves at your majeſty's feet, let their claims and their rights be ever preſent before you; let their plaints find their way to the throne, and reach your royal perſon; let them hear your gracious anſwer, and let them know that your majeſty's goodneſs and juſtice are the ſureſt ſupporters they can hope to find near the throne.

The French never conſult any intereſt inſeparable from the throne; they are always biaſſed by their ſincere attachment to their monarch; in their fervent zeal and enthuſiaſtic emotions for the royal cauſe, they have been capable of the greateſt ſacrifices; and they may fancy the ways and means of the nation as unbounded as their affection. Theſe ways and means, therefore, muſt be carefully managed and uſed at proper times. It ſhould be likewiſe conſidered, that the contributions proceeding from the impoſts granted to the monarch are only intended as ſubſidies to the ſtate, and that the ſovereign is but the diſtributor of whatever is not employed for the public weal, which naturally belongs to thoſe who cooperate in levying the contributions; and, if they are diverted from their chief and primitive intent, their fertile ſource will ſoon become inſufficient, and, in a ſhort time, exhauſted; particularly if the expences increaſe in proportion to the receipt.

All kinds of impoſts ſhould be porportioned to the neceſſary wants of the nation, and end with them. Each citizen contributes part of his property, for the ſake of maintaining public ſafety and private tranquillity. The people, on ſuch principles, founded on the rights of mankind, and confirmed by reaſon, ſhould never increaſe their contributions but when the expences of the ſtate have undergone all the ſavings, alterations, and retrenchments, they are capable of. It is for this reaſon, therefore, that your parliament, Sire, look upon the duty an ſtamped paper as entirely oppoſite to theſe primitive notions. It would affect the private tranquillity,

lity, by neceſſarily opening a way to errors, and thereby would prove far more dangerous than the *gabelle* [duty on ſalt, a kind of exciſe], which was, as has been ſeen, liable to open frauds. The moſt exact and habitual attention could hardly be ſufficient to diſtinguiſh the numberleſs ſtamped papers that are to ſerve for each reſpective act of juſtice or common tranſaction.

What miſtakes will not the greateſt part of your ſubjects be liable to, by interchanging theſe papers, and making uſe of the one for the other! Many writings, by ſuch involuntary faults, may appear counterfeited in the eye of juſtice; and the unwary individual will find himſelf daily expoſed to pay exorbitant fines, or to encounter diſagreeable and heavy ſuits at law.

Such a duty, Sire, is likewiſe incompatible with public ſafety, as it would deeply wound mutual confidence, which is the ſure foundation of it. Individuals would be afraid of producing unſtamped bills or notes before a tribunal; and in this age, where there are ſuch frequent inſtances of perſons taking all ſorts of advantages, and commencing or prolonging vexatious and never-ending ſuits, a wiſe legiſlator ſhould be very careful not to introduce new ſubjects of chicanery. Beſides, our public truſt, Sire, and our national dignity, abſolutely forbid the introduction of ſuch a dangerous duty.

The moment a declaration is iſſued, which is generally vicious in almoſt all its diſpoſitions, a ſeducing facility of extending its meaning or duration offers itſelf, and pretences are not wanting for impoſing plauſibly on the public. Experience furniſhes us with too many examples. The two ſous and the eight ſous per livre for inſtance, the ſecond warrant for the poll-tax, and ſo many other inventions, which the fertile genius of financiers has imagined, and is never at a loſs to find to overcharge the ſubjects, are but a continuation and extenſion of a duty, ſimple in its origin; and ſuch an extenſion, Sire, is often diveſted of any legal authority, and only collected in virtue of the miniſter's mandate. Without mentioning, Sire, the multiplicity of marks, precautions, and fines, annexed to and attending the duty on ſtamped paper, it is certain that it would cauſe a delay in public and private buſineſs, and obſtruct the common daily tranſactions. All delay is dangerous, and all obſtruction muſt produce a delay. A bill of exchange, improperly ſtamped, would be liable to a fine; the fine muſt be paid immediately by the poſſeſſor of the bill; he therefore would be obliged to advance the ſum for the fine, pay inſtead of receive, and be out of his money till the expiration of his unlucky bill. He would be a ſufferer for other perſons faults, and ſuch faults might be renewed ſeveral times in one and the ſame day, in the very ſame hour; his payments muſt be affected by it, and his credit called in queſtion. Thence miſtruſt and doubts will neceſſarily ariſe; and you know, Sire, that there ſubſiſts a kind of chain in the courſe of exchanges, that ſtrongly binds all the commercial parts of mankind in the known world. Our trading towns would loſe, in the eyes of a foreigner, that level or advantage they were wont to enjoy. In ſhort, were not ſuch a duty extremely onerous in itſelf, its unlimited dura-

tion

tion muſt cauſe a general alarm. We have often ſeen taxes, limited till ſuch a time, prolonged even after the intention of the ſupply had been amply fulfilled; but we did not expect to ſee one that is to laſt perpetually, at the very time when a certain period was mentioned for diminiſhing the national debt.

Lewis XIV. eſtabliſhed the poll-tax in 1695, and the tenth in 1710. The misfortunes and heavy loſſes ſuſtained towards the latter end of his reign, and the invaſion of the kingdom, made him attempt a ſtep, the ſucceſs of which he very much doubted in his own mind. That great monarch, finding himſelf obliged to lay ſuch a duty, ſeemed to have been doubtful whether he had a right to lay it; and if parliament then thought it their duty to have it regiſtered, it was becauſe the contribution was to laſt but a ſhort time; it was chiefly becauſe the exigencies of the ſtate ſeemed to require a ſpeedy redreſs; had it not been for theſe ſubſtantial reaſons, Sire, Lewis XIV. would have owned, "that it was the nation alone, re-united in the three general ſtates, that can give the neceſſary conſent for eſtabliſhing a perpetual tax—that parliament were never inveſted with ſuch a power, and that, charged by the ſovereign to announce his will to the people, they had never been charged by the people to repreſent them ſo implicitly."

This is what your reſpectful parliament takes now the liberty of mentioning to your majeſty; and, penetrated with this truth, alarmed at the enormous deficiency, and ſtruck with the deplorable diſorders that have produced it, and might render it perpetual, they wiſh very much to ſee the whole nation aſſembled, before they regiſter any new impoſt. The nation alone thus aſſembled, and inſtructed in the true ſtate of the finances, may extirpate the great abuſes that are exiſting at preſent, and offer great reſources to obviate them in future.

'Tis for you, Sire, that the honour was reſerved of renewing thoſe national aſſemblies which render the reign of Charlemagne ſo great and illuſtrious; aſſemblies that repaired all king John's diſaſtrous calamities, and concurred with parliament to re-eſtabliſh Charles VII. on the throne. All the world is convinced now of the truth of this maxim—that *myſtery generally accompanies miſtruſt and weakneſs—that the greater authority is, the more confidence and candour it ſhould inſpire—and that entruſting the provincial aſſemblies with part of the adminiſtration, inſtead of weakening it, would enlighten and render it more active.* Your notables, Sire, ſo wiſely ſelected by your majeſty, have aſſiſted the throne with their counſels, and unveiled the long-hidden countenance of truth, which you were determined to ſee. How happy are now the members of this aſſembly in preſenting you, Sire, with the effuſions of that truth they ſtrongly feel in their hearts! *The monarch of France can never be ſo great as when ſurrounded by his happy ſubjects: he has nothing to fear but the exceſs of their attachment: he has no other precaution to take but to be upon his guard againſt iſſuing orders that may be beyond their power to accompliſh.* By a perfect union between the ſovereign and the people, each party will be the gainer; and a monarch can never err in following the ſteps of the hero of the ſecond race, who

forced from the unanimous lips of admiring Europe the name of Great, which he certainly deserved by protecting justice and his people with the same arm that struck terror to his enemies; nor those of a Charles V. whom posterity, the impartial judge of kings, has dignified with the title of Wise; nor those of Lewis XII. who in one of those assemblies had the sweet satisfaction of hearing himself proclaimed the Father of his People; nor those in short of Henry IV. whose name, still so cherished by the French, is an honour to humanity, and daily receives from our grateful hearts a copious tribute of tears.

Your parliament, Sire, waiting with impatience for the happy and wished-for moment, when a just monarch will deign to spread his benign influence over a faithful nation, and grant their requests, most respectfully intreat your majesty to recall and annull the declaration of the stamp-duty, as altogether incompatible with the present situation of affairs; a duty that, were it to be enforced, would cause universal discontent and sorrow to all the nation, and the name only of which has already spread a general alarm through the kingdom.

His Most Christian Majesty's Speech to the Parliament of Paris, Nov. 19, 1787.

Gentlemen,

I AM come to this assembly to recall to my parliament those principles from which it ought never to deviate; to hear what you have to say upon two great acts of administration and legislation, which to me have appeared necessary; finally, to reply to you upon the representations made to me by the chamber of vacations, in favour of my parliament of Bourdeaux. The principles which I mean to recall to your recollection, are a part of the essence of the monarchy, and I will not suffer them to be unknown or changed. I had no need of solicitations to assemble the notables of my kingdom. I shall never be afraid of being among my subjects. A king of France is never more happy than when he enjoys their love and fidelity; but it is I only who am to judge of the use and necessity of those assemblies, and I will not suffer myself to be indiscreetly importuned for that which ought to be expected from my wisdom, and the love I have for my people, whose interests are inseparable from my own. The act of administration which I propose to myself is an edict, containing a creation of successive loans for five years. I wished to have no farther recourse to the resource of loans; but order and œconomy must have time to make them effectual. Limited and well calculated loans will retard the operations of the former, but they will not prevent them. No new imposts will be established, and my engagements will be fulfilled. I will ever maintain, by the most constant and undivided protection, the holy religion in which I have the happiness to be born, and I will not permit it to suffer the least diminution in my kingdom. But I am of opinion that this same religion commands me not to leave a part of my subjects deprived of their natural rights, and what the state of society promises them. You will see in my answer upon the subject of the parliament of Bourdeaux,

deaux, to what a degree its conduct is reprehenſible. My parliament ought to reckon upon my confidence and affection; but they ought to merit them, in confining themſelves within the functions confided to their execution by the kings my predeceſſors; being careful not to depart from, nor refuſe them, and more particularly never to fail in giving to my ſubjects an example of fidelity and ſubmiſſion. My keeper of the ſeals will more fully communicate to you my intentions.

The Addreſs of the firſt Preſident of the Parliament of Paris *to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at* Verſailles, *on the Exile of the Duke of* Orleans *and two Counſellors of the Parliament.*

Sire,

YOUR parliament is come, in obedience to your orders. It has this morning been informed, at the opening of the ſitting, that a prince of your auguſt blood has incurred your diſpleaſure, and that two counſellors of your court are deprived of their liberty. Your parliament, in conſternation, humbly ſupplicates your majeſty, to reſtore to the prince of your blood, and to the two magiſtrates, the liberty which they have loſt, having, in your preſence, freely declared what their duty and conſciences dictated, in a ſitting wherein your majeſty had announced that you came to take the ſenſe of the aſſembly by a plurality of ſuffrages.

His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Anſwer.

When I put away from my perſon a prince of my blood, my parliament ought to believe, that I have very ſtrong reaſons for ſo doing. I have puniſhed two magiſtrates, with whom I ought to be diſſatisfied.

The Second Addreſs of the Parliament of Paris *to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, on the ſame Subject,* Nov. 23, 1787.

Sire,

THE public affliction has preceded your parliament at the foot of the throne. The firſt prince of your blood is exiled; two magiſtrates of your parliament are impriſoned by your orders: the error of this auguſt prince, the crime of theſe two magiſtrates, are unknown to us. It cannot have been a crime to ſpeak the truth in the preſence of your majeſty. Your majeſty came among us to demand our free ſuffrages: to give them on every occaſion is the right and duty of your parliament, and the intereſt of your majeſty to hear them. It is true, the keeper of the ſeals expreſſed the ſentiments of your majeſty; but our counſel to you would no longer come from the ſanctuary of truth, if reſtrained by the terror of offending. If the duke of Orleans is guilty, we are alſo. It was worthy the firſt prince of your blood to repreſent to your majeſty, that you were transforming a meeting of the parliament into a bed of juſtice. His declaration has but announced our ſentiments; his feelings have judged of ours; and if by the effect of that concord, which nothing can deſtroy, between the wiſhes and the duty of your parliament, the duke of Orleans has ſhewn a courage worthy his birth

and rank, he has no leſs manifeſted a heart zealous for your glory. In fact, Sire, foreigners cannot conceive, poſterity will not believe, that we could be expoſed to any danger in telling your majeſty that truth, which you have demanded in perſon. Your preſence has ever been accompanied with favour; muſt it henceforth produce fear and affliction? A bed of juſtice would be leſs terrible than a ſitting of parliament; and our loyalty to your majeſty would ſuppreſs our voices, were our confidence, encouraged by yourſelf, no other than the ſignal of our exile or impriſonment. And what impriſonment, Sir? Honour and humanity, as well as juſtice, tremble at it; the baſeſt men have laid hands on the perſon of one of your magiſtrates; his houſe has been beſieged; inſtruments of the police have driven away his family. It was by prayers and entreaties to thoſe ungracious men, that he was permitted to ſee his wife, his children, and his ſiſters, on his departure. They have forced him away without a ſervant; and that magiſtrate, who, on Monday, thought himſelf under the perſonal protection of your majeſty, is gone to a diſtant priſon, unattended but by three men, the devotees of arbitrary power. The ſecond of theſe magiſtrates ſeized by your orders, though treated in his own houſe leſs cruelly than the other, has nevertheleſs been conſtrained to depart with a fever, and threatened with an inflammatory diſorder, to a place where life is a continual puniſhment. His dwelling is a rock; his priſon beat by the waves of the ſea; the air he breathes unwholſome; all aſſiſtance is remote, and your majeſty, without wiſhing it, without knowing it, in ſigning the order of impriſonment, has perhaps ſigned that of his death. If exile is the recompence of the fidelity of the princes of your blood; if outrages and captivity threaten the uprightneſs of the firſt magiſtrates of the kingdom; we may aſk ourſelves with terror and grief, what will become of the laws, the public liberty, the national honour, and the manners of your majeſty's ſubjects; thoſe manners ſo mild, ſo neceſſary to be preſerved for the common intereſt of the throne, and of the people. Such deſigns, Sire, are not in your heart; ſuch examples are not the principles of your majeſty. They ariſe from another ſource. Your parliament, Sire, moſt humbly beſeeches your majeſty, as you value your glory, your high renown, to remove thoſe afflicting counſels, to conſult and liſten only to your own heart; and then, juſtice with humanity, encouraged by the return of the firſt prince of your blood, and by the releaſe of your two magiſtrates, will begin to efface an example, which would end by the deſtruction of the laws, the degradation of the magiſtracy, univerſal diſcouragement, and the triumph of the enemies to the honour of the French.

His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Anſwer to the foregoing Addreſs, Nov. 26, 1787.

WHEN I held a ſitting among you, gentlemen, the keeper of the ſeals told you, by my order, that the more kindneſs I ſhewed when I followed the inclinations of my heart, the more firmneſs I diſcovered when I thought I perceived any attempts to abuſe that kindneſs.

This

This might be a ſufficient anſwer to your ſecond petition; but I will condeſcend to add, that if I do not blame the intereſt you expreſs for the detention of your two magiſtrates, I diſapprove, however, your exaggerating the circumſtances and conſequences of it. You ſeem to attribute the whole of this tranſaction to motives, which the free liberty I permitted you to expreſs your opinions does not warrant.

I am accountable to no perſon for the motives of my reſolutions.

It is time you ſhould ſeparate the particular caſe of thoſe I have puniſhed from the intereſt of my other ſubjects, and that of the laws.

All my ſubjects are ſenſible that the goodneſs of my heart is ever watchful for their happineſs, and muſt acknowledge the effects of it, even in my acts of juſtice.

Every individual is intereſted in the preſervation of public order, and that order eſſentially depends on the ſupport of my authority.

If thoſe I have charged to execute my orders have behaved in a manner contrary to my intentions, I will puniſh them; and if the place of confinement can any ways be detrimental to the health of the two magiſtrates, I will order them to be removed to more ſalutary ſpots; for the feelings of humanity are inſeparable from my heart, even in the execution of my juſtice.

In regard to the duke of Orleans' abſence from the capital, and from my court, I have nothing to add to what I have already ſaid to my parliament.

The Third Remonſtrance of the Parliament of Paris *to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, on the ſame Subject, preſented* Dec. 10, 1787.

Sire,

YOUR parliament, the princes and peers of your realms, being ſeated, have charged us with the commiſſion of laying at the foot of your throne their moſt reſpectful repreſentations on your majeſty's anſwer to their ſupplication.

The magiſtracy of your kingdom, as well as every true citizen, are equally aſtoniſhed at the reproaches it contains, and the principles which are manifeſted in it.

We are, however, far from attributing theſe reproaches to the perſonal ſentiments which inſpire your majeſty.

Public decency received a ſevere wound in the choice of the executors of your orders. If their crime was not carried to the perſonal arreſt of one of your magiſtrates, the expoſition of other facts, far from being exaggerated, is yet incomplete; and your parliament may add, that this magiſtrate, whoſe houſe was inveſted by armed men, himſelf delivered up to the agents of the police, like a malefactor, ſaw himſelf reduced to the humiliation of being liable to the ſummons of an officer, from a ſubmiſſion to your majeſty's order.

May we be allowed, Sire, to repreſent to you, that, in devoting ourſelves to the public ſervice, in promiſing to releaſe your majeſty of the firſt duty you owe your nation, namely, that of juſtice; in bringing up our children to be ſubject to the ſame ſacrifices, we never could have ſuppoſed we were deſtining ourſelves and our children to the misfortunes, ſtill leſs to outrages of ſo heinous a nature.

But we do not come ſo much to claim your benignity, as the protection of the laws. It is not to your humanity alone that we ad-

dreſs ourſelves; it is not a favour which your parliament ſolicits; it comes, Sire, to *demand juſtice*.

This juſtice is ſubject to regulations independent of the will of man—even kings themſelves are ſubſervient to them; that glorious prince, Henry the Fourth, acknowledged he had two ſovereigns, God and the laws.

One of theſe regulations is, to condemn no one without a hearing; it is a duty in all times, and in all places; it is the duty of all men; and your majeſty will allow us to repreſent to you, that it is as obligatory on you as on your ſubjects.

But your majeſty has not to execute this function; and your parliament with pleaſure brings to your recollection your glorious privileges, that of ſhewing mercy to condemned criminals. To condemn them yourſelf, is not a function belonging to majeſty. This painful and dangerous taſk the king cannot exerciſe but through his judges. Thoſe who find a pleaſure in hearing your majeſty pronounce the dreadful word of puniſhment, who adviſe you to puniſh without a trial, to puniſh of your own accord, to order exiles, arreſts, and impriſonments; who ſuppoſe that acts of rigour are compatible with a benign diſpoſition, equally force a wound to external juſtice—the laws of the realm, and the moſt conſolating prerogative belonging to your majeſty.

It does not allow, that opinions delivered in parliaments ſhould be conſidered as motives for your rigour, and in ſome meaſure a conſolation for us. But if ſtrong reaſons ſhould actuate you to the exile of the duke of Orleans—if it can be called a kindneſs that you no longer leave two magiſtrates expoſed to periſh in diſtant priſons, or unwholeſome places—if it is conſidered as an act of humanity, which tempers juſtice, in releaſing them from ſuch a ſituation—they muſt indeed be guilty! But it is the duty of your parliament to judge them—and we demand only, that their crimes ſhould be publiſhed.

The meaneſt of your ſubjects is not leſs intereſted in the ſucceſs of our reclamations, than the firſt prince of your blood.—Yes, Sire, not only a prince of your blood, but every Frenchman puniſhed by your majeſty, and eſpecially who is puniſhed without a hearing, becomes neceſſarily the ſubject of public alarm. The union of theſe ideas is not the work of your parliament: it is that of nature, it is the voice of reaſon, it is the principle of the moſt wholeſome laws, of thoſe laws which are engraved in every man's heart, which is the principle of yours, and which aſſures us of your *perſonal* approbation. The cauſe of his royal highneſs the duke of Orleans, and of the two magiſtrates, is then without our conſent, and, by forcing thoſe principles, the act of the throne, whoſe only foundation is juſtice, and without which no nation can be happy.

It is, therefore, in the name of thoſe laws which preſerve empires, in the name of that liberty for which we are the reſpectful interpreters and the lawful mediators, in the name of your authority, of which we are the firſt and moſt confidential miniſters, that we dare demand the trial or the liberty of the duke of Orleans and the two exiled magiſtrates, who are impriſoned by a ſudden order, as contrary to the ſentiments as the intereſts of your majeſty.

Manifeſto

Manifeſto of the Sublime Porte *againſt* Ruſſia, *dated the* 11*th of* Zileade, *the Year* 1201 *(the* 24*th of* Auguſt, 1787).

THE peace concluded between the Sublime Porte and the court of Ruſſia in 1187 (1774), was chiefly made for the repoſe and tranquillity of their reſpective ſubjects, yet the court of Ruſſia has not ceaſed to raiſe and maintain pretenſions capable of diſturbing the good harmony which that peace ought to procure: it has even proceeded ſo far as to ſeize on the Crimea, a proceeding directly oppoſite to the conditions agreed on to ſerve as the foundation of the treaty of Dainardgik. It was ſtipulated in the inſtrument then given on both ſides, that there ſhould be no farther diſcuſſion between the two empires, and that they ſhould enjoy a perfect peace. It was ſpecified in the capitulations that they ſhould avoid for the future all intrigue whatever, and all plots ſecret or public; yet the court of Ruſſia has raiſed up prince Heraclius, who was furniſhed with a diploma of inveſtiture as vaſſal of the Sublime Porte. Ruſſian troops have been placed in Tifflis: they have declared themſelves ſupreme over the ſaid prince, and from that moment the diſorder in Georgia and our adjoining frontiers has been general. When we alledged that this proceeding was a formal infraction of the treaties, it was maintained to the contrary. It was expreſsly agreed on, that the Oczakowians ſhould have the free and unlimited extraction of the ſalt pans, which always belonged to the inhabitants of that frontier; yet they have always met with a number of impediments, and experienced every ſort of ill treatment from the Ruſſians; and when they reclaimed the execution of the conventions, the court of Ruſſia has conſtantly refuſed it. The conſul of that court has ſeduced the waywode of Moldavia, who has the rank of a prince; he favoured his flight, and when the Sublime Porte reclaimed him, the Ruſſian envoy replied, his court would not deliver him up; a refuſal directly oppoſite to the treaties. The Ruſſian court has ſhewn as bad deſigns by giving what turn it pleaſed to many ſimilar things. It has corrupted the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte, by eſtabliſhing conſuls in Wallachia, Moldavia, in iſles and places where the preſence of thoſe officers were uſeleſs, and even prejudicial to the true believers. It has invited to its eſtates the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte, and employed them in its marine and other ſervices. It has eſpecially entered into the interior diſpoſition of our adminiſtration, by ſoliciting either the recall or puniſhment of governors, judges, vaſſals, and of all the officers not in their intereſt, and even of the pacha of Georgia and the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia. Every one knows how generouſly the Porte behaved to the Ruſſian merchants:—They carried on their trade in the Ottoman ſtates with ſafety and liberty, and might go where they choſe; for which reaſon we expected the ſame indulgences for the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte. Such were our conventions when the Ruſſian court wanted to monopolize all the commerce, and exacted a duty far greater from the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte than from other powers. When the ſubjects of the Sublime Porte wanted to recover their debts in the Ruſſian

ſtates, they met a thouſand obſtacles; not being able to go where they wanted, they were obliged to return without their due; many even have diſappeared without our knowing what became of them.—When the merchant veſſels of the Sublime Porte wanted, either through ſtreſs of weather or want of water, or any other urgent neceſſity, to go on board a Ruſſian ſhip, the Ruſſians kept them off with their guns. They have likewiſe ſometimes fired on our veſſels from Soghoudgiak. The court of Ruſſia wanted to underſtand the article relating to prince Heraclius, amongſt other articles of a great deal leſs importance, and gave notice in a miniſterial manner, by its envoy to the Sublime Porte, to furniſh a common inſtrument for all theſe objects; if not, it had ordered general Potemkin to march to our frontiers with 60 or 70,000 men, to exact the execution of all the articles, and that the empreſs was to come there herſelf. This notice was an open and formal declaration of war. The order given to general Potemkin to repair to our frontiers, at the head of ſo many troops, is analogous to the proceedings of the court of Ruſſia, with regard to the uſurpation of the Crimea. If the Ruſſians remain maſters of it, the Porte cannot hope to remain in ſecurity for the future, and they will always have ſome bad deſigns to fear. Theſe conſiderations engaged the Porte to ſhew to the Ruſſian envoy the deſire they had for the Crimea to be eſtabliſhed on its ancient footing, and to make a new treaty to cement friendſhip between the two empires. The envoy anſwered, he could not make theſe propoſitions to his court, and that if he was to do it, he foreſaw no good could reſult from it. He rejected or eluded the articles which contained our complaints, and formally anſwered, that his court would not renounce the Crimea. That for all theſe reaſons, and others, either ſecret or public, which it is impoſſible to enumerate, the Sublime Porte is obliged to declare war, in conſequence of which ſhe has publiſhed this manifeſto to the reſpectable court of France, to inform it of the reſolution ſhe has taken to go to war with Ruſſia. The Sublime Porte ſubmits the motives herein contained to the equity of her friends.

Manifeſto of the Court of Ruſſia *againſt the* Sublime Porte, *dated* Peterſburg, Sept. 13*th*, 1787.

THE court having received the news of the impriſonment of M. de Bulgakow, miniſter at Conſtantinople, and the declaration of war made by the Porte, can no longer avoid a rupture, and in conſequence has publiſhed a manifeſto, the tenor of which is as follows:

"The troubles which have inceſſantly agitated the public repoſe and tranquillity eſtabliſhed between the Ruſſian empire and the Porte, by the peace of Kainardgi, are too recent to require recapitulation. Suffice it to ſay, that ſince the concluſion of that peace, unto the preſent moment, the Porte has ſhewn, in all her conduct, the moſt manifeſt want of faith, and a diſpoſition to render the eſſential ſtipulations then made illuſive.

"Though the court of Ruſſia is furniſhed with a multitude of proofs of this truth, which ſhe reſerves for a more

a more particular detail to be publiſhed hereafter, ſhe will at preſent cite the facts, the moſt recent, which have brought on the unexpected development ſo contrary to the pacific ſyſtem which ſhe followed moſt willingly on all occaſions. She flattered herſelf to have fixed an immoveable baſis for peace by the declaratory convention of Aynaly Cavack, concluded in 1779, by the commerce, and in particular by the tranſaction reſpecting the Preſcu' Iſle of the Crimea, the end of which was, as then demonſtrated, not to extend the frontiers of the empire, but rather to terminate the diſorders and depredations continually made by the people of Preſqu' Iſle, by ſubjecting them to a police which would make them reſpect the laws, and keep up harmony and good intelligence with the frontiers of both ſtates. Such were the ſincere intention and views of the court of Ruſſia, which ſhe was at great pains and trouble to accompliſh.

"After having reconciled differences of ſo delicate and important a nature, every thing ſeemed to promiſe a durable peace; but affairs were hardly thus happily compromiſed and adjuſted, on the faith of treaties and engagements the moſt ſolemn and ſacred, when the next Turkiſh miniſtry, which ſucceeded to that under which all theſe negotiations had paſſed, ſhewed diſpoſitions, diametrically contrary to their ſpirit and tenor. Ill-founded pretenſions ſoon aroſe reſpecting the exportation of ſalt, which had been granted by treaty to the inhabitants of Oczakow. Ruſſian conſuls were denied entrance into ſome places of their nomination; and as if it had been proved that objects of this nature could not ſuffice to effect the rupture in view, protection was publicly permitted to the invaſions of the Leſgis and Tartars of Cuban; the firſt of which hoſtilely attacked the ſtates of czar Heraclius, the acknowledged vaſſal of the empreſs; and the laſt penetrated into the frontiers of Ruſſia, where they robbed, pillaged, and carried off whatever was not defended by the troops ſtationed in thoſe parts.

"The empreſs, conſtant to her plan of moderation which her humanity and love of peace made her adopt, upon receiving the above advices, contented herſelf with calling upon the Turkiſh miniſtry to reſpect the treaties, and demanding in conſequence ſatisfaction for ſuch breaches of faith and peace; but all her remonſtrances were fruitleſs, and anſwered with arrogance and diſreſpect. In the mean time, her principles remained unaltered. Being miſtreſs of her choice of means, ſhe ſtill preferred once more the way of negotiations, and laid open to the emperor, her ally, the ſtate of her affairs, and accepted the good offer of the king of France to mediate between herſelf and the Porte; ſhe made her pretenſions known to them both, and theſe monarchs declared the juſtice and equity of them. In ſhort, to neglect nothing that might preſerve ſo valuable a bleſſing as the peace of her people, ſhe took occaſion, when in the neighbourhood of the Turkiſh ſtates, during the memorable journey which ſhe had but lately finiſhed, to call her miniſter at the Porte, and examine him touching the differences which had ariſen, and the means moſt efficacious for an accommodation of them all. In this view, and in full confidence of the reſpect which the Turks

Turks would ſhew on their part for mutual and ſolemn engagements then ſubſiſting, ſhe returned her miniſter to Conſtantinople. Upon his return he was immediately ſummoned to a conference, at which, inſtead of the points being reſumed which were in agitation before his departure, and acquieſcing in the demands of Ruſſia, a new turn to affairs was given, and pretenſions ſtarted, the firſt of which was contrary to ſtipulations made by treaty, and the others derogatory to the dignity of the empreſs, or rather hurtful to the intereſts of the empire.

"After the Turkiſh miniſtry had thus broken through the limits expreſsly ſtipulated, they thought they might then at once take off the maſk, and have diſcovered the deſign which, in all probability, was long harboured, ſince they declared to the Ruſſian miniſter, that the Porte conſidered itſelf bound but by the treaty of Kainardgi; and as the acts which followed it were but the effect of complaiſance, ſhe did not think herſelf obliged to adhere to it longer than ſuited her convenience. A term was fixed for receiving a categorical anſwer from the Ruſſian miniſter to the demands and pretenſions communicated to him. The miniſter proteſted againſt the injuſtice, the indecency, and impoſſibility, in ſo ſhort a time, of complying with ſuch a requiſition; he was not heard, not even on the ſubject of the complaints ſtated before this time, and for which he had demanded ſatisfaction. All that he could obtain was the promiſe of another conference, which alſo took place, but at which the ſame demands and pretenſions were repeated, without adding any thing more except a vague promiſe of the ſatisfaction he had demanded.

"When the news of theſe two conferences came to the empreſs, ſhe did not abandon herſelf to the diſcontent and reſentment which were juſtifiable; ſhe thought ſhe might remain ſpectatreſs of the attempt which a want of delicacy and circumſpection, ſufficiently common on the part of the Turkiſh miniſtry, had made them hazard; mean while the ſequel has proved that it was a plan long formed, and going to be put immediately in execution. In theſe ſentiments her imperial majeſty was willing to crown all the former proofs given of her moderation and diſtance in thought from the conſequences which ſuch a critical ſituation of affairs preſaged, by ſome condeſcendance on her part to ſome of the pretenſions of the Porte, and for this purpoſe orders were diſpatched to prince Potemkin, when ſuddenly ſhe learned that the Porte, without waiting for the expiration of the term fixed by herſelf, had ſummoned M. de Bulgakow to a conference on the 6th (16th) and after propoſing to him to ſign an act by which the treaty of commerce and the tranſaction concerning Preſqu' Iſle of the Crimea were to be annulled, upon his refual peace was declared to be broken, and himſelf ſent to the caſtle of Seven Towers, where, in deſpite of the rights of nations, he remains a priſoner at this moment.

"Such a proceeding preſents every reflection that can ariſe on the ſubject. The Porte has been willing to unite perfidy with the moſt inſulting attack. She omits nothing to make manifeſt the ſtrong deſire that has been long felt to break a peace, which was granted in a manner that was generous and noble. Provoked by a conduct ſo offenſive, the empreſs ſees herſelf obliged

obliged unwillingly to take up arms, as the only means remaining of maintaining her rights, which she has acquired with so much loss of blood, and revenging her wounded dignity. Entirely innocent of all the evils attendant on the war ready to be kindled, she has a right to depend upon divine protection and the succours of her friends, as also upon the prayers of Christians, for her triumph in a cause of justice and self-defence."

Treaty between his Britannic *Majesty and the* Landgrave *of* Hesse Cassel, *signed* 28*th of* Sept. 1787.

BE it known to those whom it concerns, that the king of Great Britain and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, in consideration of the strong ties by which the interests of their respective houses are united, and having judged it would contribute to the mutual advantage of both to cement and confirm, by a new treaty of alliance, the connection which subsists between them; his Britannic majesty, in order to settle the objects relative to such alliance, has thought proper to send to Cassel Sir William Fawcett, K. B. lieutenant-general of his forces, his minister plenipotentiary; and his serene highness has appointed on his part baron Martin Ernest de Schlieffen, and baron Frederick de Malmsbourg, his ministers of state. These ministers being provided with the necessary full powers, have agreed to take, for the basis of the present treaty, the treaties formerly concluded between Great Britain and Hesse, to adopt such parts of them as shall be applicable to the present circumstances, or to adjust, by new articles, those points which are necessary, in a different manner. Every thing not otherwise determined shall be deemed to subsist in full force; and as it is impossible to specify each particular case, every thing which shall not appear to have been clearly determined, either in the present or former treaties, must be settled with equity, upon the same principles as were agreed to be adopted on each side, for deciding upon matters, whether during or subsequent to the last war.

Art. I. There shall therefore be, between the king of Great Britain and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, their heirs and successors, a strict friendship and firm union, so that the one shall consider the interests of the other as his own, and shall exert himself with good faith to promote them as far as possible, and mutually to prevent all trouble and injury.

Art. II. To which end it is agreed, that all the preceding treaties, particularly that of guarantee, shall be deemed to be renewed and confirmed, and shall be of the same force as if they were herein inserted, as far as they are not derogatory to the present treaty.

Art. III. The king of Great Britain having desired, for his service in Europe, a body of the landgrave's troops, in case the welfare of his dominions should require such succour; and his highness having the strongest attachment to his majesty, engages by this article to hold in readiness for that purpose, during the space of four years, from the day of the signing of this treaty, a body of 12,000 men, composed of infantry and cavalry, or chasseurs, officers included; of which 8000 men shall form the first, and 4000 the

the second division. His highness reserves the liberty of putting himself at the head of these troops; but declares, at the same time, that if these troops should join a more numerous body of any other power, he should consider himself, on such an event, purely in a military light; and far from making any difficulty to serve under a senior general of established reputation, he would with pleasure embrace so favourable an opportunity of gaining farther knowledge, under such auspices, in a profession to which he is warmly attached.

The first division, consisting of 8000 men, shall be entirely composed of infantry, with its field pieces, and two companies of foot chasseurs; but his most serene highness may join to these, if he thinks fit, above the 8000 men, such a number of cavalry, not exceeding 100, as may be fit for immediate service. This corps of 12,000 shall be completely equipped, and provided with tents and all necessary camp equipage. In a word, it shall be put upon the best footing possible, and none admitted but men fit for actual service, and acknowledged as such by his Britannic majesty's commissary.

The first division shall be ready to march at the end of four weeks after the requisition for its march shall have been made, or sooner if possible, and the second division in six weeks, if practicable. This body of troops shall not be separated, unless the operations of war should require it, but shall remain under the direction of the Hessian chief, subject to the superior orders of the general having the supreme command of the whole army. And the second division shall serve only in those places where the first may be stationed, provided the plan of operation will admit of it.

Art. IV. Each battalion of infantry shall be provided with two field pieces, together with the compliment of officers, gunners, and other necessary attiral attached thereto.

Art. V. In order to defray the expences which shall be incurred in raising the same, the king of Great Britain engages to pay for each trooper or dragoon, completely armed, mounted, and equipped, 80 Banco crowns; and for each foot soldier, 30 Banco crowns, within thirteen days after the requisition to march shall have been made. As to the levy money for the second division, one moiety shall be paid on the requisition for marching, and the other on the day of marching. The levy money to be paid for the same description of men that were allowed in former treaties.

Art. VI. Besides what is stipulated in the preceding article, the king of Great Britain engages to pay, during the four years this treaty continues, an annual subsidy, in the manner following, viz. The subsidy shall commence on the day of signing the treaty, and be continued to the time when the requisition for putting the corps in readiness to march shall be made, at the rate of 150,000 Banco crowns per annum, the crown to be computed at four shillings and nine pence three farthings English money. From the time of making the said requisition, to the day when the whole corps, as well cavalry as infantry, shall be in the pay of Great Britain, the subsidy shall be augmented and paid at the rate of 450,000 Banco crowns; and during the whole time that the said corps shall be actually in his majesty's

majesty's pay, the landgrave shall receive an annual subsidy of 225,000 Banco crowns. When the said troops shall be sent back, the subsidy shall be again augmented and continued at the rate of 450,000 Banco crowns per annum, from the day of their return, being according to the same proportion and rule as were fixed by the sixth article of the treaty of 1755. And the payment of these respective subsidies shall be made regularly by the quarter, without deduction, into the military chest of the serene landgrave; and in case both parties agree that this body of troops should exceed 12,000, the subsidy shall be augmented in proportion, unless otherwise settled. His majesty will also continue to this corps the pay and other emoluments for the residue of the month they repass the frontiers of Hesse, and actually arrive within the dominions of his highness.

Art. VII. With respect to the pay and subsistence of the troops, whilst in the pay of Great Britain, it is agreed, that so long as they serve in Germany, they shall enjoy the same advantages as his majesty allows his German troops. During the time they may be employed in the Low Countries, they shall be treated on the footing of Dutch troops, provided, that in both cases their pay shall not be inferior to that allowed in former wars; and if they should be required to serve in Great Britain or Ireland, they shall not only be put upon the same footing with the British national troops, but his serene highness hopes, that in case British troops should be sent to the continent, and serve with Hessians, his majesty will be pleased to agree, that the latter may be treated as the former, with regard to pay, as well as other matters; the more so, as his serene highness has consented to receive a more moderate subsidy than was paid on former occasions since the year 1726. These allowances, if granted, to be paid without deduction, in order that the distribution may be made to the troops.

Art. VIII. In case any of the regiments or companies should be ruined or destroyed, in the whole or part, or any pieces of artillery or other effects be taken by the enemy, his majesty will defray the expence of recruiting and remounting the same, as well as of making good the same, in order that they may again be completed and rendered fit for service. The recruits raised shall be regulated upon the footing of those furnished in 1702, to the end that the whole corps may always be kept up. The recruits annually required, shall be delivered to the English commissary, at such time and place as his majesty shall appoint.

Art. IX. It will depend on his Britannic majesty to retain this body of troops in his service the whole of this treaty, in order to employ them where he may think proper (provided it be not on board his fleet, or beyond sea) except for the defence of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. And when the king of Great Britain shall be pleased to send back the said troops, he shall give three months previous notice thereof to his serene highness, and cause one month's pay to be remitted to him, providing them with the necessary means of transport, gratis.

Art. X. In case the landgrave should be attacked or disturbed in the possession of his dominions, his

Britannic majesty promises and engages to send back to him, if required, the said troops, allowing them one month's pay, and furnishing them, gratis, with the means of transport; as likewise to give him all such succour in troops as the exigency of the case may require, which assistance shall be continued to him till he shall have obtained full security and due satisfaction; and the landgrave on his part also promises, that in case the king of Great Britain shall be attacked or disturbed in his dominions, he will afford him in like manner all the aid which may be in his power, which shall be continued until his majesty shall have obtained a good and advantageous peace. If it should happen, in consequence of the present troubles, that a war should be kindled in Germany, and become general, his Britannic majesty promises, as far as possible, to provide for the security of his dominions, and to direct the military operations of his armies, as far as circumstances may permit, in such a manner as to cover and spare the territories of his highness as far as may be. If, however, notwithstanding the precautions which may be taken for this effect, the territories of his most serene highness should suffer an invasion on account of this alliance, his Britannic majesty will endeavour to procure an indemnification proportionable to the loss occasioned thereby.

Art. XI. In order to render this alliance more perfect, and that no doubt may be entertained by the parties of the certainty of these succours, by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that it shall be deemed sufficient, that either of the parties be actually attacked by force of arms, without having previously employed open force against the assailant.

Art. XII. The sick belonging to the Hessian corps, shall remain under the care of their surgeons, subject to the orders of the general commanding the corps of that nation, and shall have the same allowances as his majesty grants to his own troops.

Art. XIII. All Hessian deserters shall be faithfully delivered up, wherever they may be found, in the places dependant on his Britannic majesty, and all possible care shall be taken that no person shall be permitted to establish himself in his majesty's dominions, without his sovereign's consent.

Art. XIV. The raising of recruits in Germany having become more expensive than formerly, and some difficulties having arisen relative to the vacant pay, which is to be regarded as the fund for defraying the expence of recruiting; it is agreed, that in the spring review of his majesty's commissary, the corps shall either be complete, or the pay for those wanting to be stopped;—on the other hand, the pay for those who may be wanting to complete between one review and another, shall not be stopped, but is to be advanced to the full establishment of the corps; and instead of the sum formerly allowed for each recruit, to replace one killed or three wounded, it is agreed, that 12 Banco crowns per head shall be allowed for every recruit that shall be raised to supply their places.

Art. XV. This treaty to be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratification exchanged as soon as possible.

In witness whereof, we the undersigned, being furnished with full powers,

powers, have ſigned the preſent treaty, and have cauſed our ſeals to be ſet thereto.

Done at Caſſel, the 28th of September 1787.

WILLIAM FAWCETT, (L. S.)
MARTIN ERNEST DE SCHLIEFFEN, (L. S.)
FREDERICK, Baron de Malmſbourg, (L. S.)

Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament paſſed in the Year 1787.

AN act to render more effectual the laws now in being for the ſuppreſſion of *unlawful lotteries*.

An act to enable his majeſty to eſtabliſh a court of *criminal judicature* on the eaſtern coaſt of *New South Wales*, and for the regulation of his majeſty's marine forces while on ſhore there.

An act to continue the laws now in force for regulating the trade between the ſubjects of his majeſty's dominions, and the inhabitants of the territories belonging to the *United States of America*, and to render the proviſions thereof more effectual.

An act for repealing the ſeveral duties of cuſtoms and exciſe, and granting other duties in lieu thereof, and for applying the ſaid duties, together with other duties compoſing the public revenue; for permitting the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, the produce or manufacture of the *European* dominions of the *French* king, into this kingdom; and for applying certain unclaimed monies, remaining in the exchequer, for the payment of annuities on lives, and to the reduction of the national debt.

An act to enable the lord high treaſurer, or commiſſioners of the treaſury, for the time being, to let to farm the duties granted by an act, made in the 25th year of the preſent reign, on horſes let to hire for travelling poſt, and by time, to ſuch perſons as ſhould be willing to contract for the ſame.

An act for allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, in the ports of *Kingſton*, *Savannah la Mar*, *Montego Bay*, and *Santa Lucea*, in the iſland of *Jamaica*; in the port of *Saint George*, in the iſland of *Grenada*; in the port of *Roſeau*, in the iſland of *Dominica*; and in the port of *Naſſau*, in the iſland of *New Providence*, one of the *Bahama* iſlands, under certain regulations and reſtrictions.

An act for laying additional duties upon licences to be taken out by perſons dealing by retail in ſpirituous liquors.

An act for making further proviſions in regard to ſuch veſſels as are particularly deſcribed in an act, made in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, for the more effectual prevention of ſmuggling in this kingdom, and for extending the ſaid act to other veſſels and boats not particularly deſcribed therein; for taking off the duties on flaſks in which wine or oil is imported; for laying an additional duty on foreign geneva imported; for taking off the duty on ebony, the growth of Africa, imported into this kingdom; and for amending ſeveral laws relative to the revenue of cuſtoms.

An act for appointing commiſſioners further to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, and emoluments, which are, or have been

been lately, received in the several public offices therein mentioned; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and to report such observations as shall occur to them, for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices.

An act for further regulating the trade and business of pawnbrokers.

An act for appointing commissioners further to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty, and attachment to the British government.

An act for allowing further time for inrolment of deeds and wills made by papists, and for the relief of purchasers.

An act to prevent frivolous and vexatious suits in ecclesiastical courts.

Heads of the new Criminal Code of Tuscany.

IN the preamble of the edict it is set forth, that the legislature does not publish it without due experience; but that having, by his sovereign authority, mitigated all punishments for the twenty years he has reigned, he has found that crimes, instead of increasing, have remarkably diminished; the less very rarely happening, the greater being totally unheard of. It proceeds to abolish all capital punishments; branding, strappado, and all punishments that mutilate; torture; confiscation of goods, and forfeiture of estates; and, finally, treasons of every kind, equalling them to crimes against individuals. It then proportions the following punishments to the nature of the crimes: trifling fines, in no case exceeding 300 crowns; private whipping; imprisonment, never to exceed a twelvemonth; banishment to a less or greater distance; pillory without banishment; pillory with banishment; public whipping; public whipping on an ass: for the women, confinement in the house of correction from one year upwards; if for life, the substitute for death, the criminal to have a different dress, on which are to be sewed the words *ultimo supplizio*: for the men, condemnation to the public works, as in the mines in the isle of Elbo, the scoop-boats of Leghorn, &c. from three years upwards; if for life, a different dress like that for the women, and, besides a ring to the leg, a double chain, naked feet, and the employment of the most fatiguing kind. Besides the trials are simplified; the prisoner has many advantages he had not before; the frequency of oaths is diminished, all evidence being to be given without, except on the prisoner's requiring an oath to be administered to any suspected witness, when it is to be performed in a solemn manner. And even the few fines that are to be levied are not to go to the treasury, but to make a fund for the indemnification of those who have suffered by insolvent or fugitive criminals.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Portrait of Frederic *the Second, late King of* Pruſſia, *when Prince Royal; by* M. De Suhm, April 2d, 1740. —*From the Familiar Correſpondence of* Frederic *the Second with that Gentleman.*

THE honour I have had of frequently making my court to the prince royal of Pruſſia, and of having had reaſon to flatter myſelf with that of his good graces, may have given me ſome juſt ideas on this prince's manner of thinking: but I am very cautious in undertaking to draw his portrait, in which I have reaſon to think but few would ſucceed. Were he not born a great prince, his ſituation and misfortunes would have taught him to diſſimulate; and it is by this that perſons have been hitherto deceived, who upon a word have hazarded judgments on the character of a prince, who never ſpeaks without reflection, and ſays nothing but what he means to ſay. To avoid this fault, I will ſpeak but in general terms, of a character which at preſent may be looked on as impenetrable, and to proceed with certainty. I will content myſelf with ſpeaking of the qualities I have remarked in him, and which are founded upon the ſentiments I have conſtantly heard him profeſs.

I believe his greateſt paſſion is that of fame, which he makes to conſiſt in always acting conformably to ſtrict reaſon, in carefully diveſting the mind of all prejudices, and as much as poſſible, in never ſuffering them to enter it.

He is not to be ſhaken in his reſolutions, when he has taken them after mature reflection; and he has given proofs of his firmneſs and elevation of mind, on the melancholy occaſions he has had to exerciſe them, and in which he never abandoned himſelf for a moment.

He is good, generous, and liberal; ſenſible and compaſſionate to the misfortunes of others, and holds injuſtice in horror.

In his early youth, I remarked that he was fond of expoſing the defects and ridiculous manners of others. I have found him quite changed from this, and he is now the firſt to blame thoſe of ſuch a diſpoſition; he deteſts calumny and calumniators above every thing.

I will not enter into a greater detail of the good qualities of this prince, who ſeriouſly endeavours to acquire them all; which induced me to ſay to him one day, that he propoſed to himſelf an end to which he would never attain, viz. perfection; he anſwered me, that "it was like the philoſopher's ſtone, and

thoſe who ſought for it, were rewarded for their pains by finding many good things in the way;" and as I took the liberty to add, that provided he preſerved the half of the great ſentiments which I knew he poſſeſſed, he would always be a great king; he replied, "he ſhould be very ſorry ever to change his manner of thinking; but that this did not yet prove what I had ſaid," and modeſtly finiſhed by quoting to me the following verſe from Voltaire:

Tel brille au ſecond range, qui s'eclipſe au premier.

This prince particularly prides himſelf on a great firmneſs in his friendſhips and attachments; and I remember on taking final leave of him, having previouſly ſhewn ſome inquietude about what I had remarked, that a certain perſon of diſtinction was no longer in his good graces, he wiſhed to tell me the reaſons which had induced him to put him at a diſtance from his perſon, graciouſly adding, that he owed me this detail, in order to leave me no ſuſpicion on the ſolidity of his friendſhip.

It has been remarked on the Rhine, that this prince has much valour. On one occaſion among others, when he went to reconnoitre the lines of Philipſburgh, followed by a conſiderable number of troops; paſſing on his return by a thin wood, the cannon of the lines inceſſantly accompanied him, and ſhattered ſeveral trees by his ſide, without his horſe's going, on account of it, out of his pace, or the hand which held the bridle betraying in him the leaſt extraordinary emotion. Thoſe who obſerved this, remarked on the contrary, that he continued to ſpeak with great tranquillity to ſome general officers who accompanied him, and admired his countenance in a moment of danger, with which he had not yet had an opportunity of familiariſing himſelf. I learned this anecdote from the prince de Litchtenſtein.

I will not ſpeak of his mind; it is well known he has adorned it by reading and continued reflection. This is what makes him love converſation, into which he never introduces public affairs, which he looks upon as matters which do not yet concern him. Thoſe who have attributed to him diſpoſitions of hatred or friendſhip for certain intereſts of princes, have certainly founded their conjectures upon vain appearances, from which they have drawn falſe concluſions. If he ſpeaks in a friendly manner of a prince, they conclude from this, that he would arm for his intereſts, if he could do it. But this is an argument very ſubject to caution, with reſpect to a prince who never acts from caprice, but will be guided by reaſon. He told me even one day, "that being a king, he thought he could make war againſt a prince for whom he ſhould have the greateſt affection; and that he could enter into the cloſeſt alliance with another whom he did not like at all."

As to the judgment of the prince royal, it is ſo much the more juſt, as he never concludes haſtily, unleſs he can immediately give a reaſon for ſo doing. To give a ſlight inſtance of this, I remember being at ſupper with the field marſhal *Grumkaw*, where the prince *Eugene*, who died on the Rhine, was ſpoken of; the queſtion whether this prince would

would in time have poſſeſſed great qualities and have become a great man, was agitated? The prince royal decided to the contrary; becauſe, ſaid he, he would never have known how to make a friend, who would have dared to tell him the truth.

What I have ſaid, will, I imagine, be ſufficient to give ſuch a knowledge of this prince, as I have of him; and although this portrait may reſemble an eulogium, I can aſſure the public, that neither the affection which I have had for the prince from his infancy, nor the benevolence with which he has at all times honoured me, and of which he has not ceaſed to ſhew me marks during my reſidence here at *Peterſburgh*, have been able to blind me, and that he will one day verify what I have attributed to him.

I therefore conclude, that great and good things may be done with him, if they be properly undertaken; and that as bad ones will be the reſult of an improper method of proceeding.

The following Anecdotes and Remarks on the Character of the late King of Pruſſia, *when at an advanced Period of his life, are extracted from Travels through* Germany, *by the Baron* Rieſbeck, *and tranſlated from the* German *by the Rev. Mr.* Maty.

"I Was three days at Potſdam. This city has ſtill finer houſes in it than thoſe at Berlin; but, like theſe, they are inhabited only by perſons of the lower and middling ranks. The ſituation of the town was much extolled to me, and for a country with ſo much ſameneſs in it as Brandenburg has, it may paſs for a fine one: neither, however, the buildings nor the ſituation were the chief objects of my viſit here; what I came for was to ſee the king, who has for ſo many years been the god of the Pariſian idolatry, the wonder of all Europe, the maſter and terror of his foes, and, in ſhort, who throughout all the neighbouring ſtates is called The King *par excellence*. I was told that I might very eaſily be preſented to him, but I have always thought it a great piece of impertinence to think ſo lightly of the leiſure of a mighty monarch, as to introduce yourſelf to him without the ſmalleſt pretenſion. I had the good fortune to ſee him twice on horſeback on the parade, where, however, he is not ſo regular an attendant as formerly.

All the prints I have hitherto ſeen of him are only half lengths; but there are many copies of a very good picture, in which he is drawn at full length. You may ſee one of theſe at Madam S—'s, at Paris, and they are ſo common here, that you meet with them in ſeveral inns. The original was painted by an Italian, who having been extremely fortunate in hitting off the likeneſs, the king ſuffered copies of the picture to be taken by many good maſters here, and made preſents of them to ſeveral German princes, and thus the copies have become common. Heavily as the hand of age now ſeems to lie on this immortal man, the very ſtrong likeneſs of the face ſtill remains. The king of Pruſſia is hardly of the middling ſize, but ſtrong built and thick ſet. His body is now much bent, and his head ſhakes, but his eyes are ſtill piercing, and roll about when he is obſerving. Peace, order, reſolution, and earneſtneſs are marked upon his face. There

is likewiſe that particular look about him, which is common to all great perſonages, and which I ſhould call indifference to all that ſurrounds him, were it not that you ſee evidently, that he takes an uncommon intereſt in the things which he conceives ſpecially to belong to his province. The editor of *Voyages en differents Pays de l'Europe*, Mr. Pilati, ſays, that every thing at Berlin and Potſdam is carried on in ſilence, and that nothing can be known either of the king's private life, or of his public affairs. There is an univerſal opinion of the kind gone out about this court: if you will believe ſome Engliſhmen, eſpecially Mr. Wraxall, the genius which animates the Pruſſian monarchy, is a man-hating, light-ſhunning genius, who in imperceptible darkneſs ſtrikes conſtantly at the eſtates of the ſubjects and lays ſnares for them. It is impoſſible to form a falſer judgment of the king. Mr. Pilati, who contradicts himſelf in more places than one, ſays in another part of his letters, that the king's hours are ſo regularly diſtributed, that at any time you may know what he is then doing. Indeed the true cauſe why ſo little is to be ſaid of the king's private life, is the great ſimplicity and regularity of it. Here is no miniſter to enter into intrigues with, to ruin a man of honour who ſtands in his way; no miſtreſs whoſe humour a man muſt ſtudy to get the favourable minute to obtain a right, or have juſtice done him for an injury, or of whoſe adventures he muſt keep a regiſter, to revenge himſelf on her by bon-mots, epigrams, and anecdotes;—no queen to puzzle and perplex the court every morning with the very great problem, whether ſhe has ſlept with her huſband or not, whether ſhe is breeding or not, and whether the faſhion will not undergo ſome revolution, commanded by her majeſty, in the courſe of the enſuing week. The princes and princeſſes of the blood have neither diſputes for precedency to ſettle, nor cabals to contrive, nor large play debts to diſcharge, nor any of the mighty buſineſſes which are the daily occupations of other courts to diſpatch; the king neither hunts nor goes to balls or theatres (a few operas only excepted); he has no occaſion to adviſe with a miniſter of finance, how, or from what funds the miſtreſs's new dreſs, or her new houſe, or her new garden, or her journey to—ſhall be paid;—nothing is undertaken here for which the money is not ready. The king of Pruſſia has neither favourite, nor confeſſor, nor court fool, (who, *mutatis mutandis*, is ſtill in good credit in the other courts of Germany, and whoſe part the confeſſor moſtly plays).

Under theſe circumſtances the court anecdotes of the day muſt neceſſarily be very few; but yet the king gives himſelf ſo little trouble to be concealed, that as the Engliſhman, Moore, obſerves, it is no difficult matter to arrive at his bed-chamber unperceived: he is ſurrounded neither by a guard or a ſwarm of footmen and *valets de chambre*; he often walks alone in the gardens of Sans-Soucy, and wherever he is, except at a review, no man is kept at a diſtance.

It is owing to the ſame ſimplicity and order which obtains in his private life, that the operations of the king of Pruſſia's government make ſo little noiſe. Whoever conſiders his adminiſtration as myſterious, or his

his dealings as eſtabliſhed in intrigue, falls into the error ſo common to all us mortals, of thinking there is intrigue wherever there is ſimplicity; hence it is, that we do not ſee the truth that is under our noſes."

"The moſt brilliant æra of the king's government, in his own eyes, is that which is diſtinguiſhed by ſome uſeful improvement in agriculture. I was told an anecdote which does him more honour than the emperor of China derives from opening the ground with a golden plough. There is a privy-counſellor here of the name of Brenkenhoff, a man who, born without a penny, had made himſelf worth millions by his induſtry. This gentleman, ſome years ſince, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his improvements in agriculture. Amongſt other things, he ſent for rye from Archangel, which ſucceeded ſo well, that by degrees they begged his ſeeds all through Pomerania, Sileſia, Brandenburgh, and Pruſſia; and the country gained conſiderable ſums, which before uſed to be paid to the Poles and Ruſſians for this commodity. In conſequence of this, whenever Mr. Brenkenhoff has any think to aſk of the king for himſelf or the province, he always couches his requeſt in the following manner; 'Had not I brought rye 'from Archangel, your majeſty and 'your ſubjects would have been 'without ſo many thouſands you 'now poſſeſs; it is therefore fit 'and proper that you likewiſe grant 'me my requeſt.' The king not only makes it a rule never to deny him any thing he aſks, but has often ſaid, 'Brenkenhoff is the moſt ex-'traordinary man born in this 'country under my adminiſtration, 'and I am proud of him."

"I cannot ſend away this letter without obſerving, that the very way in which the king exerciſes the functions of his government, is a plain proof of his not having any ſecret or myſterious views with reſpect to any of his ſubjects. A deſpot, who is not to be confined by any regard to rectitude and juſtice, who is always diſtinguiſhing betwixt his own advantage and the utility of the whole, and who wants to cheat his people without their obſerving it, muſt have either fools for his miniſters, whom he may cheat as he does the people, or he muſt have a favourite, whom he can make uſe of for his myſterious purpoſes. Neither of theſe is the caſe with the king of Pruſſia. His miniſters and counſellors are all of them the moſt enlightened patriots; and many of them would make a figure as men of letters, if they had time, or would give themſelves the trouble of writing. With regard to a favourite, the very name is unknown in this country. Voltaire, the marquis D'Argens, Algarotti, Quintus Icilius, and Baſtiani, were only the companions of idle hours, and knew leſs of the government than any body, as Voltaire has often proved by his *bon mots*. Theſe *beaux eſprits* were obliged to keep within their proper ſphere, and never could bring the king to be familiar with them, how little ſoever he made them feel the difference of rank in the ordinary affairs of life.

The king poſſeſſes the rare and great talent of letting himſelf down to every man, without forgetting himſelf in the leaſt. His reader

and ſecretary dare not bring him either complaint or petition. The king appears to be exceedingly miſtruſtful of himſelf, and to fear leſt his daily converſation and familiarity with all ſorts of people ſhould lead him into error. His ſecretary, who paſſes ſo many hours of every day with him in private, muſt lay all the buſineſs to be done before him in form. His miniſters are the only perſons he refers to; they are the executors of his will.

It has been frequently obſerved, that no king upon the face of the earth is ſo well ſerved as the king of Pruſſia, though there is none who pays his ſervants ſo ill. But theſe good ſervants are not to be procured by mere ſeverity; they muſt have obſerved, that the king far excels them in underſtanding, and that he himſelf ſtrictly adheres to the rules of juſtice and equity, which he lays down for the conduct of others. Had they diſcovered a weak ſide, either in the head or heart of the monarch, there would have been an end of their good ſervices. It is only to his extreme impartiality, his juſtice, and his ſuperior underſtanding, that we muſt aſcribe the activity and order in the Pruſſian courts of juſtice. No prince of the blood has the ſlighteſt advantage over a farmer in a law-ſuit. When a diſpute happens with a ſubject upon any part of the domain or crown lands, there is no judge who dares have a leaning towards the king's ſide; on the contrary, in this caſe they are ordered to have a leaning againſt him. The ſame averſion to deſpotiſm leads him to make it no ſecret, that he does not think the kings of the earth placed here as gods of it, and vicegerents of the Almighty. He looks upon the royal dignity as a ſtation, which, like that of a general, and many others, has been eſtabliſhed through human diſpoſitions, and to which, in conſequence of theſe diſpoſitions, birth alone gives a title. He makes as little uſe of religion as he does of politics, to blind his people, or keep up his authority by faith and opinion. The conſciouſneſs that he is capable of no injuſtice or act of power, can alone ſet him above this Machiavelian policy. To conclude my theſis, that the king is nothing leſs than a deſpot, I muſt obſerve, that he has no over-bearing paſſion; fame is by no means his purſuit; he deſpiſes all the applauſe of men from his heart. The great phyſiognomiſt, Lavater, muſt have obſerved in his countenance, that he deſpiſes man himſelf; at leaſt I think I can affirm, with a degree of ſufficient confidence, that the king appears leſs in no man's eyes than he does in his own. Flatterers have very little to expect from him; and thoſe who have written againſt him with the greateſt bitterneſs, may be aſſured that he has no gall againſt them. The Abbé Raynal, who is at preſent here, is a ſure proof of this. There is no place in the world in which there is leſs noiſe made about the king's actions than there is at Berlin. None of the newſpapers of the country ſay a word about them; and there would not have been a word ſaid about them at all, if ſome patriots of other countries had not taken it into their heads, of late, to blow the trumpet of fame, whenever their governors did any thing that was not palpably abſurd or impertinent. Theſe ſu-

ſome

ſome panegyriſts ſtirred up ſome Pruſſian patriots, who love their king, to ſhew the world, that Frederic, who is ſo unknown to moſt ſtrangers, does more in ſilence than half a dozen other demi-gods of the earth put together. The world was aſtoniſhed when it learned, that for years paſt, the king had diſtributed ſeveral millions amongſt his ſubjects, and the writers of newſpapers took it very ill that he had done this without their knowledge. It was not till within theſe few years, that we knew that the land-tax in the Pruſſian dominions is never altered, though this ſyſtem is as old as the time of the king's coming to the crown. Long before the philoſophers of the laſt twenty-five years, (for, till within theſe laſt five and twenty years, there has been no philoſophy) began to declaim againſt capital puniſhments, the torture, and the duration of law-ſuits, all theſe things had been baniſhed out of the Pruſſian dominions, without any ſcribler taking the trouble to ſing a *Te Deum* about it (Beccaria himſelf makes this obſervation). Avarice is as little the king's weak ſide as the love of fame. Nobody gives more willingly than he does, when he ſees that the money is likely to be made good uſe of. He has money in his head, and not in his heart; and œconomy is one of the firſt virtues of a governor.—But I ſhall ſay more of this in my next."

"When you hear the king of Pruſſia mentioned in the ſouthern parts of Germany, you think they are ſpeaking of an angel of death, whoſe employment and amuſement it is to kill the people by hundreds and thouſands, to burn cities and villages, and to be the firſt general of his day. This opinion commonly reſts upon the ſame ground as another, which was very generally received by the common people during the laſt Sileſian war, of the king of Pruſſia's having taken up arms againſt France and Auſtria for the extirpation of the Roman-catholic religion. Auſtria had often recourſe to ſuch little artifices; ſhe was wont to appeal to the religious and paſſionate feelings of the people, whenever her troops were beaten, and probably found ſome conſolation in it, not that only which ariſes from exciting compaſſion, but the more ſubſtantial one of the ſupport derived from the riches and forces of ſome of the catholic princes of Germany. Such prejudices in the populace are eaſily produced; but when you read in the writings of ſome of the moſt famous Auſtrian ſtateſmen and literati that the king of Pruſſia's whole ſyſtem is contrived for the purpoſe of making himſelf terrible to his neighbours, of plundering them, and of living by robbery, you do not know whether to laugh moſt at their ignorance, or be moſt aſhamed at their impudence.

Out of Germany, they look upon the king of Pruſſia as a great general, but are not therefore blind to his other virtues. Our countrymen, whoſe impartiality and juſtice in judging of the merits of great men no body can controvert, read his civil ordinances, his *bon mots*, and the anecdotes of what paſſes in his family, with as much pleaſure as they do the account of his expeditions. Even they however, impartial as they are, form quite a falſe opinion of the king, when they conſider his military conduct as the greateſt of his exertions, and think

his principal merit consists in being the greatest general of his day. It is natural enough for the love of splendid actions to make us more attentive to the bustle which has attended his services in the field, than to his still and benevolent occupations. But we should not therefore ascribe to him a love of this bustle, and a delight in the occupations of war, which no king upon earth likes less than he does.

Nourished in the arms of the muses, and attentive only to the progress of philosophy, scarce had he ascended the throne, when one of the most extraordinary events of this century happened, an event which must naturally call his attention very strongly to it. He was one of the many princes who had pretensions to the succession of Charles VI. What he claimed was some marquisates in Silesia. The point was how effectually to secure these rights. Most probably he would have taken the part of Maria Theresa, attacked as she was on all sides, had a proper attention been paid to his requisitions, but the Austrian ministry, ever blinded by its own consequence, only answered his manifestoes with insolence and contempt. The consequence was, that after having defeated the imperial troops in the field, he made free with all Silesia, which gave great offence. Then however he discovered the moderation of his nature, for it would have been easy for him, by supporting Charles VII. to have sunk a house, which was the most dangerous to him in all Europe. But his politics did not allow him to commit an injustice.

It was neither the king of Prussia's love of plunder, nor any thing indeed, except the pride of the Austrian ministry, and the little knowledge it had of the strength of the Prussian dominions, that was the true cause of the loss of Silesia. The Austrians despised a court which had no princes and dukes in its pay, but only merchants and *knights à quaranto ecus* * for ministers and generals. They saw no further than the outside of the court of the present king's father, who, under the mask of a ridiculous singularity, had laid the foundation of the Prussian greatness; they laughed at his unpowdered hair, his dirty boots, his turnep dinners, and his tall men. People knew not that these tall men, whom they looked upon only as his particular amusement, were under the best of discipline; they knew not that his *unbetitled* and *unbestringed* ministers were the most enlightened patriots; that the most exact œconomy had made the small country of Prussia richer than the proud and mighty Austria. In fine, they knew not that Spartan œconomy, and Spartan subordination, which this *ridiculous* king was making the characteristic of the nation, must get the better of indolence, effeminacy, and profusion, even though the *tribe of gentlemen* had not been so numerous in Austria, as it was.

This ignorance was the true thing which some persons have affected to call the good fortune of the present king of Prussia.

The invasion of Bohemia, which took place some time after the conquest of Silesia, was undertaken in consequence of the most pressing and repeated instances of the em-

* Knights worth fifty crowns.

peror,

peror, the head of the German empire, of which the king was a member.

I have converſed with an old and reſpectable Dutch officer, who accompanied count Seckendorff, as adjutant, to Berlin, when he went to deſire the king to help the emperor out of the diſtreſs which he muſt otherwiſe have ſunk under. The king was for a long time deaf to all repreſentations and entreaties. As count Seckendorff was preſſing him one day upon the parade, he ſhewed him a regiment which had ſuffered conſiderably in the firſt Sileſian war. 'Behold,' ſays he, 'what war coſts me; this regiment 'has loſt above half its men, and 'ſhall I expoſe my people to the 'danger of being ſo roughly handled again?—This is the king whom people cry out upon as a robber and tyrant!—Seckendorff, who was a greater ſtateſman than he was a general, in vain tried all his rhetoric to carry his point, nor would any thing have induced the king again to become the enemy of Auſtria, but the being informed in what an unmanly manner the Auſtrians had behaved in Bavaria, how they had plundered the archives, robbed the nobility, laid waſte the country, and carried the peaſants into captivity; that in ſhort, their known pride, their ſpirit of revenge, and their cruelty, gave cauſe to apprehend every thing for the houſe of Bavaria.

The king undertook to free the emperor from his diſtreſs, without hurting Auſtria much, and he compaſſed it with a moderation, which the unprejudiced part of the world ſtill admires. He obliged prince Charles to give the emperor breathing room, by forcing him to haſten with his army from the Rhine to Bohemia. When he had done this he was quiet, and aſking nothing for himſelf, was contented with having done what equity and the ſhare he took in the emperor's calamity required of him. It is well known what little ſhare his love of robbery and conqueſt had in the breaking out of that war in which he eclipſed all that had been done by ancient or modern heroes. In the very heat of this war, in which he himſelf gathered ſo many laurels, he wrote a letter to Voltaire, filled with wiſhes for philoſophical quiet, and full of lamentations on the cruelties of war. Very far from being intoxicated with his fame, and untainted with any degree of the pride which filled the breaſt of that Roman governor, who returning from the government of a diſtant province, thought that all Italy muſt inceſſantly be filled with the praiſe of his adminiſtration; he aſked Gellert, who ſued to him for peace in the middle of the theatre of war, whether he had not heard or ſeen that there were three powers in arms againſt him; and whether he thought it depended upon him to make Germany a preſent of peace! So free was he from being elated with the *eclat* of his wonderful arms, and ſo far from thinking of higher things than how to defend himſelf.

In this wonderful letter to Voltaire, he promiſes, when he ſhall once be quiet, to cut off the moſt diſtant pretences for war, nor to take any concern in the politics of Europe; but to give up all his time to the improvement of his own country, amidſt the bleſſings of peace. This promiſe he has hitherto moſt religiouſly adhered to. You think, perhaps, that he did not, in the affair

affair of the diviſion of Poland; but he took the leaſt part poſſible in that affair. The world will be aſtoniſhed, when the particulars of this buſineſs come to be known, as none has ever been ſo miſrepreſented and diſtorted by political motives. I collected at Vienna, ſome very extraordinary documents relative to this matter, which I will communicate to you when we meet. Thus far is notorious to all mankind, that in this famous partition, the king had not a third of what fell to Ruſſia, nor a quarter of what Auſtria had. A ſtronger proof of the king's moderation, and of his pacific diſpoſition, it is impoſſible to give. Poſſibly the diviſion would have been a little more equal if ever the parties had come to blows.

In the laſt Bavarian war, he again obſerved the ſame wonderful moderation. The cauſe of his taking up arms was, to reſtore the houſe of Wittelſbach to its inheritance, and to maintain the conſtitution of the empire; which, as a member of that body, he was bound to protect. He aſked nothing for himſelf, and did not go a ſtep farther than he was forced to, by the ſtrongeſt neceſſity. No monarch ever went into the field with greater magnanimity, and greater diſintereſtedneſs, than the king of Pruſſia did on this occaſion.—Since the twenty years he has given himſelf to philoſophy, he has let ſeveral other occaſions go by, which would not have been miſſed by another monarch who had had the ſame powers of war in hand as he had, and the warlike diſpoſition commonly attributed to him.

No prince can manifeſt more regard for mankind, than what is ſhewn by the king of Pruſſia every day. He intereſts himſelf as much in the welfare of a common farmer, as in the flouriſhing of the greateſt houſe of trade in his dominions. It is his greateſt pride, and his greateſt pleaſure, to read in the yearly liſts, that the population of his country has increaſed. He has not been ſeen ſo cheerful for many years, as he was upon finding, by the liſt given in laſt year, that the number of the new-born children within the year, far ſurpaſſed the number of the dead. A king who has this way of thinking, is a warrior only when neceſſity compels him to it. His Lacedemonian armies only ſerve the purpoſe of enabling him to cultivate his country in peace, and to bring his law-ſuits with his neighbours to a ſpeedy concluſion. They are evidently not the end of his government, but the means; and it is only thoſe who are contented with viewing the outſide of things, and do not look into the ſprings of the Pruſſian government, who think them the great object."

Character of the late Empreſs Queen Maria Thereſa.—*From the ſame work.*

"THE bright ſides of this empreſs's character are ſo ſtriking, that one can hardly obſerve the darker ones. In private life, indeed, ſuch ſmall ſpots would appear not only venial, but in ſome degree reſpectable; but it is the misfortune of greatneſs, that the ſmalleſt weakneſs of the governor has often a ſenſible influence on the happineſs of the governed, ſo that the leaſt perſonal vices are often the greateſt political defects.

Whoever ſees the empreſs now, diſcovers that ſhe has been a beauty.

ty. Within theſe few years ſhe has begun to be ſubject to ſome of the infirmities of advancing age; but the beſt judges ſtill diſcern a ſtrong conſtitution and lively temperament in her. I ſaw her for the firſt time in the church of the Auguſtine Friars, where ſhe was attending a religious ceremony, and immediately recogniſed her, not ſo much by her likeneſs to her pictures (from the truth of which age has of courſe taken a great deal), as by the air of majeſty which ſtrikes every one who has the honour to approach her. She has the ſtrongeſt paſſions, but has never been ſubdued to the leaſt unworthineſs, by thoſe to which nature in general the moſt inclines, and which her conſtitution the more particularly expoſes her to. *Poſſibly* ſhe is an *only*, *moſt certainly* a *ſingular* inſtance of a princeſs, over whom religion and honour have had more influence than the demands of an impetuous conſtitution, and the allurements of unlimited power. This probably aroſe from her having herſelf choſen her huſband, who was the man of his day moſt likely to ſecure the affections of a woman. To him ſhe was paſſionately devoted; but her affections never wandered a ſtep beyond the bounds of the ſtricteſt decorum. Vainly has ſcandal endeavoured to find out anecdotes to feed on in her life. Ten well-made ſtrong children yet living, are ſo many witneſſes that her huſband poſſeſſed all her love. At his death, ſhe forbad herſelf all farther thoughts of the paſſion, and made a vow to lament him for ever; a vow to which ſhe has religiouſly adhered. She is always dreſſed in black, and wears no ornament of any kind.

Her warm love, however, made her huſband paſs many a weary hour. It was impoſſible for jealouſy not to have great power over a heart, the violence of whoſe motions was only kept in by a ſenſe of religion. It is not very certain whether ſhe had ever real grounds for ſuſpicion; but every body at Vienna remembers that a certain lady was obliged to leave it, becauſe the emperor, who was very courteous towards every body, but particularly ſo to the ladies, had made her ſome common-place, unmeaning compliments.

The empreſs's benevolence, of which religion is the principle, approaches almoſt to profuſion. She refuſes relief to none of thoſe who ſtand in need of her aſſiſtance; and the meaneſt of her ſubjects finds the way to make his diſtreſſes known to her. Her ſteward has hardly any thing to lay before her, but accounts of charities. Her liberality particularly ſhews itſelf towards widows, eſpecially ſuch as are of high birth. Many perſons, amongſt whom are widows of miniſters of ſtate, receive penſions of 6000 guilders (300l.) from her. Her partiality to high birth makes her deſirous that every perſon ſhould live up to his, or her rank. With reſpect to the public foundations of charity, ſhe behaves as an empreſs ſhould do. The library, ſchools, hoſpitals, and poor-houſes, coſt her immenſe ſums. I am aſſured, that the debts ſhe has contracted by this liberality amount to upwards of twenty millions of guilders; and one of my friends informed me, that ſhe gives away three millions per annum in private charity.

Who now would imagine that, under ſo worthy a character, merit often

often ſtarves, whilſt large ſums are laviſhed upon the worthleſs? Who would imagine, that the prejudices of religion could have ſo far gotten the better of her natural diſpoſition, as to make her refuſe aſſiſting an officer who had been crippled in her ſervice, unleſs he embraced the Roman Catholic religion? After ſeveral converſations with the prieſt ſent to him by the empreſs, this gentleman plainly perceived that he muſt turn ſcoundrel, to be relieved. He determined therefore to quit Vienna; which he did, and went to Holland, where he died a general officer. Since the preſent emperor has begun to have an influence in buſineſs, merit has no longer any ſuch oppreſſion to fear, but it muſt ſtill make uſe of all its weight to break through this ſpecies of obſtacles, which however at all times are more the work of the prieſts, than of the empreſs.

Her impetuous temper often breaks out into groſs guſts of paſſion and anger; but as ſoon as the ſtorm is paſt, ſhe endeavours to make amends for the miſchief or injury ſhe may have done whilſt it raged. I was told an anecdote, which if not entirely true, yet gives a great inſight into this part of her character. An officer, who had a favour to aſk, had his name written down in the liſt of thoſe who wanted audiences. He waited a long time, till his turn (which is religiouſly obſerved) came to be introduced. At length he was called in, but he had hardly made his obedience to the empreſs, according to the Spaniſh etiquette, when ſhe broke out into ſuch a ſtorm of opprobrious abuſe, as almoſt made him ſink to the ground. Her vivacity made her eyes roll with fire, and the motion of her arms was rendered ſo quick by it, that the man was afraid ſhe might do a *little* execution upon him, with her own *high* hand. Twice, or thrice he attempted to put in a word, but the ſtorm of the monarch's indignation was too ſtrong to be controlled, and he was forced to wait till ſhe was fairly out of breath. He then muſtered up all his courage, and ſaid, "Surely your ma-"jeſty muſt have forgotten I am "N. N." As ſoon as ſhe found that ſhe had been miſtaken in the perſon, ſhe made him a formal excuſe, and her deſire to ſet all things right again carried her ſo far another way, that ſhe ſettled an handſome penſion on him. She is by no means proof againſt pride, but is proud of the dignity, and the greatneſs of her houſe. She weeps tears of joy as often as ſhe hears how her children, particularly the emperor and the queen of France are beloved by all the world. This family pride, joined to her quick feelings, are the cauſe why ſhe conſiders all the princes who have been at war with her, at any time, as her perſonal enemies, and has never forgiven any of them. The emperor's laſt wife, who was a Bavarian princeſs, had cauſe to regret her father's having attempted to rob the empreſs of Bohemia, Upper Auſtria, and the Imperial Crown. She made her *feel* the ſuperiority of the houſe of Auſtria, over the houſe of Bavaria.—Thus far is true, but the fables which have been raiſed on this foundation are too wild even to deſerve a ſerious refutation.

Fame has not reported falſely of this great princeſs. She is a true woman, and it is by the amiable paſſions

paſſions of her own ſex that ſhe is moſt diſtinguiſhed. She was not at all offended at being told by the relation of another great ſovereign, whom ſhe was complimenting on the reputation of his friend, "May "it pleaſe your majeſty, my ſiſter "is ſtill *only* a *woman*." All the tints in Thereſa's character are the ſhades of a lively *female* character. She was the trueſt, but the moſt jealous of wives; the moſt affectionate, but at the ſame time the ſevereſt of mothers; the moſt friendly, but at the ſame time the moſt imperious mother-in-law.

Her character, however, has ſometimes riſen beyond the ſtrength of a man. The reſolution with which ſhe defended her hereditary dominions againſt ſo many powers united to oppreſs her, excited the aſtoniſhment of all Europe. Her love of juſtice is ſo great, that ſhe immediately deſiſts from any pretenſions ſhe has formed, which are not reconcileable with it, when ſhe is ſhewn that they are not ſo. Though the king of Pruſſia knows that ſhe bears him a grudge (which ſhe will carry with her to her grave), he is ſo ſatisfied of the general rectitude of her principles, that whenever they have a diſpute, his only care is to have his reaſons properly ſtated to the empreſs herſelf, by his embaſſador. The nobility of Genoa, as I was informed by an officer who took a great part in the revolution of 1746, exclaimed with one voice, "O, if it were poſſible "to bring our grievances before "the empreſs herſelf, we ſhould be "ſure of obtaining relief." The cry of theſe republicans, at the time when they were moſt ſorely oppreſſed by Auſtrian armies, was the fineſt praiſe that Thereſa could have heard,—but ſhe heard it not.

Amidſt the various ſpecies of knowledge ſhe poſſeſſes, there is one which unluckily fails her, the knowledge of mankind. According to the cuſtom of her houſe, ſhe was bred up in an elevation which has not allowed of her ſeeing with her own eyes the neceſſities of ordinary life, and the true intereſts of the people ſhe reigns over. Her whole education was ſo conducted as to make her the dupe of flatterers, who made her believe that nobles and prieſts were a ſuperior order of men to laymen and common people. Prieſts and flatterers have at times betrayed her into actions which her heart would ſhudder at, if ſhe could ſee them in their right light. An inſtance of this was given ſome years ago, when, in an inſurrection of the Bohemian peaſants, the emperor endeavoured to obtain the abolition of the feudal tenures. This he did becauſe he knew the true ſituation of theſe poor ſlaves, who did not themſelves know what they deſired, but were only driven to what they did by hunger. There was indeed little to lay to their charge beſides having hunted ſome barons out of bed; but the wives of the Bohemian nobles ſo far prevailed upon the empreſs, with their tears, that ſoldiers were ſent into the country, and many poor people were hanged as traitors, who were in fact only the victims of hunger. As this happened in the memorable year of ſcarcity over all Europe, when Bohemia, notwithſtanding the natural riches of its agriculture, was reduced to the greateſt neceſſity, and as the emperor well knew that the

principal

principal cauſe of it was owing to the avarice of the great landlords, particularly of the prieſts, he endeavoured to take off the ſervitude of the lower orders; but his mother's attachment to the nobility prevented a meaſure, which would have made a country ſo favoured by nature as Bohemia is, one of the moſt flouriſhing in the world. The empreſs made it a matter of conſcience to deprive a ſmall part of her ſubjects of the leaſt part of their income by ſuch a meaſure, but never bethought herſelf, that the nobility and prieſts conſumed in idleneſs the ſweat and blood of ſo many thouſand people.

A deſpotic prince, who has not a ſufficient knowledge of the world, to ſee through the people who ſurround him, is the moſt dependant man in his country. Notwithſtanding all her attention to ſo many various matters, and notwithſtanding all her power, the good empreſs cannot prevent herſelf from being cheated by all who approach her. She imagines that ſhe prevents every ſin by her eſtabliſhments of chaſtity, and does not know how many adultereſſes ſhe makes by them. She would indeed be aſtoniſhed, if ſhe could ſee only a part of the horns, which the men of this place carry about with them under their peruques. It is ſaid, that the empreſs inſiſts upon the young women, particularly thoſe who are brought up in the *Thereſianum*, tying their hair, &c. in a particular manner; but, notwithſtanding theſe ribbands of chaſtity, I have been aſſured by a counteſs, who was brought up in this ſeminary, that groſſer vices prevailed there, than any againſt which the commiſſion of chaſtity is directed. I know a woman, who in order to get herſelf, and her *handſome* daughter a maintenance, procured the latter an engagement upon a ſmall theatre, which hardly brings her in enough to buy pins for her hair. We know that at Paris the theatre is more a title to a maintenance than a maintenance of itſelf; but there is this difference betwixt the countries, here the mother carries her cheap daughter from a rehearſal to church, where both tell their beads with down-caſt eyes, and the moſt pious looks, in order to bring themſelves into a reputation of ſanctity with the police. By this means, perſons who love their pleaſures, and yet wiſh to be well with the empreſs, know no better way of compaſſing both theſe objects, than by viſiting the churches. Another inſtance of hypocriſy. There is a well known man of letters here, *who tranſlated a prayer-book* from the French, and dedicated it to the empreſs as an original compoſition, with the view of obtaining a place, together with the preſent cuſtomary upon thoſe occaſions. The plan ſucceeded; the empreſs conſidered him as a pious man, and he had a reward; but he was ſo loſt to ſhame, as to make ſport of the good woman's credulity in the circle of his friends. The ſame thing takes place with regard to the prohibition of books. The queen would ſink to the ground, if ſhe could ſee one of the thouſand private libraries in Vienna, which contain all the heretical, and all the ſcandalous writers which ſhe conceives her college of cenſure, and her

her *Index Expurgatorius*, which is thicker than that of Rome, to have banished from the country for ever. So it is with several of her other institutions, the inefficacy of which shews they are fit for nothing but to make hypocrites.

A summary Account and History of the famous Ali Bey.—*From Monsieur* Volney's *Travels through* Syria *and* Egypt.

* THE birth of Ali Bey is subject to the same uncer-

tainty

* Since this chapter was written, M. Savary has published two more volumes on Egypt, in one of which is the life of this same Ali Bey. I expected to have found in it particulars proper to verify or correct my own narrative; but what was my astonishment to perceive, we have hardly a single circumstance in common? This disagreement was so much the more unpleasing to me, since, as I have already differed from him on several other subjects, it may seem, to many readers, as if I made a point of contradicting that traveller. But, besides that I am not personally acquainted with M. Savary, I protest, that such partiality is no part of my character. How then does it happen that, having been upon the same spot, having necessarily drawn our materials from like sources, our accounts should be so different? I confess, I cannot well discover the reason; all I can say is, that, during the six months I lived at Cairo, I carefully enquired of such of our merchants, and Christian traders, as, from long residence in the country, and being persons of understanding, appeared to me likely to give the most authentic testimony. I found them agreed on the principal facts, and I had the advantage of hearing the relations they gave me confirmed by a Venetian merchant (M. C. Roseiti) who was one of the confidential friends of Ali Bey, and the counsellor and promoter of his connections with the Russians, and his projects respecting the commerce of India. In Syria I have met with great numbers who had been eye-witnesses of the principal events in the history of Shaik-Daher and Ali Bey; and, from their testimony, have been able to ascertain the degree of credit due to the information I received in Egypt. During eight months I resided among the Druzes, I learnt from the bishop of Aleppo, formerly bishop of Acre, a thousand anecdotes, the more indubitable, as Ibrahim Sabbar, the minister of Daher, was frequently in his house. In Palestine I have lived with Christians and Mussulmen, who had been officers under Daher, were at the first siege of Yafa (Joppa) with Ali Bey, and defended that place in the second against Mohammad Bey. I have been on the spot, and examined all the necessary witnesses. I have received historical notes from the Venetian agent at Yafa, who had a considerable share in all these troubles. These are the materials from which I have compiled my narrative. Not but I have met with some circumstances which are differently related. But from such what history is free? Are there not ten different relations of the battle of Fontenoy? All we can hope is to collect what is most probable; for I cannot but confess I have myself been frequently convinced, on this occasion, how difficult it is to ascertain the real truth in any historical facts.

Not but I have heard before several of the stories related by M. Savary, who cannot be accused of having invented them himself, for his account is taken, word for word, from an English book, printed in 1783, and entitled *A History of the Revolt of Ali Bey*, though there are only forty pages appropriated to that subject, the remainder being common-place remarks on the manners and geography of the country. I was at Cairo when the public papers gave an account of this work; and I well recollect that when our merchants heard of Maria, wife of Ali Bey; of the Greek Daoud, his father, and his finding his son, as Jacob found Joseph, they were strangely surprised, and laughed heartily at the tale trumped up

tainty as that of the Mamlouks in general, who, ſold by their parents, or carried off by their enemies, at a very early age, ſeldom remember much of their origin or their country; or if they do, conceal them. The opinion the moſt general reſpecting Ali is, that he was born among the Abazans, a people inhabiting Mount Caucaſus, and which furniſhes the ſlaves in greateſt requeſt*. The merchants, who carry on this traffic, brought him to one of their annual ſales, at Cairo, where he was purchaſed by the brothers Iſaac and Youſef, Jews, employed in the cuſtom-houſe, who made a preſent of him to Ybrahim Kiaya. It is ſuppoſed he might then be about twelve or fourteen years old; but, in the Eaſt, neither Mahometans nor Chriſtians keeping any regiſters of births, their preciſe age is never known.

Ali performed for his patron the uſual ſervices of the mamlouks, which are nearly ſimilar to thoſe of the pages to our princes. He received the cuſtomary education, which conſiſts in learning to manage a horſe well, fire the carbine and piſtol, throw the djerid, uſe the ſabre, and even a little reading and writing. In all theſe exerciſes he diſplayed an activity and fire which obtained him the ſurname of *djendali*, or madman. But the ſolicitude of ambition ſoon moderated this exceſſive warmth. About the age of eighteen or twenty, his patron ſuffered him to let his beard grow, that is to ſay, gave him his freedom; for, among the Turks, to want muſtachios and beard, is thought fit only for ſlaves and women; and hence ariſes the unfavourable impreſſion they receive on the firſt ſight of an European. When he had made him free, Ibrahim gave him a wife and revenues; promoted him to the rank of Kachef, or governor of a diſtrict, and, at length, procured him to be elected one of the four-and-twenty beys.

Theſe ſucceſſive promotions, and the power and riches he acquired, awakened the ambition of Ali Bey. The death of his patron, which happened in 1757, opened a free courſe for his projects. He engaged in every intrigue for raiſing or diſplacing the chiefs; and was the principal author of the ruin of Rodoan Kiaya. After Rodoan various factions alternately advanced their leaders into his ſtation. He who

up in Europe. It is in vain, therefore, for the Engliſh factor, who was in Egypt in 1771, to appeal to the authority of the Kiaya of Ali Bey, and a number of Beys, whom he conſulted, *without underſtanding Arabic*; he can never be looked upon as well informed. I ſuſpect him the more ſince he ſets out with an unpardonable error, in aſſerting that the country of Abaza is the ſame as that of Amaſea; for one of theſe is a country of Caucaſus, ſtretching towards the Cuban; and the other a city of ancient Cappadocia, or modern Natolia. To conclude, we may find at Paris *Memoirs of Ali Bey*, collected by a perſon of diſtinction, who has been in Egypt, as well as M. Savary and myſelf, and thoſe Memoirs will ſatisfy all doubts which may remain on this ſubject.

* The Turks held the Tcherkaſſes, or Circaſſian ſlaves, in the higheſt eſtimation; next to them the Abazans, next the Mingrelians, after them the Georgians, after them the Ruſſians and the Poles, next the Hungarians and the Germans, then the Negroes, and, laſt of all, the Spaniards, Malteſe, and other Franks, whom they deſpiſe as drunkards, debauchees, idle, and mutinous.

occupied

occupied it in 1762, was Abd-el-Rahman, of little consequence himself, but supported by several confederate houses. Ali was then Shaik-el-beled, and seized the moment when Abd-el-Rahman was conducting the caravan of Mecca to get him exiled; but he himself had his turn, and was condemned to retire to Gaza. Gaza, dependent on a Turkish pacha, was neither so agreeable nor so secure a residence as to tempt him to make it his abode; he therefore only made a feint of taking that route, and, on the third day, turned towards the Said, where he was joined by his partizans.

He resided two years at Djirdja, where he matured his plans for obtaining and securing that power to which he so ardently aspired. The friends his money had gained him at Cairo having at length procured his recall, in 1766, he appeared suddenly in that city, and, in one night, slew four beys, who were his enemies, exiled four others, and became, from that time, the chief of the most numerous party. As he had now possessed himself of the whole authority, he resolved to employ it still further to promote his ambitious views. No longer contented with the trivial title of Bey, he could not submit to the supremacy of the Porte, and aimed at nothing less than the title of Sultan of Egypt. To this object all his measures tended; he expelled the pacha, who was only a shadow of representation; he refused the accustomed tribute; and, in 1768, even proceeded to coin money in his own name *.

The Porte did not see without indignation these attacks on her authority; but open war alone could repel them, and circumstances were not favourable. Daher, established in Acre, kept Syria in awe; and the Divan of Constantinople, occupied with the affairs of Poland, and the pretensions of Russia, bestowed its whole attention on the transactions in the north. The usual method of *capidjis* was had recourse to; but poison, or the poinard, always anticipated the bow-string they bore. Ali Bey, availing himself of these circumstances, pushed forward his enterprizes with success. For several years a port of the Said had been occupied by Arab shaiks under little subjection. One of them, named Hammam, had formed there a power capable of giving disturbance. Ali began by delivering himself from this danger; and, under pretext that this shaik concealed a treasure entrusted to him by Ibrahim Kiaya, and that he harboured rebels, sent a corps of Mamlouks against him, in 1769, commanded by his favourite Mohammed Bey, who destroyed in one day both Hammam and his power.

The end of this year was productive of another expedition, which in its consequences must have affected Europe. Ali Bey fitted out some vessels at Suez, and, manning them with Mamlouks, ordered the Bey Hassan to sail with them to Djedda, (Gedda), the port of Mecca, which he was to seize on, while

* After the ruin of his affairs, his piasters fell 20 per cent, because it was pretended they were too much debased with alloy; but a merchant sent ten thousand of them to Marseilles, and made considerable profit by melting them down.

a body of cavalry, under the command of Mohammad Bey, marched by land to take poſſeſſion of Mecca itſelf, which was given up to plunder. His project was to render Djedda the emporium of the Indian commerce; and this plan, which was ſuggeſted by a young Venetian merchant *, who poſſeſſed his confidence, was to make Europe abandon the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope, by ſubſtituting the ancient route of the Mediterranean, and the Red Sea; but the event has proved that the attempt was too precipitate, and, that before gold is introduced into a country, laws ſhould be eſtabliſhed.

Ali, the vanquiſher of a petty prince of the Said, and conqueror of the huts of Mecca, from this time thought himſelf formed to command the whole world. His courtiers told him he was as powerful as the ſultan of Conſtantinople, and he believed his courtiers. Had he exerciſed his reaſon, he would have perceived that Egypt, compared with the reſt of the empire, conſtituted only a very inconſiderable ſtate, and that the ſeven or eight thouſand cavalry he commanded were nothing when oppoſed to a hundred thouſand janiſaries, whom the ſultan had at his diſpoſal: but the Mamlouks know nothing of geography; and Ali, who viewed Egypt near, found it much larger than Turkey at a diſtance. He determined therefore to commence his conqueſts: Syria, which was in his neighbourhood, naturally preſented the firſt object, and every thing was favourable to his views. The war with the Ruſſians, which broke out in 1769, occupied all the Turkiſh forces in the north. Shaik Daher, in rebellion againſt the Porte, was a powerful and faithful ally; and the extortions of the pacha of Damaſcus, by diſpoſing thoſe he oppreſſed to revolt, afforded the moſt favourable opportunity of invading his government, and meriting the title of the deliverer of nations.

Ali ſaw perfectly well the advantage of this poſture of affairs, and made no delay in putting his forces in motion. All his meaſures being at length taken, he detached, in 1770, under the command of five beys, a corps of about five hundred Mamlouks, all cavalry (for they never march on foot), and ſent them to take poſſeſſion of Gaza, in order to ſecure an entrance into Paleſtine. Oſman, pacha of Damaſcus, no ſooner heard of the invaſion, than he flew to arms. The Mamlouks, terrified at his activity, and the number of his troops, held themſelves in readineſs to fly at the firſt attack; but Daher, the moſt indefatigable chief that Syria has ſeen for many centuries, haſtened from Acre, and extricated them from their embarraſſment. Oſman, who was encamped near Yafa, fled without even offering battle; and Daher, making himſelf maſter of Yafa, Ramla, and all Paleſtine, opened a road for the grand army he expected.

This arrived about the end of February 1771: and the gazettes of that time, ſtating it at ſixty thouſand men, induced Europe to believe it was an army ſimilar to thoſe of Ruſſia or Germany; but the

* M. C. Roſetti; his brother, Balthazar Roſetti, was to be made commiſſioner of the cuſtoms at Djedda.

Turks,

Turks, and more especially those of Asia, differ still more from the Europeans in their military than their civil customs. Sixty thousand men with them are very far from being synonimous with sixty thousand soldiers, as in our armies. That of which we are now speaking affords a proof of this: it might amount in fact to forty thousand men, which may be classed as follows. Five thousand Mamlouk cavalry, which was the whole effective army; about fifteen hundred Barbary Arabs on foot, and no other infantry, for the Turks are acquainted with none; with them, the cavalry is every thing. Besides these, each Mamlouk having in his suite two footmen, armed with staves, these would form a body of ten thousand valets; besides a number of servants and serradjis, or attendants on horseback, for the beys and kachefs, which may be estimated at two thousand: all the rest were sutlers, and the usual train of followers.

Such was this army, as described to me in Palestine by persons who had seen and followed it. It was commanded by the friend of Ali, Mohammad Bey, surnamed *Aboudahab*, or father of gold, from the luxury of his tent and caparisons. As to order and discipline, these must not be mentioned. The armies of the Turks and Mamlouks are nothing but a confused multitude of horsemen, without uniforms, on horses of all sizes and colours, riding without either keeping their ranks, or observing any regular order.

This rabble took the road to Acre, leaving, wherever they passed, sufficient marks of their want of discipline and rapacity. At Acre, a junction was formed with the troops of Shaik Daher, which consisted of fifteen hundred Safadians *, on horseback, and commanded by his son Ali; twelve hundred Motualis cavalry, having for their leader the Shaik Nasif, and about one thousand Mograbian infantry. This union effected, and their plan concerted, they proceeded towards Damascus some time in the month of April. Osman had employed this interval in preparations, and had, on his side, collected an army equally numerous and ill-regulated. The pachas of Said †, Tripoli, and Aleppo, had joined him with their forces, and were waiting for the enemy under the walls of Damascus.

The reader must not here figure to himself a number of complicated and artificial movements, such as those which, within the last century, have reduced war with us to a science of system and calculation. The Asiatics are unacquainted with the first elements of this conduct. Their armies are mobs, their marches ravages, their campaigns mere inroads, and their battles, bloody frays; the strongest, or the most adventurous party goes in search of the other, which not unfrequently flies without offering resistance; if they stand their ground, they engage pell-mell, discharge their car-

* Daher's subjects were called by this name, because his seat of government was originally at Safad, a village of Galilee.

† Pronounced Sêde, in French; in English Said, as above; it is the ancient Sidon.

bines, break their ſpears, and hack each other with their ſabres, for they rarely have any cannon; and when they have they are but of little ſervice. A panic frequently diffuſes itſelf without cauſe; one party flies, the other purſues, and ſhouts victory; the vanquiſhed ſubmit to the will of the conqueror, and the campaign often terminates without a battle.

Such, in a great meaſure, were the military operations in Syria, in 1771. The combined army of Ali Bey and Daher marched to Damaſcus. The pachas waited for them; they approached, and, on the 6th of June, a deciſive action took place: the Mamlouks and Safadians ruſhed with ſo much fury on the Turks, that, terrified at the carnage, they immediately took to flight, and the pachas were not the laſt in endeavouring to make their eſcape. The allies became maſters of the country, and took poſſeſſion of the city without oppoſition, there being neither walls nor ſoldiers to defend it. The caſtle alone reſiſted. Its ruined fortifications had not a ſingle cannon, much leſs gunners; but it was ſurrounded by a muddy ditch, and behind the ruins were poſted a few muſqueteers, and theſe alone were ſufficient to check this army of cavalry. As the beſieged, however, were already conquered by their fears, they capitulated the third day, and the place was to be ſurrendered the next morning, when at day-break a moſt extraordinary revolution took place.

At the moment that the ſignal of ſurrender was expected, Mohammad ſuddenly commanded a retreat, and all his cavalry turned towards Egypt. In vain did the aſtoniſhed Ali-Daher and Naſif fly to demand the cauſe of ſo ſtrange a meaſure: the Mamlouk made no other reply to their reiterated queſtions, than a haughty menace; and the whole army decamped in confuſion. Nor was this merely a retreat, but a poſitive flight; they ſeemed as if hotly purſued by a victorious enemy; the road from Damaſcus to Cairo was covered with men on foot, ſcattered horſemen, and ſtores and baggage they had abandoned. This ſingular occurrence was attributed, at the time, to a pretended report of the death of Ali Bey; but the real ſolution of the enigma was a ſecret conference which paſſed at night in the tent of Mohammad Bey. Oſman, finding himſelf too weak to oppoſe theſe combined forces, had recourſe to artifice. He contrived to introduce to the Egyptian general a crafty agent, who, under pretence of propoſing terms of peace, endeavoured to diſſeminate diſcord and revolt. He inſinuated to Mohammad that the part he was acting was equally ill befitting his honour, and contrary to his intereſt; that he was deceived in imagining the ſultan would leave unpuniſhed the offences of Ali Bey; that it was a ſacrilege to violate ſo holy a city as Damaſcus, one of the two gates of the Caaba *; that he was aſtoniſhed that Mohammad ſhould prefer the favour of a ſlave of the ſultan, to that of the ſultan himſelf, and that he ſhould ſet up a ſecond maſter between him and his ſovereign; beſides, that it was evident this maſter,

* The two great caravans which make the pilgrimage to Mecca, ſet out from Cairo and Damaſcus.

by

by daily expoſing him to freſh dangers, was ſacrificing him both to his own perſonal ambition, and to the jealouſy of his kiaya, the Copt Rezk.

Theſe reaſons, and eſpecially the two latter, which were founded on indiſputable facts, made a ſtrong impreſſion on Mohammad and his beys: they immediately held a council, and ſwore ſolemnly by the ſabre and the Koran, to return without delay to Cairo. In conſequence of this determination, they decamped ſo ſuddenly, and abandoned their conqueſts with ſuch precipitation, that the report of their coming preceded their arrival at Cairo only by ſix hours. Ali Bey was ſtruck with terror, and wiſhed to have puniſhed his general upon the ſpot; but Mohammad appeared ſo well ſupported, that it was impracticable to attempt any thing againſt his perſon; it was neceſſary to diſſemble, and Ali Bey ſubmitted to this with the leſs difficulty, as he owed his fortune to his diſſimulation much more than to his courage.

Though thus deprived, at one ſtroke, of the fruits of ſo expenſive a war, Ali Bey did not renounce his projects. He continued to ſend ſuccours to his ally, Daher, and prepared a ſecond army for the campaign of 1772; but fortune, weary of effecting more for him than his own abilities could have accompliſhed, ceaſed to favour him.

The firſt reverſe he experienced was in the loſs of ſeveral cayaſſes, or boats, loaded with rice, for Shaik Daher, which were taken by a Ruſſian privateer, within ſight of Damietta; but another, and ſtill more ſerious accident, was the eſcape of Mohammad Bey. Ali Bey could not eaſily forget the affair of Damaſcus; nevertheleſs, from the remains of that affection we retain for thoſe whom we have ſerved, he could not bring himſelf to reſolve on having recourſe to violence, when an expreſſion made uſe of by the Venetian merchant who enjoyed his confidence fixed his wavering reſolution.

"Have the ſultans of the Franks," ſaid Ali Bey, one day, to that European *, "children as rich as my "ſon Mohammad?" "No, ſeig-"nior," replied the courtier, they "are careful of that, for they think "that when children become too "great, they are often in haſte to "enjoy their inheritance." This inſinuation went to the heart of Ali Bey. From that moment he beheld in Mohammad a dangerous rival, and reſolved his ruin. To effect this, without riſk, he firſt ſent directions to all the gates of Cairo, that no Mamlouk ſhould be ſuffered to paſs in the evening, or at night; he then ordered Mohammad into immediate exile in the Said. By theſe oppoſite orders he imagined Mohammad would be ſtopped at the gates, and that, the keepers taking him into cuſtody, he ſhould eaſily free himſelf from his fears; but chance diſconcerted theſe vague and timid meaſures. Mohammad, by ſome miſtake, was ſuppoſed to be charged with private orders from Ali. He and his retinue were allowed to paſs, and from this moment all was loſt. Ali Bey, informed of his flight, gave orders to purſue him; but Mohammad appeared ſo well prepared and determined that none dared attack him. He retired into the Said, foaming with rage, and thirſting for vengeance. Even

* This anecdote I received from that merchant.

after his arrival there, he had another narrow escape. Ayoub Bey, an officer of Ali's, feigning great detestation of the injustice of his master, received Mohammad with transport, and swore upon his sabre and the Koran, to share his fortune; but, a few days after, letters were intercepted from this same Ayoub, to Ali, in which he promised him, without delay, the head of his enemy. Mohammad, having discovered the plot, seized the traitor; and, after cutting off his hands and tongue, sent him to Cairo to receive the recompense of his patron.

The Mamlouks, however, wearied with the insolence of Ali Bey, repaired in crowds to his rival; and, in about six weeks, Mohammad saw himself sufficiently strong to leave the Said, and marched towards Cairo. Ali Bey, on his side, sent his troops against him; but several of them likewise deserted to the enemy: at length, in the month of April 1772, the armies had a rencounter in the plain of El-Masateb, at the gates of Cairo, the issue of which was, that Mohammad and his party entered the city, sabre in hand. Ali Bey, having barely time to make his escape with eight hundred of his Mamlouks, repaired to Gaza, for the first time in his life, and endeavoured to get to Acre, to join his ally, Daher; but the inhabitants of Nablous and Yafa cut off his retreat; and Daher himself was obliged to open him a passage. The Arab received him with that simplicity and frankness which in all ages have characterized that people, and conducted him to Acre. It was necessary to succour Said (Sidon), then besieged by the troops of Osman, in conjunction with the Druzes. He accordingly marched to that place, accompanied by Ali. Their combined troops formed a body of about seven thousand cavalry, and, at their approach, the Turks raised the siege, and retired to a place a league to the northward of the city, on the river Aoula. There, in July 1772, the most considerable and most methodical engagement of the whole war took place. The Turkish army, three times more numerous than that of the two allies, was entirely defeated. The seven pachas who commanded it took to flight, and Said remained in the possession of Daher, and his governor Degnizla.

Ali Bey and Daher, on their return to Acre, proceeded to chastise the inhabitants of Yafa, who had revolted that they might convert to their use the ammunition and clothing left there by one of Ali's fleets, before he was expelled from Cairo. The city, which was held by a shaik of Nablous, shut its gates, and resolved to stand the siege. This commenced in July, and lasted eight months, though Yafa had no other rampart than a mere garden-wall, without a ditch; but in Syria and Egypt they know still less of carrying on a siege than of engagements in the field; at length, however, the besieged capitulated in February 1773.

Ali, now feeling himself disengaged, thought of nothing but his return to Cairo. Daher offered to furnish him with succours; and the Russians, with whom Ali had contracted an alliance, while treating of the affair of the privateer, promised to second him: time however was necessary for collecting these scattered aids, and Ali became impatient. The promises of Rezk, his kiaya and his oracle, rendered him

him ſtill more deſirous to be gone. This Copt never ceaſed aſſuring him that the hour of his return was come; that the aſpects of the ſtars were moſt propitious; and that the downfall of Mohammad was now moſt certain. Ali, who, like all the Turks, believed firmly in aſtrology, and who put the greater faith in Rezk, becauſe he believed his predictions had been often verified, could no longer endure delay; and the news he received from Cairo completed his impatience.

In the beginning of April, letters were ſent him by his friends, in which they informed him that the people were tired of his ungrateful ſlave, and that nothing but his preſence was wanting to expel him. He determined, therefore, to ſet out immediately, and, without giving the Ruſſians time to arrive, departed with his Mamlouks, and fifteen hundred Safadians, commanded by Oſman, the ſon of Daher; but he was ignorant that the letters from Cairo were a ſtratagem of Mohammad's, and that this bey had extorted them by force, in order to deceive and lead him into the ſnare he was preparing. In fact, no ſooner had Ali advanced into the deſert which ſeparates Gaza from Egypt, than he fell in, near Salakia, with a choſen body of a thouſand Mamlouks, who were lying in ambuſh, waiting his arrival. This corps was commanded by the young bey, Mourad, who, being enamoured of the wife of Ali Bey, had obtained a promiſe of her from Mohammad, in caſe he could bring him the head of that illuſtrious unfortunate. Scarcely did Mourad perceive the duſt which announced the approach of his enemies, before he ruſhed upon them with his Mamlouks, and threw them into confuſion. To crown his good fortune, he met with Ali in the crowd, attacked, and wounded him in the forehead with a ſabre, made him priſoner, and conducted him to Mohammad. The latter, who was encamped two leagues in the rear, received his former maſter with all that exaggerated reſpect which is ſo cuſtomary with the Turks, and that ſenſibility which perfidy knows ſo well how to feign. He provided a magnificent tent for him, ordered him to be taken the greateſt care of, ſtiled himſelf a thouſand times, "his "ſlave, who licked the duſt of his "feet;" but the third day, this parade of politeneſs terminated by the death of Ali Bey, who died, according to ſome, of his wounds; or, as others report, by poiſon: the probability of both theſe accounts is ſo equal, that it is impoſſible to decide between them.

Thus terminated the enterprizes of this celebrated man, who for ſome time engaged the attention of Europe, and afforded many politicians hopes of a great revolution. That he was an extraordinary character, cannot be denied; but it is exaggeration to place him in the claſs of great men: the accounts given of him by witneſſes highly worthy credit, prove that though he poſſeſſed the ſeeds of great qualities, the want of culture prevented them from coming to maturity. Let us paſs over his credulity in aſtrology, which more frequently influenced his conduct than more ſubſtantial motives; let us not mention his treacheries, his perjuries, the murders even of his benefactors *, by which he acquired, or

* Such as Saleh Bey.

maintained his power, the morality of a rude ſociety is doubtleſs leſs rigid than that of a well-regulated ſtate; but, judging ambitious men on their own principles, we ſhall find that Ali Bey either ill underſtood, or erroneouſly purſued his plan of greatneſs; and that it was he himſelf who paved the way for his own ruin. We are certainly juſtified in charging him with three errors: Firſt, that imprudent thirſt after conqueſt, which fruitleſsly exhauſted his revenue, and his forces, and made him neglect the interior adminiſtration of his own country. Secondly, the premature indolence to which he reſigned himſelf, executing nothing but by his lieutenants, which diminiſhed the reſpect entertained for his perſon by the Mamlouks, and encouraged the ſpirit of revolt. Thirdly, the exceſſive riches he ſhowered on his favourite, which procured him the influence he abuſed. Suppoſing Mohammad virtuous, ought not Ali to have dreaded the ſeduction of flatterers, who, in all countries, are the conſtant attendants on opulence? In Ali Bey, however, we muſt admire one quality, which diſtinguiſhes him from the multitude of tyrants who have governed Egypt: if a vicious education prevented him from knowing what true glory is, it is certain, at leaſt, he was animated with the deſire of obtaining it; and this was never the portion of vulgar minds. He wanted nothing but to be adviſed by thoſe who knew the true road to it; and, among thoſe who are born to command, how few are there who merit this eulogium?

I cannot proceed without a few remarks on an obſervation I remember to have frequently heard made at Cairo. Thoſe among our merchants who had witneſſed the reign of Ali, and his downfall, after extolling his good government, his zeal for juſtice, and his beneficence to the Franks, never failed to expreſs their aſtoniſhment at his not being regretted by the people; and thence took occaſion to repeat thoſe charges of inconſtancy and ingratitude with which the orientals are uſually reproached; but, on maturely examining every circumſtance, this does not appear to me ſo extraordinary as it may at firſt ſeem.

In Egypt, as in every other country, the judgment of the people is guided by the penury or plenty in which they live; their love or hatred, their cenſure or applauſe, are meaſured by the eaſe or difficulty with which they can procure the means of ſubſiſtence, in conſequence of the adminiſtration of their rulers; nor can this be eſteemed an improper criterion. In vain may we tell them that the honour of the empire, the glory of the nation, the encouragement of commerce, and the improvement of the fine arts, require ſuch and ſuch meaſures. Every thing is ſuperſeded by the neceſſaries of life; and when the multitude want bread, they have at leaſt a right to withhold their praiſe and admiration. Of what conſequence was it to the people of Egypt, that Ali Bey had conquered the Said, Mecca, and Syria, if theſe conqueſts only augmented, inſtead of relieving their burthens? The expences incurred by theſe wars, increaſed the contributions they were obliged to raiſe. The expedition againſt Mecca alone coſt twenty-ſix millions of French livres (above one million eighty-three

thouſand

thouſand pounds), and the exportation of corn for the uſe of the armies, added to the monopoly of ſome merchants in favour, cauſed a famine, which deſolated the country during the whole of the years 1770 and 1771. When, therefore, the inhabitants of Cairo, and the peaſants in the villages, were dying with hunger, what wonder if they murmured againſt Ali Bey? Who can blame them for diſapproving of the commerce with India, if all its advantages were to center in a few hands? When Ali Bey expended two hundred and twenty-five thouſand livres (above nine thouſand pounds), in the uſeleſs handle of a *kandjar* *, though jewellers might applaud his magnificence, had not the people reaſon to deteſt his luxury? This liberality, which his courtiers called virtue, the people, at whoſe expence it was exerciſed, were juſtly entitled to ſtigmatize as vice. Had this man any merit in laviſhing what coſt him nothing? Was it an act of juſtice to gratify his favourite at the expence of the people, or repay with their money his private obligations, as in the caſe of his purveyor-general †? It muſt be confeſſed, that the greateſt part of the actions of Ali Bey were founded much leſs on general principles of juſtice and humanity, than perſonal motives of vanity and ambition. Egypt, in his eyes, was his private property, and the people a vile herd of worthleſs animals, of whom he might diſpoſe at his pleaſure. Ought we then to be aſtoniſhed, if thoſe whom he treated like an imperious maſter have vilified his fame like mercenary malecontents?

Particulars relative to Ragonauth Row, *uſually called* Raghobah.—*From the* Aſiatic Miſcellany.

RAGONAUTH Row (who is commonly called Raghobah) is a chieftain of great eminence, and the only ſurvivor of note in the family of Baujee Row. He formerly ſignalized himſelf by very conſiderable military achievements; for it was he that wreſted the half of Guzerat from the hand of Daumaujee Kayekvaur, and that afforded ſuch important aſſiſtance to the Navaub Gauzy ud Deen Khan in the war with the Juats, in the time of Ahmed Shah. It was he, too, that marched at the head of 100,000 horſe againſt the ſon of the Abdaulee Shaw, drove him from Lahore, and planted the Maratta ſtandards as far as the ſhore of the Attock. The Abdaulee Shaw was then engaged in a war on the ſide of Khoraſan; but the year following he entered Hindoſtan with a large

* A poniard carried in the belt.

† Ali Bey, ſetting out to go into exile, for he was exiled no leſs than three times, was encamped near Cairo, being allowed a delay of twenty-four hours, to pay his debts: a janiſary, named Haſſan, to whom he owed five hundred ſequins (one hundred and fifty-ſix pounds), came to find him. Ali, thinking he wanted his money, began to make excuſes. But Haſſan, producing five hundred more ſequins, ſaid to him, "Thou art in misfortune, take theſe alſo." Ali, confounded with this generoſity, ſwore by the head of the Prophet, that, if ever he returned, he would beſtow on this man unexampled wealth; and on his return, created him purveyor-general: and though he was informed of the ſcandalous extortions of Haſſan, never even reprimanded him.

army

army to chaſtiſe the Marratas, at a time when the Navaub Gauzy ud Deen Khan was in the country of the Jauts, and under their protection. On receiving news of this event, the Paiſhwah, Baulaujee Pundet, told his ſon *, Ragonauth Row, that he expected he would take upon him the charge of this expedition alſo againſt the Abdaulees; to which Ragonauth Row replied, that he was not averſe to it, if he would grant him a ſupply of twenty lack † of rupees for the pay of his troops. But his couſin Sadaſhevah being preſent, obſerved that the Marrattas were a privileged people; that wherever they went, the country and its revenue might be conſidered as their own; and then aſked Ragonauth Row what grounds he had for ſo extraordinary a demand? To this Ragonauth replied by making him an offer of the commiſſion, which Sadaſhevah Row accepted; and having taken the command of an army of 90,000 horſe, he firſt moved with this force againſt Salaubet Jeng, the brother of the preſent Navaub Nizam Aly Khan. But that prince having been reduced to great ſtraits ſince the death of the late Navaub Naſir Jeng, had but a ſmall body of horſe to oppoſe them; and having been ſurrounded by the Marrattas on all ſides, he was obliged to give up to them the forts of Burhaunpoor and Aſſair, with a country of ſixty-five lack of rupees per annum, beſides conſiderable ſums of ready money. Thus enriched, Sadaſhevah Row took his way towards Hindoſtan ‡; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of Dehly, laid claim § to the empire and the throne: but his pride was offenſive to the Moſt High, by whoſe providence it happened that he was, in a ſhort time, hemmed in between two formidable armies, that of the Abdaulee Shaw attacking him in front, and that of the Navaub Shujaa ud Dowlah and the Rohillas falling at the ſame time upon his rear. Here enſued that famous battle, of which thoſe who were eye-witneſſes report that it was the greateſt ever fought in Hindoſtan: for the Marrattas being beſet with enemies in front and rear, ſaw no poſſibility of flight, and therefore reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as they could. Eighty Marratta chiefs that rode on elephants were killed on the ſpot: but concerning Sadaſhevah Row himſelf there are different accounts, ſome aſſerting that he was killed in the engagement, and others as confidently affirming that he eſcaped alone from the field of battle; and that having reached Poonah, diſguiſed as a private ſoldier, he waited privately on Baulaujee Row, who, in wrath for what had happened, ordered him ſecretly to priſon in the fort of Poorendher; and there, ſay they, he lives to this day: and yet it is pretended that this is ſo carefully concealed, that Pârabatty Bauhee, his wife, who is ſtill living at Poonah, and even bears a part in the councils of the Marratta chiefs, knows nothing of the matter; which ſurely gives this ſtory a great air of improbability;

* "His brother," it ſhould be.

† Others ſay "ſixty lack."

‡ Meaning from the Decan to Hindoſtan proper.

§ He did not pretend to ſit on the throne himſelf, but ſet up Javân-bacht,

for

for how can it be credited that ſo conſiderable a man ſhould thus be ſhut up in priſon, and the circumſtances not tranſpire?

After theſe events Malhâr Row marched to the ſide of Hindoſtan, and fixed his quarters a long time at Kaulpee, whence he afterwards moved to Korajehanabad, to ſuccour Shujaa ud Dowlah; but general Carnac engaged him there, and gave him a total defeat. Malhâr Row is ſince dead, and has been ſucceeded by his ſon Tukkojee Holker, and his wife Ahaleeah Bauee, in the poſſeſſion of the Soobah of Endour, which was his jagheer. They have 50,000 horſe at their command, and are of the Dhanker caſt.

The next army the Marrattas ſent into Hindoſtan was that commanded by Mehdejee Sendheeah and Beeſaujee Pundit, who placed Shah Aulum upon the throne of Dehly; a great ſubject of boaſting to the Marrattas, who ſay the emperor of Hindoſtan owes his kingdom entirely to them. But it is well known, that when colonel Champion marched to Mehendee Ghaut, after his ſucceſs againſt the Rohillas, he engaged this very Sendheeah, and put him and the whole Marratta army to flight; ſo that having croſſed the Ganges and Jumna with great precipitation, they have never from that time ventured over either of thoſe rivers again. At preſent, indeed, Ragonauth Row's revolution has produced ſuch diſperſion among the Marratta chiefs, and thrown their affairs into ſuch confuſion, that Rajah Himmut Behauder, Rajah Dhataneeah, the Rajah of Gohud, and others, have united to take advantage of this criſis, and now collect the revenues of all the countries between Kaulpee and Narwer. The Marratta chiefs, however, meditate an invaſion into thoſe parts, whenever matters ſhall be perfectly ſettled in relation to Ragonauth Row.

Cuſtoms and Manners of the Marrattas.—*From the ſame.*

SOME of the Marratta cuſtoms appeared excellent to me. One was, the good underſtanding and union that has in general ſubſiſted among their chiefs, in ſo much that no inſtance of treachery had ever occurred among them till Ragonauth Row made himſelf infamous on that account. Another was, the attention and reſpect paid by the paiſhwah, and all the great men, to people of the military profeſſion; ſo that in the public derbar the paiſhwah is uſed to receive the compliments of every ſingle jammatdar of horſe, himſelf ſtanding till nine o'clock in the morning, and embracing them by turns *. At taking

* According to the preſent cuſtom diſtinctions are made in this matter, which were not formerly obſerved; for the paiſhwahs uſed to embrace all that came without diſcrimination, till advantage was taken of this cuſtom by Bapujee Naik, who having a grudge at Sadothevah Bhow (commonly called Bhow Saheb), at the time that he held the office of firſt miniſter to the fourth paiſhwah Balaujee Row (called alſo Nanah Saheb), attempted to ſtab him with his cuttar when he went to embrace him. From that time a regulation has taken place, according to which none but people of diſtinction, and they unarmed, are permitted to embrace the paiſhwah, or others of his family.

leave,

leave, alſo, he gives them beetle ſtanding: and whoever comes to wait upon him, whether men of rank or otherwiſe, he receives * their ſalams, or embraces them ſtanding.

Another ordinance current among them is, that if an eminent chieftain, who commands even an hundred thouſand horſe, be ſent into ſome other country with his forces, and happens there to be guilty of ſome offence, in conſequence of which he receives a ſummons from the paiſhwah, far from thinking of reſiſtance, he inſtantly obeys, and repairs to the preſence in perſon with all expedition. The paiſhwah then pardons him if the offence be ſmall; if otherwiſe, he is impriſoned for ſome months, or kept in a ſtate of diſgrace, till it is thought proper to admit him again to favour.

A third is, that if an eminent chief goes upon an expedition which ſubjects him to great expences, ſuch as his own jageer is not ſufficient to ſupply, and he is obliged on that account to run in debt to the Mohajins, though the ſum ſhould amount to even ten or twelve lack, it is all freely allowed him; and though the government have demands upon him to the amount of lacks of rupees, yet if, in ſuch circumſtances, he pleads the inſufficiency of his means to diſcharge thoſe arrears, he is excuſed without heſitation, nor has he any thing to apprehend from being called to account by the dewan, the khanſaman, or other ſtate officers. The chiefs are all their own maſters, and expend † what ſums they pleaſe; ſo that a general ſatisfaction prevails among them, and they are always ready at a call with their quota of troops, and march with alacrity upon whatever ſervice they are ordered to undertake. At preſent Sakharam Baboo cauſes great diſcontents among the chiefs, by canvaſſing their accounts, and making demands on the jageerdars, in a manner very different from the uſage of former paiſhwahs; hence numbers are diſaffected, and time muſt diſcover what it is that Providence deſigns to bring about by that means.

Another cuſtom is, that when one of their chiefs that held employments, or jageers, &c. dies, his ſon, though of inferior abilities, or an infant, ſucceeds ‡ immediately to

* This, it ſhould ſeem, is too generally expreſſed; but the cuſtom did, and does ſtill ſubſiſt on one particular occaſion, to wit, on the day on which the army marches on any expedition, the paiſhwah then ſtands at the door of his tent, and, after delivering the golden ſtandard to the general who has been appointed to the command, receives in that poſture the compliments of all the troops, of every rank and denomination.

† This muſt be underſtood with ſome limitation. They do, indeed, laviſh often great ſums when on ſervice, and that not merely on the ſoldiery, but on feaſts given to Brahmans, preſents to ſingers, dancers, &c. and on their return theſe ſums are generally allowed them under the head of *dherrem*, or charitable diſburſements. But they are ſo far from being without any check in their expences, that the officer named the *karkun*, is ſent with each chieftain expreſsly for that purpoſe.

‡ This is alſo liable to ſome exceptions; for though great attention is paid to the claims of repreſentatives of great families, when thoſe repreſentatives are themſelves

to the employment, the buſineſs of which is conducted by deputy till he becomes of age, and the monthly ſtipend, or jageer, &c. is given to his family and relations. Nor are the effects of deceaſed perſons ever ſeized and appropriated by government, in the manner that has been practiſed under the emperors of Hindoſtan.

To the ſouth-weſt of Poonah, at the diſtance of fifty coſs, is the fort of Sattarah.

Bombay is about fifty coſs diſtant due weſt.

Surat and Guzerat are to the north-weſt about 130 coſs diſtant.

Aurungabad ſtands eaſt of Poonah about ſeventy coſs.

Bombay, Salſet, Baſſeen, &c. ſtand on the ſhore of the ſalt ſea towards the weſt.

And the country of Kokun, which belongs to the Marrattas, lies ſouth-weſt of Poonah.

Kokun is a fine country, and produces rice and ſuch things in abundance, with which it ſupplies Poonah. The paiſhwah and the other chiefs are moſtly Kokun Brahmans. This province is called a Soobah. The Brahmans of Poonah may be divided into two ſorts; the Déſy Brahmans, who are thoſe of Aurungabad and thoſe parts: the other thoſe of Kokun.

To the ſouth and eaſt are alſo many countries under the government of the Marrattas, extending from the parts adjacent *to Poonah* to the boundaries of the *Carnatic* *, and Rameſer (which is a place of worſhip of the Hindoos, as famous as that of Kaſy, at 300 coſs diſtance from Poonah), and *Panalah*, a jageer of the Bhonſalahs, and to the boundary of Nellor, &c. the country of Heider Naig.

To the eaſt and north are ſituated the ſerkar of Aſair, Burhaunpoor, and the ſoobah of Khandaiſe, at the diſtance of eighty coſs from Poonah.

And to the north and weſt are the half of the country of Guzerat, the pergunnah of Broanch, &c. which are in the poſſeſſion of the Marratta paiſhwah.

Beſides all theſe countries, the pergunnah of Bhêlſa, the ſoobah of Endour †, the ſoobah of Udgein, the pergunnah of Seronje, the

ſelves men of merit and ability, yet when it happens otherwiſe, the jageers and employments are at length uſually taken from them, and given to perſons from whom the ſtate has better expectations.

* The Carnatic muſt by no means be underſtood here in the confined ſenſe in which the Engliſh receive it. The country governed by Mohammed Aly Khan is only a part of the Carnatic properly ſo called, and ſhould always be termed the *Carnatic Payeen Ghaut*, i. e. "that Carnatic which is below the paſſes." In the name Carnatic ſtanding ſingly, is to be comprehended all the countries lying ſouth of Merch and Bidder, which compoſed the ancient kingdom of Viziapoor. In fact, the name of *Carnatic Payeen Ghaut* appears to have been given to Mohammed Aly Khan's country by the Moors; for the Marrattas allow that appellation to a very ſmall part of it, and denominate the whole ſoobah of Arcot *Draviddes*, while the Malabars, natives of the country, call it *Soromaudelam*, from whence our Coromandel.

What he ſays here with reſpect to the extent of the Marratta dominions ſouthward, applies only to the poſſeſſion they once had of the country of Tanjore, and the tribute they collected from the Tondemans.

† Endour is a pergunnah.

ſoobah

ſoobah of Kalpy *, were all made over to the Marrattas in jageer, by Gauzy ud Deen Khaun, in conſideration of the ſupport and aſſiſtance afforded him by the Marratta forces, and they ſtill remain in their poſſeſſion. The above Mahals are included in the jageers of Tukkojee Holker and Sendheeah; that is to ſay, there are about 50,000 or 60,000 horſe appointed on the ſide of Hindoſtan, which theſe two chiefs pay out of the produce of theſe countries, and tranſmit the balance to the paiſhwah.

The actual revenue derived from all the countries dependent on the Marrattas is about twelve crore, from which when we deduct the jageers, and the expence of the troops ſtationed on the ſide of Hindoſtan proper, there will remain about five crore at the diſpoſal of the paiſhwah; and out of this he has to pay all thoſe troops who receive their allowances in ready money, and to defray the charges of the forts, which are, large and ſmall, in number about ſeven hundred: ſo that there is never a balance of ſo much as one crore of rupees in ready money remaining in the treaſury of the paiſhwah †.

The full number of the troops is about two hundred thouſand horſe and foot; but including the garriſons of the forts and other places, we may reckon it four hundred thouſand.

The Marrattas are always at war with Heider Naig, or the Navaub Nizam Ali Khan, or others. Their country is never in perfect tranquillity, and hence it is exceeding deſolate and waſte.

They are at preſent at peace with the Navaub Nizam Ali Khan Behauder, but their country is in much confuſion on account of their diſcontents with Ragonauth Row; advantage of which has been taken by the zemindars of the hills on every ſide, and by Heider Naig. On the ſide of Hindoſtan the Goſayn Rajah Himmut Behauder, and the rajah of Gohud, &c. have ſeized the ſoobah of Kalpy ‡, &c. and the ſerkar of Gualier §; and Heider Naig has alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome of their countries on his ſide; but as ſoon as they can promiſe themſelves ſecurity with reſpect to Ragonauth Row, their armies will iſſue forth on every ſide.

* Kalpy is not a ſoobah, but a pergunnah. To theſe muſt be added the pergunnah of Dhar; the fort of which, bearing the ſame name, is very famous for its ſtrength, and is ſaid to have been built by the celebrated Rajah Bhoj, who made it his capital. It is ſituated at the diſtance of about twenty-four Bengal coſs from the city of Udgein.

† This, it ſeems, is true at preſent; but Maudeverow, it is ſaid, had two crore of rupees in his treaſury at the time of his death, moſt of which fell afterwards into the hands of Ragonauth Row, and was diſſipated by him on his acceſſion to the government, and his expedition towards the Carnatic.

‡ It ought to be written "the pergunnah of Kalpy." Rajah Himmut Behauder did indeed take Kalpy, in the time and under the orders of Shujaa ud Dowlah, but was ſoon driven out of it again by the Marratta forces, under the command of Vitthel Sivadeo, Nauroo Sunker, Govind Pundet, &c.

§ The rajah of Gohud got poſſeſſion of the open country, and a few mud forts in the ſerkar of Gualier, but was never able to get poſſeſſion of the fort of that name, till the Engliſh took it for him.

Extracts

Extracts relative to the Character of the late Mr. Hanway.—*From the Remarkable Occurrences in his Life, by Mr.* Pugh.

"MR. Hanway in his perſon was of the middle ſize, of a thin ſpare habit, but well ſhaped; his limbs were faſhioned with the niceſt ſymmetry. In the latter years of his life he ſtooped very much, and when he walked, found it conduce to eaſe to let his head incline towards one ſide. When he went firſt to Ruſſia, at the age of thirty, his face was full and comely, and his perſon altogether ſuch as obtained for him the appellation of the "Handſome Engliſhman." But the ſhock which his health received in Perſia, made him much thinner; and though he recovered his health, ſo as to live in England twenty ſucceſſive years without any material illneſs, he never recovered his plumpneſs.

His features were ſmall, but without the inſignificance which commonly attends ſmall features. His countenance was intereſting, ſenſible, and calculated to inſpire reverence. His blue eyes had never been brilliant; but they expreſſed the utmoſt humanity and benevolence; and when he ſpoke, the animation of his countenance and the tone of his voice were ſuch as ſeemed to carry conviction with them even to the mind of a ſtranger. When he endeavoured to ſoothe diſtreſs, or point out to any wretch who had ſtrayed, the comforts of a virtuous life, he was peculiarly impreſſive; and every thing that he ſaid had an air of conſideration and ſincerity.

"In his dreſs, as far as was conſiſtent with his ideas of health and eaſe, he accommodated himſelf to the prevailing faſhion. As it was frequently neceſſary for him to appear in polite circles, on unexpected occaſions, he uſually wore dreſs clothes, with a large French bag: his hat, ornamented with a gold button, was of a ſize and faſhion to be worn as well under the arm as on the head. When it rained, a ſmall *parapluie* defended his face and wig. Thus he was always prepared to enter into any company, without impropriety, or the appearance of negligence. His dreſs for ſet public occaſions was a ſuit of rich dark brown; the coat and waiſtcoat lined throughout with ermine, which juſt appeared at the edges; and a ſmall gold-hilted ſword. As he was extremely ſuſceptible of cold, he wore flannel under the linings of all his clothes, and uſually three pair of ſtockings. He was the firſt man who ventured to walk the ſtreets of London with an umbrella over his head: after carrying one near thirty years, he ſaw them come into general uſe."

"His mind was the moſt active that it is poſſible to conceive; always on the wing, and never appearing to be weary. To ſit ſtill, and endeavour to give reſt to the thought, was a luxury to which he was a perfect ſtranger: he dreaded nothing ſo much as inactivity, and that modern diſorder which the French, who feel it not ſo much as ourſelves, diſtinguiſh by the name of *ennui*.

He roſe in the ſummer at four or five, and in the winter at ſeven; and having always buſineſs before him, he was every day employed till the time of retiring to reſt; and when in health, I am told, was commonly

commonly asleep within two minutes after his lying down in bed.

"Writing was his favourite employment, or rather amusement; and when the number of his literary works is considered, and that they were the produce only of those hours, which he was able to snatch from public business, an idea may be formed of his application. He wrote a fine flowing hand to the last, when he pleased, without spectacles. And he had always one or two of the clerks belonging to his office, or to some of the charitable institutions in which he was engaged, to live in his house and assist him. When doctor Goldsmith, to relieve himself from the labour of writing, engaged an amanuensis, he found himself incapable of dictation; and after eying each other some time, unable to proceed, the doctor put a guinea in his hand, and sent him away: but it was not so with Mr. Hanway; he could compose faster than any person could write. His mode was to dictate for as many hours together as he could spare, and afterwards correct the copy, which was again wrote out and corrected, perhaps several times."

"By leaving his work to transact his ordinary business, and afterwards recurring to it with new ideas, all his literary labours are defective in the arrangement of the matter, and appear to have too much of the miscellaneous in their composition. The original idea is sometimes left for the pursuit of one newly started, and either taken up again, when the mind of the reader has almost lost it, or it is totally deserted. Yet those who are judges of literary composition, say that his language is well calculated to have the effect he desired on the reader, and impress him with the idea that the author was a man of inflexible integrity, and wrote from the pure dictates of the heart. It is plain and unornamented, without the appearance of art, or the affectation of singularity. Its greatest defect (say they) is a want of conciseness; its greatest beauty an unaffected and genuine simplicity. He spoke French and Portuguese, and understood the Rus and modern Persic inperfectly: Latin he had been taught at school; but had not much occasion to cultivate it after he entered into life.

In his natural disposition he was cheerful but serene. He enjoyed his own joke, and applauded the wit of another; but never descended from a certain dignity, which he thought indispensably necessary. His experience furnished him with some anecdote or adventure, suitable to every turn the discourse could take; and he was always willing to communicate it: If in the hour of conviviality the discourse took a turn, not consistent with the most rigid chastity, he was not forward to reprove or take offence; but any attack on religion, especially in the company of young people, was sure to meet his most pointed disapprobation. In conversation he was easy of access, and gave readily to every one the best answer which occurred: but not fond of much speaking himself, he did not always bear with patience, though commonly with silence, the forward and importunate; them with whom every man, and every thing is either the very best or the very worst possible; who exemplify, for the instruction of their auditors, those common ideas

ideas which it is not poſſible could eſcape them; and think loudneſs, and the geſticulation of unneceſſary warmth, can ſupply the place of argument and politeneſs. If the mirth degenerated into boiſterous laughter, he took his leave: "My companions," he would ſay, "were too merry to be happy, or to let me be happy, ſo I left them." He ſpoke better in public than was to be expected of one who wrote ſo much, and pointed to his ſubject; though he was ſometimes ſeduced into an eulogium on the uſefulneſs of the *merchant*, a character for which he entertained great reverence.

"Although he himſelf never drank wine undiluted with water, he partook willingly of the joys of the table, and that felicity of converſation, which a moderate application to the bottle excites among men of parts; but he knew how the love of company infatuates young people, and the danger to which it expoſes them. The writer of theſe ſheets is indebted to him beyond the power of expreſſion, particularly for his advice, which he had the method of adminiſtering without giving diſguſt; and he never received ſo ſerious a caution as when at a public meeting, at the deſire of ſir Joſeph Andrews, he ſung a ſong better than Mr. Hanway expected.

"In his tranſactions with the world, he was always open, candid and ſincere: Whatever he ſaid might be depended on with implicit confidence. He adhered to the ſtrict truth, even in the *manner* of his relation, and no brilliancy of thought could induce him to vary from the fact; but although ſo frank in his own proceedings, he had ſeen too much of life to be eaſily deceived by others; and he did not often place a confidence that was betrayed. He did not, however, think the world ſo degenerate as is commonly imagined: "And if I did," he uſed to ſay, "I would not let it appear; for nothing can tend ſo effectually to make a man wicked, or to keep him ſo, as a marked ſuſpicion. Confidence is the reward of truth and fidelity, and theſe ſhould never be exerted in vain."

"His religion was pure, rational, fervent, and ſincere; equally diſtant from a cold inanimate languor, and the phantaſies of ſupernatural intelligence: it was his reſource conſtantly in trouble, as was writing at the moment of imagination. He believed the truths revealed in the goſpel, with the moſt unvaried confidence; but ſhewed no auſterity to perſons who ſet the dictates of nature and experience in oppoſition to them, if they appeared to doubt with a willingneſs to be convinced. He conſidered religion as the moſt effectual reſtraint on bad actions; and although he rejoiced at the light which has been thrown by Mr. Voltaire, and other modern writers, on the ſuperſtition of former ages; he preferred even that, with its attendant cruelty and ſelfiſhneſs, to a comfortleſs ſcepticiſm, and ſometimes proceeded ſo far as to expreſs his fears that the generality might one day become too enlightened to be happy.

"He knew well how much the happineſs of mankind is dependant on honeſt induſtry, and received a pleaſure, but faintly deſcribed in words, when any of the objects of his charity cleanly apparelled, and with cheerful and contented coun-

tenances, came to pay their reſpects to him. He treated them as his acquaintances, entered into their concerns with a paternal affection, and let them know that on any real emergency they might apply with confidence to him. It was this, rather than the largeneſs of his gifts, that endeared him ſo much to the common people: he never walked out but was followed by the good wiſhes, ſilent or expreſſed, of ſome to whom he had offered relief. To meet the eye of him whom he had obliged, was to him the higheſt luxury; and no man enjoyed it oftener.

"Of his charity, it is not eaſy to convey an adequate idea: it was of that prudent and conſiderate kind, which is of the moſt ſubſtantial benefit. It did not conſiſt merely in *giving*; and though his heart was ever open to the complaint of the unfortunate, it required ſomething more than mere ſupplication to obtain his aſſiſtance. He was particularly careful to diſcountenance the faſhionable genteel way of begging by letter, in which talents capable of procuring ſupport are held out as excuſes for diſtreſs. To him that had once deceived him by fictitious diſtreſs he was inexorable; but when real miſery, the effect of accident or inevitable misfortune, came in his way, he never failed to afford ſubſtantial relief, which he was always enabled to do; for he had the diſtribution every year of more than his own whole income amounted to. It is not the love of money, ſo much as the love of eaſe, which keeps cloſe the coffers of the wealthy.

"When once Mr. Hanway had engaged in a public charitable undertaking, he omitted nothing that could poſſibly tend to its promotion; no department was beneath him; his eye pervaded the whole ſyſtem, and, like that of Providence, never ſtopt whilſt any thing remained to be done to further his benevolent deſigns. He thought every thing great which concerned the cauſe of humanity. The love of his fellow-creatures ſhewed itſelf in every action of his life."

Curious Account of a peculiar Race of People in Siberia, *called* Wodyacks; *extracted from an original Letter, dated* St. Peterſburg, June 14, 1783. *From the Gentleman's Magazine for* January 1787.

"COUNT Alexander Strogonoff arrived very lately from his copper and ſalt-mines in the government of Solikamſky, and related this day at table, that, in the neighbourhood of ſome of his eſtates in that part of Siberia, there dwells a peculiar race of people (called Wodyacks) who are neither Chriſtians, Mahometans, nor yet Idolaters, as all around them are, but have preſerved the worſhip of one God, without any apparent type or image of him, ſo univerſal in the Eaſt. They have no order of prieſthood ſet apart, but live in families, the head of which officiates as ſuch when they make an offering of their firſt fruits in harveſt time, which is the only token of religious worſhip the Ruſſians have ever diſcovered among them.

They call a man *Adam* in their language, and talk of themſelves as the original *Stock* (the count's term in French was *La Souche*), from whence the other parts of the earth were peopled.

Their

Their funeral ceremony conſiſts in ſetting the dead corpſe before the relations, when they make a repaſt, out of which they preſent a portion to the deceaſed, and, after a ſhort ſilence, they uſe theſe general words: "Since thou neither eat-"eſt nor drinkeſt more, we per-"ceive thou haſt finiſhed thine ex-"ile, therefore return to the coun-"try whence thou cameſt, and "leave thy virtues to thy family;" and then, depoſiting the corpſe in the ground, they return to finiſh the repaſt: but with the utmoſt ſobriety and regularity.

They live in the moſt perfect equality; giving no precedence but to the aged or heads of families."

Some Account and Character of the late Robert Lowth, *D. D. Lord Biſhop of* London; *extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for* November 1787.

"HIS family were originally from the county of Lincoln. His great grandfather was Mr. Simon Lowth, rector of Tylehurſt, in the county of Berks; his grandfather William Lowth, an apothecary in the pariſh of St. Martin, Ludgate, and burnt out, with great loſs, at the fire of London in 1666. His father was William Lowth, of St. John's College, Oxford, and chaplain to Dr. Mew, biſhop of Wincheſter, in which church he had a prebend, and the living of Boniton, in the county of Hants, well known by his Commentaries on the prophetic writings, and other learned works. He died in 1732, leaving two ſons, the late biſhop of London, and Charles Lowth, an eminent hoſier in Paternoſter-row, F. A. S. 1756, and his collection of prints was ſold after his death, 1770.—His Lordſhip was born in 1711. Wincheſter was the ſchool which has the boaſt of breeding this very learned and virtuous man. From thence he was removed, on the ſame foundation, to New College, Oxford, where he proceeded M. A. 1737, and was created D. D. by diploma in 1754. His fame for claſſical accompliſhments and Oriental literature was there ſoon and greatly eſtabliſhed, and was never unaccompanied with credit, yet more enviable, of private worth, and manners at once delicate and brave. Theſe were ſuch recommendations as were ſure to force their way with thoſe who were themſelves moſt commendable. The hereditary virtue of the Cavendiſhes is not more certain than their lineal readineſs to diſtinguiſh the virtue of others. Mr. Lowth was choſen as the tutor of the Duke of Devonſhire. He went abroad with him, and brought home ſuch a return as was to be expected from kindred honour and well reciprocated uſe. When the duke became lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Dr. Lowth went with him, and, as firſt chaplain, had the firſt preferment which government there got in their diſpoſal. That was no leſs than the biſhoprick of Kilmore. But Lowth's mind at that time being ſet on objects even higher than mitres, many family and friendly charms, and ſome purſuits in literature, which particularly endeared the preference of his native country, an exchange was ſought for, and, what very rarely happens, was no ſooner ſought for than found. There was at that time a Mr. Leſlie, with the ſame eagerneſs to get into Ire-

land as Lowth had to get out of it. He agreed to accept Kilmore, Lowth ſucceeding to what he relinquiſhed, a prebend of Durham and the rectory of Sedgefield. Butler was then Biſhop of Durham; and when he collated Lowth to theſe preferments, he expreſſed a well-natured exultation on this double gratification of mutual wiſhes; and perhaps allowably, with a ſecret preference to ſuperior talents. To this reſiſtleſs plea who can help being partial? And how is the juriſdiction of a biſhop to get more favourably diſtinguiſhed than by all his oſtenſible favours being poſſeſſed by diſtinguiſhed men? Such was the good effect of the firſt kindneſs from the Duke of Devonſhire; but it was not the laſt. Merit, when to be rewarded by the meritorious, is ſure of no penurious reward. In the adminiſtration formed by the late Duke of Cumberland, Lowth's friends participating largely, he was the firſt biſhop that they made. On the bench of biſhops, as every where elſe, the firſt ſtep is the hardeſt. From thence each other advance follows with comparative eaſe, tho' his firſt biſhoprick was St. David's, to which he was appointed in May, 1776, on the death of Biſhop Squire. He went to Oxford on the September following, on the tranſlation of Biſhop Hume from thence to the ſee of Saliſbury; and in April 1777, when London loſt Biſhop Terrick, he was ſucceeded by Dr. Lowth. He entered on this high office with expectations ſingularly ſplendid. He brought with him a literary character of the firſt order, to decorate the dioceſe; and he promiſed to ſerve it as Terrick had done, with temper and diſcretion, both moſt exemplary; with the ſame amiable manners, with the ſame uſeful zeal. Theſe expectations he did not diſappoint. He was as good as his word. He could not be better. Not one of his predeceſſors ever had claim to more deſert, and was more ſpontaneouſly devoted to the claims of deſerving men. His patronage need have no more ſaid about it, than that it provided for two ſuch men as Dr. Horſley and Mr. Eaton. His literary character is better known from its own efforts than by any thing now to be ſaid about it. Few men attempted ſo much, and with more ſucceſs. A victory, and on the right ſide, over ſuch an adverſary as Warburton, is no ſmall diſtinction. His triumphs in Hebrew learning were yet more gratifying. Witneſs his learned Prælections on its poetry, while he held the poetry profeſſorſhip, from 1738 to 1748, at Oxford. They were publiſhed in 1763, and tranſlated into Engliſh by Mr. Gregory in 1787. But perhaps the moſt enviable, as the moſt uſeful atchievements, are what refer to his own language; which owes to him what nothing ſaid in it can ever pay, the Firſt Inſtitutes of Grammar, printed in 17..; and, in his Tranſlation of Iſaiah, the ſublimeſt poetry in the world.—His obligations to the colleges where he received his education are admirably expreſſed in his judicious, complete, and learned Life of their Founder, 1758; reprinted, with additions, 1759. His gratitude to the univerſity at large was not more finely worded in that elegant vindication of her in his letter to Biſhop Warburton, p. 64.——His perſonal manners and opinions had in them nothing particular. That his morality was religious, and that his

his religion was Chriſtian, need not be doubted. He converſed with lettered elegance, with very courtly ſuavity and eaſe.—His taſte in the arts was highly refined, and of the objects in which the imagination loves to revel, landſcape ſcenery appeared to intereſt him moſt. —His temper was quickly ſympathetic, but more ſuſceptible to ſorrow than joy. On provocations that led to anger, his emotions were rather haſty; and it was to the praiſe of his diſcipline, rather than his nature, that they never held him too faſt, nor hurried him too far. Through various ſtruggles of duty and trial, no evidence of manhood could be finer, whether diſaſter was to be ſuffered or ſubdued. His lamentations on his daughter's tomb will be cheriſhed every where, till pathetic elegance ſhall be no more. When his other daughter dropped in ſudden death at his tea-table, and his eldeſt ſon, with all that ſcholarſhip and honour could do for him, was given prematurely to the grave, he exemplified the reſources which God has given to man, when reaſon is invigorated by faith, and the ſpirit of man is "to ſorrow not without hope." To glory in infirmity is, if not vain, boaſtful pre-eminence. Yet, if ever infirmity had ſuch mitigation in their cauſe, they were thoſe of the excellent perſon we now lament. His mental viſitations aroſe, chiefly, from the extreme tenderneſs of his heart. His bodily ailments, Tiſſot can prove, were thoſe which follow from being ſtudious over-much. Such ſeems to be, on a ſummary view, the leading points of this very conſpicuous object. Where an object brightens with ſuch unuſual luſtre, it is not uſeleſs to admire. To imitate, would be very uſeful indeed. — Learning and benevolence equally characteriſed his Lordſhip; nor was he leſs diſtinguiſhed for a fruitful and happy genius. The ardour of his mind never abated in his literary purſuits. He wrote in the pureſt Hebrew. Dr. Sharpe and his Lordſhip were both of opinion, that this was the language ſpoken in Paradiſe. We find, by this excellent and learned Prelate, that the true ancient Hebrew character is that which is found on the medals of Simon, commonly called the Samaritan medals, but which were really Hebrew medals, ſtruck by the Jews, and not the Samaritans. His Lordſhip's "Obſervations on the Antiquity of the Hebrew Points" are deduced from grammar, teſtimony, and hiſtory.—Amongſt his many elegant productions, there is one not yet mentioned, which affords an early ſpecimen of his taſte for poetry and divinity. It is a poem "On the Genealogy of Chriſt," as it is repreſented on the eaſt window of Wincheſter college chapel, and was written when he was a boy at Wincheſter ſchool.—Eight of his ſermons, preached on public occaſions, have been publiſhed, and it is hoped will now be collected into a volume.—Having been much afflicted with the ſtone, his body was opened, and eight ſtones were taken away, one of very conſiderable magnitude.—On Monday the 12th of November, at noon, his Lordſhip's remains were privately but ſolemnly interred in a vaul at Fulham church, near thoſe of his predeceſſor."

NATURAL HISTORY.

Obſervations tending to ſhew that the Wolf, Jackal, and Dog, are all of the ſame Species. By John Hunter, *Eſq. F.R.S.*

THE true diſtinction between different ſpecies of animals muſt ultimately, as appears to me, be gathered from their incapacity of propagating with each other an offſpring capable again of continuing itſelf by ſubſequent propagations: thus the horſe and aſs beget a mule capable of copulation, but incapable of begetting or producing offſpring. If it be true, that the mule has been known to breed, which muſt be allowed to be an extraordinary fact, it will by no means be ſufficient to determine the horſe and aſs to be of the ſame ſpecies; indeed, from the copulation of mules being very frequent, and the circumſtance of their breeding very rare, I ſhould rather attribute it to a degree of monſtroſity in the organs of the mule which conceived, not being thoſe of a mixed animal, but thoſe of the mare or female aſs. This is not ſo far-fetched an idea, when we conſider that ſome true ſpecies produce monſters, which are a mixture of both ſexes, and that many animals of diſtinct ſex are incapable of breeding at all.

If then we find nature in its greateſt perfection deviating from general principles, why may not it happen likewiſe in the production of mules, ſo that ſometimes a mule ſhall breed from the circumſtance of its being a monſter reſpecting mules?

The times of uterine geſtation being the ſame in all the varieties of every ſpecies of animals, this circumſtance becomes neceſſary to determine a ſpecies.

The affinity between the fox, wolf, jackal, and ſeveral varieties of the dog, in their external form and ſeveral of their properties, is ſo ſtriking, that they appear to be only varieties of the ſame ſpecies. The fox would ſeem to be a greater remove from the dog than either the jackal or wolf, at leaſt in diſpoſition, not being either ſo ſociable reſpecting its own ſpecies or man, but naturally a ſolitary animal; from all which I ſhould ſuſpect it is only allied to the dog by being of the ſame genus. It is confidently aſſerted by many, that the fox breeds with the dog, but this has not been accurately aſcertained; but, if it had, it would probably have been carried further, and once breeding, according to what we have ſaid, does not conſtitute a ſpecies; this, however, is a part

a part I mean to inveſtigate. Wolves and jackals are found in herds; and the jackal is ſo little afraid of the human ſpecies, that, like a dog, it comes into houſes in ſearch of food, more like a variety of the dog in conſequence of cultivation than chance. It is by much the moſt familiar of the two; for we ſhall find hereafter, that in its readineſs to copulate with the dog, and its familiarity with the dog afterwards, it is ſomewhat different from the wolf. The wolf then being an animal better known in Europe, where inquiries of this kind are made, ſome pains has been taken to aſcertain, whether or not it was of the ſame ſpecies with the dog; but, I believe, it has been hitherto conſidered as only belonging to the ſame genus.

Accident often does as much for natural hiſtory as premeditated plans, eſpecially when nature is left to itſelf. The firſt inſtance of the dog and wolf breeding in this country ſeems to have been about the year 1766. A Pomeranian bitch of Mr. Brookes's, in the New Road, was lined only once by a wolf, and brought forth a litter of nine healthy puppies. The veracity of Mr. Brookes is not to be doubted, reſpecting the bitch being lined by a wolf; yet, as it was poſſible ſhe might have been lined by ſome common dog without his knowledge, the fact was not clearly made out; but it has been ſince aſcertained, that the dog and wolf will breed. Several noblemen and gentlemen bought ſome of the puppies, as I was informed by Mr. Brookes. My Lord Clanbraſſil purchaſed a bitch-puppy; and Mr. Brookes preſented one to me, which I kept for obſervations and experiment. Its actions were not truly thoſe of a dog; it had more quickneſs in attending to things, was more eaſily ſtartled, as if particularly apprehenſive of danger, quicker in tranſitions from one action to another, not ſo ready to the call, being leſs docile; and from theſe peculiarities it loſt its life, being ſtoned to death in the ſtreets for a mad dog.

Hearing that Lord Clanbraſſil's bitch had bred, Sir Joſeph Banks was ſo obliging as, at my requeſt, to write to his lordſhip, who ſent the following account.

Sir,

About ſeventeen or eighteen years ago, the late Lord Monthermer and I happened to ſee a dog-wolf at Mr. Brookes's, who deals in animals, and lives in the New Road. The animal was remarkably tame; and it ſtruck us, for that reaſon, that a breed might be procured between him and a bitch.

We promiſed Mr. Brookes a good price for puppies, if he ſucceeded. In about a year a bitch produced nine, and Lord Monthermer bought one; and I had another, which was a bitch. Lord Monthermer's died of fits in about two years: mine lived longer, and had puppies only once. One I gave to Lord Pembroke; but what became of it I do not remember. It was granddaughter of the wolf by the dam, and got by a large pointer of mine.

It might be conſidered, that Mr. Brookes's word was not ſufficient proof that the puppies were really got by the wolf; but the appearance of the animals, ſo totally different from all others of the canine ſpecies, did not leave a doubt upon our minds; and I remember Hans Stanley, who had adopted Buffon's

opinion, was thoroughly convinced upon ſeeing mine. The animals had the ſhape of the wolf refined: the fur long, but almoſt as fine as that of the black fox.

I am afraid I have treſpaſſed too much upon your time, and will only beg you will be aſſured nothing can give me more pleaſure than any opportunity of aſſuring you how truly

I am, Sir, &c.

CLANBRASSIL.

Jan. 7, 1787.

Upon the ſuppoſition that Mr. Brookes's bitch was lined by no dog but the wolf, which I think we have no reaſon to doubt, the ſpecies of the wolf is aſcertained; but I choſe to trace this breed ſtill further; and hearing that Lord Pembroke's bitch had likewiſe bred, I was anxious to know the truth of it; and, finding his lordſhip was in France, I took the liberty of writing to Lord Herbert, and received in anſwer the following letter.

Wilton-houſe, Dec 20, 1786.

Sir,

The half-bred wolf-bitch you allude to was given, as I always underſtood, to Lord Pembroke by Lord Clanbraſſil. She might, perhaps, have been bought at Brookes's by him. She had four litters, one of ten puppies, by a dog between a maſtiff and a bull-dog. One of theſe was given to Dr. Eyre, at Wells in Somerſetſhire, and one to Mr. Buckett, at Stockbridge. The ſecond litter was of nine puppies, ſome of which were ſent to Ireland, but to whom I know not. This litter was by a different dog, but of the ſame breed as the firſt. The third litter was of eight puppies, by a large maſtiff. Two of theſe were, I believe, ſent to the preſent Duke of Queenſberry. The fourth litter conſiſted of ſeven puppies; two of which were ſent to M. Cerjat, a gentleman who now reſides at Lauſanne in Switzerland, and is famous for breaking dogs remarkably well. Theſe two puppies were, however, naturally ſo wild and unruly, that he found it impoſſible to break them. She died four years ago, and the following inſcription was put over the place where ſhe is buried in this garden, by Lord Pembroke's orders.

Here lies Lupa,
whoſe grandmother was a wolf,
whoſe father and grandfather were dogs, and whoſe
mother was half wolf and half dog. She died
on the 16th of October, 1782, aged 12 years.

I am ſorry it is not in my power to give you any better account; but if you think proper to write to Lord Pembroke, who is at Paris, I am convinced he will be very happy to give you any further information.

I am, &c.

HERBERT.

Buffon, whoſe remarks in natural hiſtory are well known, made experiments to aſcertain how far the wolf and dog were of the ſame ſpecies, but without ſucceſs. He ſays, "A ſhe-wolf, which I kept three "years, although ſhut up very "young, and along with a grey-"hound

" hound of the ſame age, in a ſpa-
" cious yard, could not be brought
" to agree with it, nor endure it,
" even when ſhe was in heat. She
" was the weakeſt, yet the moſt
" miſchievous; provoking, attack-
" ing, and biting the dog, which
" at firſt only defended itſelf, but
" at laſt killed her." And in an-
other part of his work, he makes
the following obſervation: " The
" dog, the wolf, the fox, and the
" jackal, form a genus, of which
" the different ſpecies are really ſo
" nearly allied to each other, and
" of which the individuals reſem-
" ble each other ſo much, particu-
" larly by the internal ſtructure
" and parts of generation, that it is
" difficult to conceive why they do
" not breed together *."

This part of natural hiſtory lay dormant till Mr. Gough, who ſells birds and has a collection of animals on Holborn-hill, repeated the experiment on a wolf-bitch, which was very tame, and had all the actions of a dog under confinement. A dog is the moſt proper ſubject for compariſon, as we have opportunities of being acquainted with its diſpoſitions and modes of expreſſing its ſenſations, which are moſt diſtinguiſhable in the motion of the ears and tail; ſuch as pricking up the ears when anxious, wiſhing, or in expectation; depreſſing them when ſupplicant, or in fear; raiſing the tail in anger or love, depreſſing it in fear, and moving it laterally in friendſhip; and likewiſe in raiſing the hair on the back from many affections of the mind. This animal became in heat in the month of December 1785; and as Mr. Gough had ſome idea of breeding

* In the Supplement to his works, he gives the following account which had been ſent to him. " A very young ſhe-wolf, brought up at the Marquis of " Spontin's, at Namur, had a dog, of nearly the ſame age, kept with it as a " companion. For two years they were at liberty, coming and going about the " apartments, the kitchen, the ſtables, &c. lying under the table, and upon the " feet of thoſe who ſat round it. They lived in the greateſt familiarity.

" The dog was a ſtrong greyhound. The wolf was fed on milk for ſix " months; after that, raw meat was given her, which ſhe preferred to that " which was dreſſed. When ſhe ate no one durſt approach her; but at other " times people might do as they pleaſed, provided they did not uſe her ill. At " firſt ſhe made much of all the dogs which were brought to her; but after- " wards ſhe gave the preference to her old companion, and from that time ſhe be- " came very fierce if any ſtrange dog approached her. She was lined for the firſt " time on the 25th of March; this was frequently repeated while her heat con- " tinued, which was ſixteen days; and ſhe littered the 6th of June, at eight " o'clock in the morning; the period of geſtation was therefore ſeventy-three " days at the moſt *. She brought forth four young ones of a blackiſh colour, " ſome of whoſe feet, and a part of the breaſt, were white; in this reſpect " taking after the dog, who was black and white. From the time ſhe littered " ſhe became ſurly, and let up her back at thoſe who came near her; did not " know her maſters, and would even have killed the dog, if it had been in her " power."

* This is a longer period than in the bitch by at leaſt ten days; but as the account was made from the firſt time of her being lined, and ſhe was in heat for a fortnight, and lined in that time, it is very probable, if the time was known when ſhe conceived, that it would prove to be the ſame period as in the dog.

from

from wild animals, as monkjes, leopards, &c. he was anxious to have the wolf lined by ſome dog; but ſhe would not allow any dog to come near her, probably from her not being accuſtomed to be with dogs, and being always chained. She was held, however, while a greyhound dog lined her, and they were faſtened together exactly as the dog and bitch. While in conjunction ſhe was pretty quiet; but when at liberty, ſhe endeavoured to fly at the dog. In this way ſhe was twice lined. She conceived, and brought forth four young ones. The time ſhe went with young was not exactly known; but it was believed to be the ſame as in the bitch. Two of the puppies were like the dog in colour, who had large black ſpots on a white ground; one was of a black colour, and the fourth of a kind of dun, and would probably have been like the mother. She took great care of them, yet did not ſeem very anxious when one was taken from her by the keeper; nor did ſhe ſeem afraid when ſtrangers came into the room. Unfortunately theſe experiments were carried no further; one being ſold to a gentleman, who carried it to the Eaſt-Indies; and the other three were killed by a leopard, one of which I was to have had. The ſame wolf was in heat in December 1786, and was lined ſeveral times by a dog. She pupped on the 24th of February 1787, and had ſix puppies, which may afford opportunities, if they are thought neceſſary, of repeating experiments on this ſubject.

While purſuing this ſubject, I was informed, that Captain Mears, of the Royal Biſhop Eaſt-Indiaman, had brought home a bitch jackal with young, which had brought forth ſoon after his arrival; and that he had given the bitch jackal and one puppy to Mr. Bailey, bird-merchant, in Piccadilly. I went to ſee them, and purchaſed the puppy, the ſubject of the following experiment, which had diſpoſitions very ſimilar to the half-bred wolf which I had from Mr. Brookes before mentioned.

To have a true hiſtory of this animal, I took the liberty of writing to Mr. Mears, who politely called upon me, and, at my requeſt, put down the particulars in the form of a letter to me, of which the following is a copy.

Sir,

I had the honour of yours the 15th inſtant; and with regard to the female jackal, I can aſſure you, that ſhe took a ſmall ſpaniel dog of mine on board my ſhip, the Royal Biſhop. I had her, when a cub, at Bombay; and a very ſhort time before I arrived in England ſhe got to heat, and enticed this ſmall dog into the long-boat, where I ſaw them repeatedly faſt together. I brought her to my houſe in the country, where ſhe pupped ſix puppies, one of which you have ſeen. Mr. Plaw, at N° 90, Tottenham-Court-Road, has a dog-puppy, which will be at your ſervice at any time you chuſe to ſend for him, to make any further experiments: I called on Mr. Plaw, and got his promiſe to let you have the dog.

I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

WM. MEARS.

N° 107, Hatton-ſtreet,
16th Jan. 1786.

P. S. I had the bitch on board fourteen months.

took

I took this puppy into the country; and chained it up near a maſtiff dog, and they were very familiar, and ſeemingly fond of each other. When the bitch became firſt in heat, I could not get a proper dog for her; but the latter end of September being again in the ſame ſituation, ſeveral dogs were procured, and left with her. They appeared indifferent about her, probably from being in a ſtrange place; and ſhe did not ſeem inclined to be familiar with them; whether the great dog might be able to line her I do not know; ſhe was, however, twice tied by a tarrier on the 3d of October. In a few weeks ſhe was evidently become bigger; and on the 30th of November, in all fifty-nine days, ſhe brought forth five puppies. Some days before this period ſhe dug a hole under ground, by the ſide of her kennel, in which ſhe brought forth, and it was ſome time before ſhe would allow the puppies to ſtay in the kennel when put there. In about eight days ſome, and nine days others of them began to open their eyelids.

Here then is an abſolute proof of the jackal being a dog; and it appears to me, that the wolf is equally made out to be of the ſame ſpecies. It now then becomes a queſtion, whether the wolf is from the jackal, or the jackal from the wolf, ſuppoſing they had but one origin? From the ſuppoſition, that varieties become more tame in their nature, we ſhould be led to believe, the wolf to be the original, and that the jackal was a ſtep towards civiliſation in that ſpecies of animal. There are wolves of various kinds, each country having a wolf peculiar to itſelf; but the jackals that I have ſeen have been more uniformly the ſame, both thoſe from Africa, and thoſe from the Eaſt-Indies. I am informed, however, that they vary in ſize. Whether all the wolves of different countries are of one ſpecies, or ſome of them only of the ſame genus, I do not know; but I ſhould rather ſuppoſe them to be all of one ſpecies. What is with me an argument in favour of this ſuppoſition is, that, if there were wolves of diſtinct ſpecies, we ſhould have had by this time a great variety of that ſpecies of wolves, with the various diſpoſitions ariſing from variation in other reſpects; and thoſe varieties now turned to very uſeful purpoſes, as has been the caſe with the dog; for all the wolves we are yet acquainted with, have naturally the principle of cultivation in them, as much probably as any animal, or as much at leaſt as thoſe wolves we now know to be dogs. The not having a civiliſed ſpecies of wolf is, indeed, with me a proof that they are all of the ſame ſpecies with the dog. If they are all of the ſame ſpecies with the dog, then the firſt variety that took place was ſtill in the character of a wolf, differing only in colour, or ſome trivial circumſtance, which could only take place from a difference in climate; civiliſation or cultivation in a ſtate of nature being the ſame in them all. Where they became jackal, or what we now call dog, is difficult to ſay; or what dog we can call the firſt remove, as many dogs differ very much from one another; or whether the jackal is the intermediate link between the wolf and the dog. In either caſe we have three great varieties in this ſpecies, wolf, jackal, and dog, with

with the varieties in each. If the dog is proved to be the wolf tamed, the jackal may probably be the dog returned to his wild ſtate.

To aſcertain the original animal of a ſpecies, it is proper to examine all the varieties of that ſpecies, and ſee how far they have the character of the genus, and what reſemblance they bear to the other ſpecies of the genus; for it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the original, or the animal which is neareſt to it, will have more of the true character of the genus, and will have a ſtronger reſemblance to the ſpecies neareſt allied to it, than any of the other varieties of its own ſpecies.

If we apply this to the dog, and conſider the fox as a diſtinct ſpecies, which there is great reaſon to believe it is, that variety which has the ſtrongeſt reſemblance to the fox, is to be looked upon as the original of all the others; which will prove to be the wolf.

Another mode of conſidering this ſubject, which is however ſecondary to the above, is, ſuppoſing that all animals were at firſt wild; and, therefore, that thoſe animals which remain wild, are the original ſtock; and that the further we find animals removed from their originals in appearance, they are really further removed in conſequence of variation taking place from cultivation, ſo that we may ſtill be able to trace the gradation. What gives ſome force to this idea is, that where the dogs have been leaſt cultivated, there they ſtill retain moſt of their original character, or ſimilarity to the wolf or the jackal, both in ſhape and diſpoſition. Thus the ſhepherd's dog, all over the world, has ſtrongly the character of the wolf or jackal; ſo that but little difference is to be obſerved, except in ſize and hair. Size is, perhaps, a variety taking place under a variety of circumſtances; but difference in hair is, in general, influenced by climate, although perhaps not always ſo. Thus the wolf has longer and ſofter hair than the jackal, becauſe he is a more northern animal; and the jackal and ſhepherd's dog in Portugal and Spain have ſhorter and ſtronger hair than thoſe of Germany or Kamchatka, from inhabiting warmer climates. But when we conſider their general ſhape, the character of countenance, the quick manner with the pricked and erect ears, we muſt ſuppoſe them varieties of the ſame ſpecies. The ſmelling at the tail has been deſcribed as characteriſtic of the dog; but, I believe, it is common to moſt animals, and only marks the male; for it is the moſt certain way the male has of knowing the female, and alſo diſcloſes another ſcent, which is the final intention, whether the female is diſpoſed to receive the male.

The Eſquimaux dog, and that found among the Indians as far ſouth as the Cherokees; the ſhepherd's dog in Germany, called Pomeranian; the ſhepherd's dog in Portugal and Spain; have all a ſtrong ſimilarity to the wolf and jackal.

Buffon, on the origin of dogs, ſeems to have poſſeſſed nearly the ſame idea; for he ſays the ſhepherd's dog is the original ſtock from which the different races of dogs have ſprung.

As the wolf turns out to be a dog, it ſeems aſtoniſhing, that there was no account of dogs being found in America. But this I conſider as a defect in the firſt hiſtory of that country,

country, for there are wolves; and I think, in ſpite of all that has been ſaid to the contrary, the Eſquimaux and Indian dog is only a variety from a wolf in that country, which had been tamed. Mr. Cameron, of Titchfield-ſtreet, who was many years among the Cherokees, and conſiderably to the weſtward of that country, obſerves, that the dog found there is very ſimilar to the wolf; and that the natives conſider it to be a ſpecies of tame wolf; but as we come more among the Europeans who have ſettled there, the dogs are more of a mixed breed; for why they ſhould only have had this kind of dog tranſported among them, while every other part of America has the varieties of Europe, is not eaſily ſolved.

The voice of animals is commonly characteriſtic of the ſpecies; but I ſhould ſuppoſe, it is only characteriſtic of the original ſpecies, and not always of the variety, and this ſuppoſition holds good in the dog-ſpecies. It would appear, that the voice of the wolf and the jackal is very ſimilar, and is principally conveyed through the noſe, and exactly reſembles that noiſe in dogs, which is a mark of longing or melancholy, and alſo of fondneſs; but has no reſemblance to the bark of the dog, which they do not perform. Barking is peculiar to certain varieties of the dog kind, and even ſome that do bark, do it leſs than others. The dogs in the South-ſea iſlands do not bark: our greyhound barks but little; while the maſtiff, and many of the ſmaller tribe, as ſpaniels, are particularly noiſy in this way. It would appear as if the frequency of this noiſe aroſe from imitation; for the dogs in the South-Seas learn to bark; and others, as the hound, have a peculiar howl, which, by huntſmen, is called the tongue. This noiſe, as alſo the bark, is made by opening the mouth. A variety in the voice, or ſome parts of the voice, in the varieties of the ſame ſpecies, is not peculiar to the dog.

A remarkable Caſe of numerous Births, with Obſervations. By Maxwell Garthſhore, *M. D. F. R. S. and A. S. in a Letter to Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. P. R. S.*

To Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart. P. R. S.

St. Martin's-Lane, May 28, 1787.

Sir,

THE following very extraordinary caſe, communicated to me by Dr. Blane, F. R. S. I take the liberty, at his deſire, to tranſmit to you, with his letter to me, containing the proofs of its authenticity; hoping that it will appear to you, as it did to us, worthy of being read at one of the meetings of the Royal Society, as a fact in natural hiſtory, which is equally uncommon, curious, and well vouched. In order, however, to make its ſingularity more apparent, I have taken the liberty to ſubjoin ſome obſervations on births of this kind, with ſuch well authenticated accounts of ſimilar events as I have been able to procure, confining myſelf chiefly to thoſe which have happened in our own country, where we are leaſt likely to be deceived.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MAXWELL GARTHSHORE.

P. S. As one proof of its ſingularity, I, many months ago, employed

ployed various friends at Peterſburgh, Berlin, Vienna, Lyons, Paris, and Ghent, to collect for me well authenticated caſes of this kind, and I have not as yet been able to procure any.

Copy of a letter from Dr. Blane, Phyſician to his Majeſty's Navy and to St. Thomas's Hoſpital, F. R. S. to Dr. Garthſhore, Phyſician to the Britiſh Lying-in Hoſpital.

Sackville-Street, June 22, 1786.

Dear Sir,

A few days ago, I received from the country an account of a woman who was delivered of five children at a birth in April laſt. As your extenſive experience and reading in this line of practice enable you to judge, how far this fact is rare or intereſting, I ſubmit it to you, whether it deſerves to be communicated to the Royal Society. Mr. Hull, the gentleman who ſent me the caſe, is a very ſenſible and ingenious practitioner of phyſick at Blackburn, in Lancaſhire. He attended the labour himſelf from beginning to end, and his character for fidelity and accuracy is well known to me, as he was formerly a pupil at the hoſpital to which I am phyſician; ſo that no fact can be better authenticated. He mentions alſo, that he has preſerved all thoſe five children in ſpirits; and, if deſired, he will ſend them for the inſpection of the Society *.

I am, with great regard, &c.

GILBERT BLANE.

Margaret Waddington, aged twenty-one, a poor woman of the townſhip of Lower Darwin, near Blackburn in Lancaſhire, formerly delivered of one child at the full term of pregnancy, conceived a ſecond time about the beginning of December 1785, and from that period became affected with the uſual ſymptoms that attend breeding. At the end of the firſt month ſhe became lame, complained of conſiderable pains in her loins, and the enlargement of her body was ſo remarkably rapid, that ſhe was then judged by her neighbours to be almoſt half gone with child. At the end of the ſecond month ſhe found herſelf ſomewhat larger, and her breeding complaints continued to increaſe. When the third month was completed, ſhe thought herſelf fully as large as ſhe had formerly been in her ninth month, and to her former ſymptoms of naufea, vomiting, lameneſs, and pain of the loins, ſhe had now added a diſtreſſing ſhortneſs of breath. She continued to increaſe ſo rapidly in ſize, that ſhe thought ſhe could perceive herſelf growing larger every day, and ſhe was under the frequent neceſſity of widening her cloaths. When ſhe reckoned herſelf eighteen weeks gone, ſhe firſt perceived ſomewhat indiſtinctly the motion of a child. By the 20th of April, 1786, all her complaints were become much more diſtreſſing; ſhe had much tenſion and pain over all the abdomen, her vomiting was inceſſant, and ſhe now could not make water but with the utmoſt difficulty. The ſymptoms

* They were accordingly ſent; and having been exhibited to the Society when this paper was read, are now depoſited in the Muſeum of Mr. John Hunter.

being palliated by Mr. Lancaſter, ſhe advanced in her pregnancy to Monday the 24th of April, when being ſuppoſed to have arrived at the twentieth week, ſhe was ſeized with labour pains. Theſe continued gradually to increaſe till the next day, about two in the afternoon; at which time I was ſent for, Mr. Lancaſter being abſent, and ſhe was ſoon delivered of a ſmall, dead, but not putrid, female child. The pains continuing, this was ſoon followed by a ſecond leſs child; to this very ſoon ſucceeded a third, larger than the firſt, which was alive; to theſe a fourth ſoon followed, ſomewhat larger than the firſt, and very putrid; laſt of all, there ſoon ſucceeded a fifth child, larger than any of the former, and born alive. Theſe five children were all females; two were born alive; and the whole operation was performed in the ſpace of fifty minutes. The firſt made its appearance at two in the afternoon, and the laſt at ten minutes before three. Each child preſented naturally, was preceded by a ſeparate burſt of water, and was delivered by the natural pains only. In a ſhort time after the birth of the laſt, the placenta was expelled by nature without any hæmorrhage, was uncommonly large, and in ſome places beginning to be putrid. It conſiſted of one uniform continued cake, and was not divided into diſtinct placentulæ, the lobuted appearance being nearly equal all over. Each funis was contained in a ſeparate cell, within which each child had been lodged; and it was eaſy to perceive, by the ſtate of the funis, and that part of the placenta to which it adhered, in which ſac the dead, and in which the living children had been contained. I examined the ſepta of the cells very carefully, but could not divide them as uſual into diſtinct laminæ, nor determine which was chorion or which amnios. I could not prevail on the good women to allow me to carry it home, to be more narrowly inſpected; and I ſubmitted more readily to their prejudice for its being burned, as its very ſoft texture ſeemed to me to render it hardly capable to bear injection. The two living children having ſurvived their birth but a ſhort time, I was allowed to carry them home; and I have preſerved the whole five in ſpirits, and have ſince weighed and meaſured them, and find their proportions to be as follows in avoirdupois weight, inches and parts.

	Oz.	Dr.		Inches.
The 1ſt born dead - -	6	12	Length	9
The 2d —— putrid - -	4	6		$8\frac{1}{4}$
The 3d —— alive - -	8	12		$9\frac{1}{8}$
The 4th —— putrid - - -	6	12		$9\frac{1}{8}$
The 5th —— alive - -	9	—		$9\frac{1}{8}$

The mother, in ſpite of the crowds with which her chamber was continually filled, continued to recover, and was able to be out of bed the 27th and 28th, her third and fourth days; but finding herſelf then weak, by my advice, kept her bed till the 11th of May, when ſhe went out of doors, and on the 21ſt walked to Blackburn, two miles diſtant.

distant. This was the 27th day from her delivery, she having entirely recovered her strength without any accident. It may not be improper to add, that the husband of this woman has been in an infirm state of health for three years past, and is now labouring under a confirmed phthisis.

I am, &c.

Signed, JOHN HULL.

Blackburn, Lancashire,
June 9, 1786.

Observations on numerous Births.

Though the females of the human species produce most commonly but one child at a birth; and though their formation with only two breasts, and one nipple to each, renders it probable they were not originally intended to produce in general more than two; yet, from what we know of the womb and its appendages, and what from the latest experiments we are led to conjecture as to the mode of conception, we cannot presume *à priori* to set limits to the fertility of nature, nor determine decisively what number of fœtuses may be conceived and nourished to a certain period in the human uterus at the same time.

The present singular and well-attested case assures us, that five have certainly been born at once, and we have no title absolutely to reject all the testimonies of even more numerous births, or to say that, in some rare instances, this number has never been exceeded.

What has tended to render relations of this sort ridiculous, and to throw a degree of discredit on the whole, is the many marvellous, and evidently absurd and incredible histories, which not only the retailers of prodigies, but even the credulous writers of medical observations, have collected.

I need only refer those who wish to amuse themselves with surprising relations of this kind, to the curious collections of Schenkius, Schurigius, Ambrose Parey, and others.

But, in order to shew how very uncommon births of this kind are, and how truly singular the case communicated by Mr. Hull to Dr. Blane is, I take the liberty to subjoin a short view of the usual course of nature in this matter among our own country-women, where we are least likely to be deceived.

Though female fertility certainly varies according to the climate, situation, and manner of life; yet, I believe, it may be taken for a general rule, that where people live in the most simple and natural state, if they are the best nourished, and if they enjoy the firmest health and strength, they will there be the most fertile in healthy children; but we have no *data* to determine that they will there have the greatest number at one birth.

At the British Lying-in Hospital, where we have had 18,300 delivered, the proportion of twins born has been only one in 91 births. In the Westminster Dispensary, of 1897 women delivered, the proportion of twins has been once in 80 births; but in the Dublin Lying-in Hospital, where above 21,000 have been delivered, they have had twins born once every sixty-second time. The average of which is once in 78 births nearly, in these kingdoms.

The calculations made in Germany from great numbers, in various situations, state twins as happening in a varied proportion from once

once every ſixty-fifth to once every ſeventieth time.

But in a more accurate and later calculation made at Paris, by M. Tenon, ſurgeon to the Salpêtriere, we learn, that in 104,591 births, the proportion of twins was only one in 96, which is only a ſmall degree leſs than we have calculated at the Britiſh Lying-in Hoſpital.

It would be eaſy to add other calculations, all differing from theſe and from one another, more or leſs; but I hope theſe are ſufficient to ſhew that nature obſerves no certain rule in this matter; and that event wins, the moſt uſual variation, is not a very common occurrence.

When we advance to triplets, or three born at once, we find comparatively very few inſtances in this or any other country; and though every one has heard of ſuch events as now and then happening, yet very few have ſeen them.

In all thoſe 18,300 women delivered at the Britiſh Lying-in Hoſpital, there has not been one ſuch caſe. In the London Lying-in Hoſpital, where, being inſtituted later, much fewer have been delivered, they have two ſuch recorded as prodigies. In the Weſtminſter Diſpenſary, in 1897 women delivered, there has been but one ſuch event.

In the Dublin Hoſpital, in 21,000 births, they have had triplets born thrice, or once in 7000 times, but have never exceeded that proportion or number, born at one time.

In a pretty extenſive practice of above thirty years, both in the county of Rutland and in London, I have attended but one labour where three children were born; am perſonally acquainted but with one lady who, at Dumfries, in Scotland, after bearing twins twice, was delivered of three children at once; and I was never acquainted with any one who produced a greater number.

Yet ſo much does this matter vary at Edinburgh, that Dr. Hamilton, profeſſor of midwifry, writes, he had ſeen triplets born there, five or ſix times in leſs than twenty-five years.

Mauriceau, in a long life of very extenſive practice at Paris, with opportunities of knowing moſt things extraordinary that happened in his time in France, tells us, he had ſeen triplets born but a few times; had heard of four in that city but once, and mentions no greater number.

One circumſtance which he relates is ſo far worthy of attention, as it accords with one ſomewhat ſimilar ſubjoined to Mr. Hull's caſe now read, *viz.* "That the "huſband of one of thoſe women "who bore three children was by "trade a painter, and had been, "for two years preceding this "birth, paralytic over one-half of "his body, and yet had no rea-"ſon to doubt the fidelity of his "wife."

Theſe facts, as far as they are to be depended on, may ſhew us, that the capacity of procreation in the male may remain under very infirm health; and that we ought to judge with candour of ſuch wives as are fruitful when living with very ailing huſbands, and who produce healthy children in the eighth, or even ninth, month after their death; as we can never ſay determinately under what degree of diſeaſe the male is totally incapable of procreation: more eſpecially as we

are very certain, that the female is not, when labouring under very desperate, and certainly fatal, diseases, provided the principal organs of generation be sound. Nay, in cases of pulmonary phthisis, the life of the female seems to be protracted by pregnancy; and I have attended a lady, who, after being pronounced irrecoverably hectic, lived long enough to be twice delivered naturally of healthy children at the full time.

But what particular circumstances of constitution, or state of health, can capacitate the male to become the father of more than one child at a birth, or how this could be effected, should it be wished, remains among those secrets of nature which our want of facts and observations renders us utterly incapable to speculate upon.

It seems probable, and these two observations, as well as Spallanzani's, and other late experiments, would rather incline us to suppose, that these numerous births do depend most on the structure and state of the female organs; but nothing, that I know of, has ever been discovered in this obscure matter.

The occurrence of four born at once we find to be much more uncommon; and, I think, Haller's conjecture rather than calculation of its happening once in 20,000 births, very much under-rated, as it appears that once in 100,000 would be much nearer the truth. Of this, however, we have several well authenticated cases which have happened in this island. In the year 1674, there was published in London a quarto pamphlet, intituled, "The fruitful Wonder, or a "strange Relation, from Kingston "upon Thames, of a woman who, "on Thursday and Friday, the "fifth and sixth days of this in- "stant March, 1673-4, was deli- "vered of four children at one "birth, *viz.* three sons and one "daughter, all born alive, lusty "children, and perfect in every "part, which lived twenty-four "hours, and then died, all much "about the same time, with seve- "ral other examples of numerous "births, from credible historians, "with the physical and astrological "reasons for the same. By J. P. "Student in Physic."

Dr. Plott, in his History of Staffordshire, p. 194, mentions Eleanor, the wife of Henry Diven, of Watlington, who was delivered of four children at a birth in the year 1675.

Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *Scotia Illustrata*, after mentioning a case of three born at once, adds, "Imo "in variis regni locis repertæ sunt "mulieres quæ quatuor fœtus uno "partu ediderunt;" but makes no mention of more.

In the Gentleman's Magazine, which is reckoned a pretty authentic record of the times, we have the following accounts of numerous births.

Ann Boynton, of Hensbridge, in Somersetshire, was this day, June 1, 1736, delivered of three daughters and one son; one of the daughters died, the rest are likely to live. The mother has been married but four years, and has had twice twins before, which completes the number of eight children at three births.

October 3, 1743, at Rate, in Berkshire, Joan Galloway was delivered of two boys and two girls, three of whom were alive.

In January, 1746, the wife of Plumer,

Plumer, a labouring man, at Mill-Wimley, near Hitchin, Hertfordshire, was delivered of three living boys and one dead.

Auguſt 22, 1746, the wife of Williams, of Coventry-ſtreet, Piccadilly, was delivered of two boys and two girls, all likely to live.

June, 1752, a woman in the pariſh of Tillicultrie, near Stirling, in Scotland, was delivered of four children, which were all immediately baptiſed, and all died at the ſame time next morning.

In September, 1757, a poor woman, of Burton Ferry, Glamorganſhire, was delivered of three boys and a girl.

Dr. Hamilton before mentioned writes, that, not many years ago, a woman was delivered of four children, at Pennycuick, the ſeat of Sir John Clark, Bart. near Edinburgh, when ſhe was advanced to the middle of her laſt month of pregnancy, and that ſome of theſe children lived two or three years. He further ſays, that, five years ago, he attended a woman at Edinburgh, who, in the ſeventh month of her pregnancy, after a journey of thirty miles, was ſuddenly delivered of four children, all perfect and well grown for the time, of which one was born dead, and three alive; but theſe three died next day. He further adds, that theſe are the only caſes of quadruplets, or any larger number, he had ever heard of, as born in Scotland, in his memory.

Though caſes ſimilar to the preſent, of five children born at once, are ſtill much more uncommon; and though Haller's aſſertion of their not happening above once in a million of births, may be reckoned a very moderate calculation, yet we are not altogether without ſuch inſtances in this country.

From the Gentleman's Magazine we learn, that on the 5th of October, 1736, a woman at a milk-cellar, in the Strand, was delivered of three boys and two girls at one birth; and that in March, 1739, at Wells, in Somerſetſhire, a woman was delivered of four ſons and a daughter, all alive, all chriſtened, and all then ſeeming likely to live.

In the *Commercium Literarium Norimbergenſe*, for the year 1731, we have two ſuch caſes; one happening in Upper Saxony, the other near Prague, in Bohemia; in each of which five children were born and chriſtened, all of whom were arrived to that equal degree of maturity, which rendered it probable, they were all conceived about the ſame time.

I learned from two foreign profeſſors, when in London laſt winter, that they had each heard of a caſe of five children born near Paris, and near Ghent in Flanders; but the particulars not being ſent as promiſed, I preſume they may have been miſinformed.

When we advance farther we get into the region of tradition and improbability; and it would ill become me to trouble a Society, whoſe profeſſed object is truth and ſcience, with the numerous and wonderful relations which many grave and learned authors have recorded as facts they themſelves believed; yet I ſtill think we have no authority to reject abſolutely every relation of this kind, when Ambroſe Parey, a very honeſt though credulous man, tells, that in his time, in the pariſh of Sceaux, near Chambellay between Sarte and Maine, the mother of the

then living lord of the noble houſe of Maldemeure had, in the firſt year of her marriage, brought forth twins, in the ſecond triplets, in the third four, in the fourth five, and in the fifth year ſix children, at one birth, of which labour ſhe died; and when he adds, that of theſe *laſt ſix* one is yet alive, and is now Lord of Maldemeure, how can we diſbelieve this circumſtance? This ſtory may very poſſibly be inaccurately ſtated, yet the whole cannot be a fiction, as it was publiſhed among the very people, and in the age when it happened, and never has been ſince contradicted ſo far as we know. Though the wonderful regularity of the progreſs gives an appearance of fable to the whole, yet we muſt believe the thing to be poſſible: and that this then exiſting lord might be the only one of the ſix who lived long enough to be born at the full time, in a mature ſtate; the whole, or moſt of the other five, as we have ſometimes ſeen in caſes of twins, having been born as dead abortions, which had never arrived to a bulk ſufficient to interfere with his growth.

I leave the learned to pay what degree of credit they pleaſe to the wonderful relations we read of the extreme fertility of the women of Egypt, Arabia, and other warm countries, as recorded by Ariſtotle, by Pliny, and by Albucaſis, where three, four, five, and ſix children are ſaid to have been frequently born at once, and the greateſt part of theſe reared to maturity; and will only ſay, that though a late traveller, M. Savary, gives ample teſtimony of the extreme general fertility of Egypt in all vegetable and animal productions, and particularly of its abundant population, he mentions nothing of the numerous births recorded by the ancient naturaliſts and hiſtorians.

Of ſtill more fruitful births I will paſs over a number of inſtances which I could adduce from Johannes Rhodius, Lucas Schroeckius, Caſpar Bauhin, Johannes Helvigius, Bianchi, and others, and finiſh with one caſe more, recorded by Petrus Borelli in his Second Century of Obſervations, publiſhed at Paris in the year 1656; a collection indeed filled with many wonderful ſtories, though by a man of equal integrity and ingenuity: he tells us, that in the year 1650, juſt five years before, the lady of the then preſent Lord Darre produced at one birth eight perfect children, which he owns was a very unuſual event in that country.

I think it totally unneceſſary to purſue this inquiry farther; but muſt obſerve, that the preſent is the only caſe I have found, where the children were all females; that the males have in all the other caſes been at leaſt equal, and generally the moſt numerous; that in many of them, at leaſt a part was dead born; and that moſt commonly the reſt died in a ſhort time. It is thence clear, that thoſe numerous births are certainly unfavourable to population, as very few indeed of thoſe children can be carried to near the full term of pregnancy, and fewer ſtill to that degree of ſtrength that admits of their being reared, where more than two are born at one time.

As from Mr. John Hunter's very curious Experiments and Obſervations, read lately to this Society, on the Procreation of Swine, we are led to believe, that a certain determined number of ova, capable

ble of receiving male impregnation, are originally formed in each ovarium; and which number, when exhausted, the female constitution has no power to renew; if this be the true account of the œconomy of nature in this particular, which has every appearance of probability, those numerous births must occasion a very fruitless profusion and waste of the human race, and become every way detrimental to its increase.

From the united testimony of all the foregoing cases, it is undeniably clear, that the females of the human species, though most commonly uniparous, are, in certain circumstances to us unknown, every now and then capable of very far exceeding their usual number; and I must again repeat, that it does not appear that we can set any bounds to the powers of nature in that respect; or pretend, as some have done, with certainty to say, what may be the utmost limits of human fertility.

From Transactions *of the* American *Philosophical Society.*

Some Account of a motley-coloured, or pye Negro Girl *and* Mulatto Boy *exhibited before the Society, in the Month of* May, 1784, *for their Examination, by Dr.* John Morgan, *from the History given of them by their Owner Monf.* Le Vallois, *Dentist of the King of* France, *at* Guadaloupe, *in the* West Indies, *as follows.*

ADELAIDE, the little girl now before the society, is aged two years and little more than one month, is of a clear black colour, verging to brown, except that she has a white spot bearing some resemblance to an aigrette; the point of which is at the root of the nose, and it rises into the hair, above the forehead, of which it occupies above an inch in width, from the margin to the fontenelle. In this part the colour of the hair is white, and it is curly like the hair of negroes in general, and thicker in that part than on any other part of its head. In the middle of its forehead and on the aigrette, is a large black spot; on the external side next to the temples, about one half of each eye-lid, both upper and under, is black, and the remaining half next to the nose is white.

The eyes are black and lively; a little to the left and towards the middle of the chin a white spot begins, which is long in proportion to its breadth, but of less magnitude than that of the forehead: it stretches under the chin to the upper part of the throat. The neck, the upper and under part of the chest, the shoulders, the back, loins and buttocks to the junction with the thighs, and the pudendum, are of the colour of her face, but the loins and the thicker part of the buttocks are of a deeper black.

The arms from the upper and middle part are white, and interspersed with black spots. There are some smaller and more numerous about her knees than elsewhere.

Upon the large black spots there are also many smaller and blacker, which are very glaring. Many of these spots divide into four, five, and six rays, resembling a star, which are not observed but by a close inspection, and then they are very visible. In several parts those spots, being of different shades, give an exact picture of lunar eclipses, as they are commonly represented in the books of astrono-

my. The hands, the middle part of the fore arms, the inferior and middle parts of the legs and feet, are black, which have a pretty ſtriking reſemblance to gloves and to buſkins.

The white that prevails over the breaſt, and over the belly, arms, and thighs, has a lively appearance. The ſkin is ſoft, ſmooth, and ſleek.

Adelaide has fine features; we meet with few negroes of ſo beautiful a form. In her temper ſhe is cheerful, gay, and ſportful, and as tall as children of her age generally are, and hath evidently a very delicate temperament, yet enjoys pretty good health, neither hath ſhe eyes nor ears, nor any particularity in her features, or external conformation, like what may be ſeen at the firſt inſpection in thoſe who are called white negroes, whoſe ſkin is altogether of a dead white colour, and whoſe woolly white hair and features reſemble thoſe of their negro parents.

From this detail we may remark, that the alteration of the natural colour of Adelaide takes place over the ſame parts of the body, for the moſt part, as over the body of Maria Sabina, of whom Monſ. Buffon gives an account; and conſidering it as a well authenticated fact, from all the information that has been received of Adelaide, that ſhe had a negro father and negro mother, we are led to believe, that the Engliſh account under the portrait of Maria Sabina is exact, and not aſſerted merely for the ſake of covering the honour of the mother, and of the ſociety in which ſhe was a ſlave.

The pyed mulatto boy is named Jean Pierre. He is a month younger than Adelaide; but from his figure, which is robuſt, he appears to be ſix months older. He as well as Adelaide both belong to Monſ. le Vallois. He was born at Grandterre, Guadaloupe, of a negro wench named Carolina, and of a white man, an European, whoſe name I did not learn.

A certificate which Monſ. le Vallois has with him, legally authenticated by Monſ. Blin, lieutenant judge, given from under the hand of Monſ. des Effart, king's phyſician, and of Monſ. Cumin, king's ſurgeon, at Grandterre, Guadaloupe, atteſts that Adelaide was born at Gros-Iſlet in St. Lucia, that Bridget her mother is a negro of the Ibo nation, and now reckoned to be about twenty-five years old, and that her father, whoſe name is Raphael, is a negro of the Mina nation. In this certificate it is farther declared, that the father of Jean Pierre has white ſpots (that is of a deeper white than his natural ſkin) of the ſame ſhape and in the ſame parts of the body as the ſon, and that the mother and one of the brothers of this boy's European father have like white ſpots, and in the ſame parts of the body.

However it may be in reſpect to thoſe obſervations concerning the ſuppoſed reſemblance of the white ſpots they may bear about them, to thoſe which mark Jean Pierre, it ſuffices to take notice here, that his body is entirely of the colour of a mulatto, except that he has from nature a white aigrette in his forehead like that of Adelaide. The hair in that part is white mixed with black, which is not ſo in Adelaide. The ſtomach and the legs, from two inches above the ancles

to

to the middle of the calf of the legs, are entirely of a beautiful lively white; there is also a white spot in the upper part of the penis. Over the white parts of the legs there is a light white down, longer and thicker than children commonly have at this age.

Such is the natural history of those two extraordinary children; but what causes have produced those surprising phænomena and alteration of the natural colour of their skin, are left for others to investigate and explain.

Mons le Vallois relates that the mother of Adelaide, whilst pregnant with her, was delighted in laying out all night in the open air, and contemplating the stars and planets, and that the great-grandmother of Jean Pierre (a white lady) during the time of her being with child of her daughter, his grandmother by the father's side, was frightened on having some milk spilled upon her. Whether this will account for her daughter and grandchildren being marked in the manner related, and for the spots observed on the mulatto boy descending to him; or whether the strong impression made upon the mother of Adelaide, by the nightly view of the stars and planetary system, may be considered as the cause of the very extraordinary appearances in that girl, every one will determine for themselves; there being many who dispute children's being ever marked by the fears, longings, or impressions made by mothers on the bodies of their children, at a certain time of pregnancy; for which they endeavour to account in different ways; whilst others, who have known a variety of children born with different marks on them, (which have fallen under their particular notice) are equally confident of those marks proceeding from the causes alledged.

Description of a remarkable Rock and Cascade, near the Western Side of the Youghiogeny *River, a Quarter of a Mile from* Crawford's *Ferry, and about Twelve Miles from* Union-Town, *in* Fayette *County, in the State of* Pennsylvania. *From the same Work. By* Thomas Hutchins.

THIS cascade is occasioned by a rock of a semicircular form, the chord of which, from one extreme end of the arch to the other, is nearly one hundred yards; the arch or circular part is extensive, and upwards of twenty feet in height, exhibiting a grand and romantic appearance. This very curious production is composed of stone of variegated colours, and a species of marble beautifully chequered with veins running in different directions, presenting on a close inspection a faint resemblance of a variety of mathematical figures of different angles and magnitudes. The operations of nature in this structure seems to be exceedingly uniform and majestic; the layers or rows of stone of which it is composed are of various lengths and thicknesses, more resembling the effects of art than nature. A flat thin stone from eight to ten inches thick, about twenty feet wide, forms the upper part of this amphitheatre, over which the stream precipitates. The whole front of this rock is made up from top to bottom, as well

well as from one extremity of the arch to the other, of a regular ſucceſſion, principally, of limeſtone, ſtrata over ſtrata, and each ſtratum or row projecting in an horizontal direction a little further out than its baſe, until it terminates into one entire flat, thin, extenſive piece, as already mentioned; and which jets out at right angles or in a parallel line with the bottom, over which it impends fifteen or twenty feet, and that without columns or even a ſingle pillar for its ſupport. This circumſtance, together with the grand circular walk between the front of the rock and the ſheet of water falling from the ſummit, exhibits ſo noble and ſingular an appearance, that a ſpectator cannot behold it without admiration and delight.

An Account of the Winds in Egypt *and their Phænomena—Of the* Kamſin, *or hot Wind of the Deſert. From Travels in* Egypt *and* Syria, *by Monſieur* Volney.

"THE northerly winds, which blow at ſtated periods every year, anſwer a more certain and effectual purpoſe; that of carrying into Abyſſinia a prodigious quantity of clouds. From the month of April to July we ſee theſe inceſſantly aſcending towards the ſouth, and might be ſometimes tempted to expect rain from them; but this parched country requeſts in vain from them a benefaction which is to return upon it under a different form. Never does it rain in the Delta in ſummer, and but rarely, and in ſmall quantities, during the whole courſe of the year. The year 1761, obſerved by M. Niebuhr, was an extraordinary caſe, which is ſtill frequently mentioned. The accidents occaſioned by the rains in Lower Egypt, in which a number of villages, built with earth, crumbled to pieces, afford a ſufficient proof that this abundance of water is there looked upon as very rare. It muſt be obſerved, likewiſe, that it rains ſtill leſs as you aſcend towards the Said. Thus, rain is more frequent at Alexandria and Roſetta than at Cairo, and at Cairo than at Miniah, and is almoſt a prodigy at Djirdja. As for us, the inhabitants of humid countries, we cannot conceive how it is poſſible for a country to ſubſiſt without rain *; but in Egypt, beſides the quantity of water which the earth imbibes at the inundation, the dews which fall in the ſummer might ſuffice for vegetation. The melons, called paſtekes, afford a remarkable proof of this; for though they have frequently nothing under them but a dry duſt, yet their leaves are always freſh. Theſe dews, as well as the rains, are more copious towards the ſea, and leſs conſiderable in proportion to their diſtance from it; but differ from them by being more abundant in ſummer than in winter. At Alexandria, after ſunſet, in the month of April, the clothes expoſed to the air, and the terraces, are ſoaked with them, as if it had rained. Like the rains, again, theſe dews are more or leſs heavy, according to the prevailing

* When rain falls in Egypt and in Paleſtine, there is a general joy among the people: they aſſemble together in the ſtreets, they ſing, are all in motion, and ſhout, *ya allah! ya mobarek!* that is to ſay, O God! O Bleſſed! &c.

wind.

wind. The ſoutherly and the ſouth-eaſterly produce none; the north wind a great deal, and the weſterly ſtill more. Theſe varieties are eaſily explained, by obſerving that the two former proceed from the deſerts of Africa and Arabia, which afford not a drop of water; that the northerly and weſterly winds, on the contrary, convey over Egypt the vapours from the Mediterranean, which the firſt croſſes, and the other traverſes lengthways. I find, even, on comparing my obſervations on this ſubject in Provence, in Syria, and in Egypt, with thoſe of M. Niebuhr in Arabia and at Bombay, that this relative poſition of the ſeas and continents is the cauſe of the various qualities of one and the ſame wind, which produces rain in one country, while it is invariably dry in another; a remark which deranges not a little the ſyſtems of both ancient and modern aſtrologers reſpecting the influence of the planets.

Another phænomenon, no leſs remarkable, is the periodical return of each wind, and its appropriation, ſo to ſpeak, to certain ſeaſons of the year. Egypt and Syria preſent, in this reſpect, a regularity worthy of attention.

In Egypt, when the ſun approaches the tropic of Cancer, the winds, which before blew from the eaſt, change to the north, and become conſtant in that point. In June they always blow from the north and north-weſt; this, therefore, is the proper ſeaſon for going up the Levant, and a veſſel may expect to anchor in Cyprus, or at Alexandria, the fourteenth, nay, ſometimes the eleventh day, after her departure from Marſeilles. The winds continue northerly in July, but vary ſometimes toward the weſt, and ſometimes toward the eaſt. About the end of July, during all the month of Auguſt, and half of September, they remain conſtantly in the north, and are moderate; briſker in the day, however, and weaker at night. At this period an univerſal calm reigns on the Mediterranean, ſo that ſhips would be ſeventy or eighty days in returning to France.

Towards the end of September, when the ſun repaſſes the line, the winds return to the eaſt; and, tho' not fixed, blow more regularly from that than any other point, except the north. Veſſels avail themſelves of this ſeaſon, which laſts all October and part of November, to return to Europe; and the run to Marſeilles is from thirty to five and thirty days. As the ſun approaches the other tropic, the winds become more variable and more tempeſtuous; they moſt uſually blow from the north, the north-weſt, and weſt, in which points they continue during the months of December, January, and February, which is the winter ſeaſon in Egypt, as well as with us. The vapours of the Mediterranean, condenſed by the coldneſs of the atmoſphere, deſcend in miſts and rains. Towards the end of February and in March, when the ſun returns towards the equator, the winds are more frequently ſoutherly than at any other ſeaſon. During this laſt month, and that of April, the ſouth-eaſterly, ſouth, and ſouth-weſterly winds prevail; and at times the weſt, north, and eaſt; the latter of which becomes the moſt prevalent about the end of April; and during May it divides with

with the north the empire of the ſea, and renders the paſſage to France ſtill more expeditious than at the other equinox.

Of the hot Wind, or Kamſin.

The ſoutherly winds, of which I have been ſpeaking, are known in Egypt by the general name of *winds of fifty (days)* *; not that they laſt fifty days without intermiſſion, but becauſe they prevail more frequently in the fifty days preceding and following the equinox. Travellers have mentioned them under the denomination of *poiſonous* winds †; or, more correctly, *hot winds of the deſert*. Such, in fact, is their quality; and their heat is ſometimes ſo exceſſive, that it is difficult to form any idea of its violence without having experienced it; but it may be compared to the heat of a large oven at the moment of drawing out the bread. When theſe winds begin to blow, the atmoſphere aſſumes an alarming aſpect. The ſky, at other times ſo clear, in this climate, becomes dark and heavy; the ſun loſes his ſplendour, and appears of a violet colour. The air is not cloudy, but grey and thick, and is, in fact, filled with an extremely ſubtle duſt, which penetrates every where. This wind, always light and rapid, is not at firſt remarkably hot, but it increaſes in heat in proportion as it continues. All animated bodies ſoon diſcover it, by the change it produces in them. The lungs, which a too rarefied air no longer expands, are contracted, and become painful. Reſpiration is ſhort and difficult, the ſkin parched and dry, and the body conſumed by an internal heat. In vain is recourſe had to large draughts of water; nothing can reſtore perſpiration. In vain is coolneſs ſought for; all bodies in which it is uſual to find it, deceive the hand that touches them. Marble, iron, water, notwithſtanding the ſun no longer appears, are hot. The ſtreets are deſerted, and the dead ſilence of night reigns every where. The inhabitants of towns and villages ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, and thoſe of the deſert in their tents, or in wells dug in the earth, where they wait the termination of this deſtructive heat. It uſually laſts three days, but if it exceeds that time it becomes inſupportable. Woe to the traveller whom this wind ſurprizes remote from ſhelter; he muſt ſuffer all its horrible effects, which ſometimes are mortal. The danger is moſt imminent when it blows in ſqualls, for then the rapidity of the wind encreaſes the heat to ſuch a degree, as to cauſe ſudden death. This death is a real ſuffocation; the lungs being empty, are convulſed, the circulation diſordered, and the whole maſs of blood driven by the heart towards the head and breaſt; whence that hæmorrhage at the noſe and mouth which happens after death. This

* In Arabic, *kamſin*; but the *k* repreſents the Spaniſh *jota*, or the German *ch*.

† The Arabs of the deſert call them *ſemoum*, or poiſon; and the Turks *ſhamyela*, or wind of Syria, from which is formed the *Samiel* wind. Baron de Tott tranſlates this word the *wind of Damaſcus*, which is the capital of Syria.

wind

wind is especially destructive to persons of a plethoric habit, and those in whom fatigue has destroyed the tone of the muscles and the vessels. The corpse remains a long time warm, swells, turns blue, and is easily separated; all which are signs of that putrid fermentation which takes place in animal bodies when the humours become stagnant. These accidents are to be avoided, by stopping the nose and mouth with handkerchiefs; an efficacious method likewise is that practised by the camels, which bury their noses in the sand, and keep them there till the squall is over.

Another quality of this wind is its extreme aridity; which is such, that water sprinkled on the floor evaporates in a few minutes; by this extreme dryness, it withers and strips all the plants, and, by exhaling too suddenly the emanations from animal bodies, crisps the skin, closes the pores, and causes that feverish heat which is the invariable effect of suppressed perspiration.

These hot winds are not peculiar to Egypt; they blow likewise in Syria; more frequently, however, near the sea, and in the desert, than on the mountains. M. Niebuhr met with them in Arabia, at Bombay, and in the Diarbekir: they are also known in Persia, in the rest of Africa, and even in Spain; every where their effects are similar, but their direction varies according to the situation of the country. In Egypt, the most violent proceed from the south-south-west; at Mecca, from the east; at Surat, from the north; at Bassora, from the north-west; from the west at Bagdad; and in Syria from the south-east. These varieties, which seem embarrassing at first sight, on reflection, furnish the means of solving the enigma. We find, on examination, that these winds always proceed from desert continents; and, in fact, it is natural that the air which covers the immense plains of Lybia and Arabia, meeting there neither with rivulets, nor lakes, nor forests, but scorched by the rays of a burning sun, and the reflection of the sand, should acquire a prodigious degree of heat and aridity; and if any cause intervenes to set it in motion, it cannot but carry with it the destructive qualities it has imbibed; it is so true that these qualities are owing to the action of the sun upon the sands, that these same winds produce not the same effects at every season. In Egypt, for example, I am assured, that the southerly winds in December and January are as cold as those from the north; and the reason of this is, that the sun, having reached the southern tropic, no longer burns up the northern parts of Africa, and that Abyssinia, which is extremely mountainous, is covered with snow. The sun must approach the equator to produce these phænomena. From a similar reason, the south wind has much less effect in Cyprus, where it arrives cooled by the vapours of the Mediterranean. That from the north possesses its characteristic qualities in this island, where the inhabitants complain that its heat is insupportable in summer, while it is freezing cold in winter; which evidently arises from the state of Asia Minor, which in summer is burnt up, and in winter covered with ice. In fact, this subject offers a multitude of problems, calculated

culated to excite the curiosity of the naturalist.—Would it not, for instance, be interesting to know,

1st, Whence proceeds this connection of the seasons, and the progress of the sun, with the various winds, and the points from whence they blow?

2dly, Why, throughout the Mediterranean, does the wind most frequently blow from the north, insomuch that we may say it continues in that point nine months out of twelve?

3dly, Why do the easterly winds return so regularly after the equinoxes; and why are the winds, in general, higher at this period?

4thly, Why are the dews more abundant in summer than in winter; and why, since the clouds are caused by the evaporation of the sea, and that evaporation is more copious in summer than in winter, why, notwithstanding, are there more clouds in winter than in summer?

5thly, In short, why is rain so rare in Egypt, and why do the clouds rather collect in Abyssinia?"

Natural History of Syria, *including its Mountains, Volcanos, and Earthquakes; Locusts, Rivers, and Lakes; Climate, Air, Waters, and Winds.—From the same Work.*

Of the Mountains.

THESE mountains, as they vary their levels and situations, are also greatly changed in their form and appearance. Between Alexandretta and the Orontes, the firs, larches, oaks, box-trees, laurels, yews, and myrtles, with which they abound, give them an air of liveliness, which delights the traveller, wearied with the melancholy nakedness of the isle of Cyprus *. On some declivities he even meets with cottages, environed with fig-trees and vineyards; and the sight of these repays the fatigue he has endured on a road which, by rugged paths, leads him from the bottoms of valleys to the tops of hills, and from the tops of hills to the bottoms of valleys. The inferior branches, which extend to the northward of Aleppo, on the contrary, present nothing but bare rocks, without verdure or earth. To the south of Antioch, and on the sea-coast, the hill-sides are proper for the cultivation of tobacco, olives, and vines †; but, on the side of the desert, the summits and declivities of this chain are almost one continued series of white rocks. Towards Lebanon, the mountains are lofty, but are covered, in many places, with as much earth as fits them for cultivation by industry and labour. There, amid the crags of the rocks, may be seen the no very magnificent remains of the boasted cedars ‡; but

* All vessels which go to Alexandretta touch at Cyprus, the southern part of which is a naked and desolate plain.

† Mount Casius must be excepted, which rises above Antioch to a prodigious height. But Pliny surpasses hyperbole, when he says that, from its summit, we may discover at once both the morning's dawn and the evening twilight.

‡ There are now but four or five of these trees which deserve any notice.

a much

a much greater number of firs, oaks, brambles, mulberry-trees, figs, and vines. As we leave the country of the Druzes, the mountains are no longer ſo high, nor ſo rugged, but become fitter for tillage. They riſe again to the ſouth-eaſt of Mount Carmel, are covered with woods, and afford very pleaſant proſpects; but as we advance toward Judea, they loſe their verdure, their valleys grow narrower, they become dry and ſtoney, and terminate at the Dead Sea in a pile of deſolate rocks, full of precipices and caverns *; while to the weſt of Jordan and the lake, another chain of rocks, ſtill higher, and more rugged, preſents a ſtill more gloomy proſpect, and announces, afar off, the entrance of the deſert, and the end of the habitable lands.

A view of the country will convince us, that the moſt elevated point of all Syria is Lebanon, on the ſouth-eaſt of Tripoli. Scarcely do we depart from Larneca, in Cyprus, which is thirty leagues diſtance, before we diſcover its ſummit, capped with clouds. This is alſo diſtinctly perceivable on the map, from the courſe of the rivers. The Orontes, which flows from the mountains of Damaſcus, and loſes itſelf below Antioch; the Kaſmia, which from the north of Balbek, takes its courſe towards Tyre; the Jordan, forced by the declivities toward the ſouth, prove that this is the higheſt point. Next to Lebanon, the moſt elevated part of the country is Mount Akkar, which becomes viſible as ſoon as we leave Marra in the deſert. It appears like an enormous flattened cone, and is conſtantly in view for two days journey. No one has yet had an opportunity to aſcertain the height of theſe mountains by the barometer; but we may deduce it from another conſideration. In winter their tops are entirely covered with ſnow, from Alexandretta to Jeruſalem; but after the month of March it melts, except on Mount Lebanon, where, however, it does not remain the whole year, unleſs in the higheſt cavities, and toward the north-eaſt, where it is ſheltered from the ſea winds, and the action of the ſun. In ſuch a ſituation I ſaw it ſtill remaining, in 1784, at the very time I was almoſt ſuffocated with heat in the valley of Balbek. Now, ſince it is well known that ſnow, in this latitude, requires an elevation of fifteen or ſixteen hundred fathom, we may conclude that to be the height of Lebanon, and that it is conſequently much lower than the Alps, or even the Pyrenees †.

Lebanon, which gives its name to the whole extenſive chain of the Keſraouan, and the country of the Druzes, preſents us every where with majeſtic mountains. At every ſtep we meet with ſcenes in which nature diſplays either beauty or grandeur, ſometimes ſingularity, but always variety. When we land on the coaſt, the loftineſs and ſteep

* This is the place called the *Grottoes of Engaddi*, which have been a refuge for vagabonds in all ages. Some of them are capable of containing fifteen hundred men.

† Mount Blanc, the loftieſt of the Alps, is eſtimated at two thouſand four hundred fathom above the level of the ſea; and the Peak of Oſſian, in the Pyrenees, at nineteen hundred.

aſcent of this mountainous ridge, which ſeems to encloſe the country, thoſe gigantic maſſes which ſhoot into the clouds, inſpire aſtoniſhment and reſpect. Should the curious traveller then climb theſe ſummits which bounded his view, the immenſity of ſpace which he diſcovers becomes a freſh ſubject of admiration; but completely to enjoy this majeſtic ſcene, he muſt aſcend the very point of Lebanon, or the *Sannin*. There, on every ſide, he will view an horizon without bounds; while, in clear weather, the ſight is loſt over the deſert, which extends to the Perſian Gulph, and over the ſea which bathes the coaſts of Europe. He ſeems to command the whole world, while the wandering eye, now ſurveying the ſucceſſive chains of mountains, tranſports the imagination in an inſtant from Antioch to Jeruſalem; and now approaching the ſurrounding objects, obſerves the diſtant profundity of the coaſt, till the attention, at length, fixed by diſtinct objects, more minutely examines the rocks, woods, torrents, hill-ſides, villages, and towns; and the mind ſecretly exults at the diminution of things, which before appeared ſo great. The ſpectator contemplates the valley obſcured by ſtormy clouds, with a novel delight, and ſmiles at hearing the thunder, which had ſo often burſt over his head, growling under his feet; while the threatening ſummits of the mountains are diminiſhed till they appear only like the furrows of a ploughed field, or the ſteps of an amphitheatre; and the mind is flattered by an elevation above ſo many great objects, on which pride makes it look down with a ſecret ſatisfaction.

When the traveller viſits the interior of theſe mountains, the ruggedneſs of the roads, the ſteepneſs of the deſcents, the height of the precipices ſtrike him at firſt with terror; but the ſagacity of his mule ſoon relieves him, and he examines at his eaſe thoſe picturesque ſcenes which ſucceed each other to entertain him. There, as in the Alps, he travels whole days, to reach a place which is in ſight at his departure; he winds, he deſcends, he ſkirts the hills, he climbs; and in this perpetual change of poſition it ſeems as if ſome magic power varied for him at every ſtep the decorations of the ſcenery. Sometimes he ſees villages ready to glide from the rapid declivities on which they are built, and ſo diſpoſed that the terraces of one row of houſes ſerve as a ſtreet to the row above them. Sometimes he ſees a convent ſtanding on a ſolitary eminence, like Mar-Shaya, in the valley of the Tigris. Here is a rock perforated by a torrent, and become a natural arch, like that of Nahr-el Leben *. There another rock, worn perpendicular, reſembles a lofty wall. Frequently on the ſides of hills he ſees beds of ſtones ſtripped and detached by the waters, riſing up like ruins diſpoſed by art. In many places the waters, meeting with inclined beds, have undermined the intermediate earth, and formed caverns, as at Nahr-el-kelb, near Antoura: in others are

* The river of milk, which falls into Nahr-el-Salib, called alſo the river of Bairout; this arch is upwards of one hundred and ſixty feet long, eighty-five wide, and near two hundred high above the torrent.

formed ſubterranean channels, thro' which flow rivulets for a part of the year, as at Mar-Elias-el-Roum, and Mar-Hanna *; but theſe pictureſque ſituations ſometimes become tragical. From thaws and earthquakes rocks have been known to loſe their equilibrium, roll down upon the adjacent houſes, and bury the inhabitants: ſuch an accident happened about twenty years ago, and overwhelmed a whole village near Mar-djordjos, without leaving a ſingle trace to diſcover where it formerly ſtood. Still more lately, and near the ſame ſpot, a whole hill ſide, covered with mulberries and vines, was detached by a ſudden thaw, and ſliding on the declivity of the rock, was launched altogether, like a ſhip from the ſtocks, into the valley. Hence aroſe a whimſical, but reaſonable, litigation, between the proprietor of the original ground and the owner of the emigrated land; the cauſe was carried before the tribunal of the Emir Youſef, who indemnified both parties for their mutual loſſes. It might be expected ſuch accidents would diſguſt the inhabitants of thoſe mountains; but beſides that they are rare, they are compenſated by an advantage which makes them prefer their habitations to the moſt fertile plains, I mean the ſecurity they enjoy from the oppreſſions of the Turks. This ſecurity is eſteemed ſo valuable a bleſſing by the inhabitants, that they have diſplayed an induſtry on theſe rocks which we may elſewhere look for in vain. By dint of art and labour they have compelled a rocky ſoil to become fertile. Sometimes to profit by the water, they conduct it by a thouſand windings along the declivities, or ſtop it by forming dams in the valleys, while in other places they prop up ground, ready to crumble away, by walls and terraces. Almoſt all theſe mountains, thus laboured, preſent the appearance of a flight of ſtairs, or an amphitheatre, each ſtep of which is a row of vines or mulberry-trees. I have reckoned from a hundred to a hundred and twenty of theſe gradations on the ſame declivity, from the bottom of the valley to the top of the eminence. While amid theſe mountains, I forgot I was in Turkey, or, if I recollected it, only felt more ſenſibly the powerful influence of even the feebleſt ray of liberty.

* Theſe ſubterraneous rivulets are common throughout Syria; there are ſome near Damaſcus, at the ſources of the Orontes, and at thoſe of Jordan. That of Mar-Hanna, a Greek convent, near the village of Shouair, opens by a gulph called *El-baloua*, or the Swallower. It is an aperture of about ten feet wide, ſituated at the bottom of a tunnel: at the depth of fifteen feet is a ſort of firſt bottom; but it only hides a very profound lateral opening. Some years ago it was ſhut, as it had ſerved to conceal a murder. The winter rains coming on, the waters collected, and formed a pretty deep lake; but ſome ſmall ſtreams penetrating among the ſtones, they were ſoon ſtripped of the earth which faſtened them, and the preſſure of the maſs of water prevailing on, the whole obſtacle was removed with an exploſion like thunder; and the re-action of the compreſſed air was ſo violent, that a column of water ſpouted up, and fell upon a houſe at the diſtance of at leaſt two hundred paces. The current this occaſioned formed a whirlpool, which ſwalled up the trees and vines planted in the tunnel, and threw them out by the ſecond aperture.

Structure of the Mountains.

If we examine the ſubſtance of theſe mountains, we ſhall find they conſiſt of a hard calcareous ſtone, of a whitiſh colour, ſonorous like free-ſtone, and diſpoſed in ſtrata variouſly inclined. This ſtone has almoſt the ſame appearance through the whole extent of Syria; ſometimes it is bare, and looks like the peeled rocks on the coaſt of Provence: ſuch, for inſtance, is the chain of hills on the north-ſide of the road from Antioch to Aleppo, and which ſerves as a bed to the upper part of the rivulet which paſſes by the latter city. Near Ermenaz, a village ſituated between Serkin and Kaſtin, is a defile where they perfectly reſemble thoſe we paſs in going from Marſeilles to Toulon. In travelling from Aleppo to Hama, veins of the ſame rock are continually to be met with in the plain, while the mountains on the right preſent huge piles, which look like the ruins of towns and caſtles. The ſame ſtone, under a more regular form, likewiſe compoſes the greater part of Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, the mountains of the Druzes, Galilee, and Mount Carmel, and ſtretches to the ſouth of the lake Aſphaltites. The inhabitants every where build their houſes, and make lime with it. I have never ſeen, nor heard it ſaid, that theſe ſtones contained any petrified ſhells in the upper regions of Lebanon; but we find, between Batroun and Djebail, in the Keſraouan, at a little diſtance from the ſea, a quarry of ſchiſtous ſtones, the flakes of which bear the impreſſions of plants, fiſh, ſhells, and eſpecially the ſea onion. The bed of the torrent of Azkalan, in Paleſtine, is alſo lined with a heavy ſtone, porous and ſalt, which contains a great number of ſmall volutes and bivalves of the Mediterranean. Pocock found a large quantity of them in the rocks which border on the Dead Sea. Iron is the only mineral which abounds here; the mountains of the Keſraouan, and of the Druzes, are full of it. Every ſummer the inhabitants work thoſe mines, which are ſimply ochreous. Judea cannot be without it, ſince Moſes obſerved, above three thouſand years ago, that its ſtones were of iron. There is a vague report, that there was anciently a copper mine near Aleppo, but it muſt have been long ſince abandoned: I have been told likewiſe among the Druzes, that in the declivity of the hill I have mentioned, a mineral was diſcovered which produced both lead and ſilver; but as ſuch a diſcovery would have ruined the whole diſtrict, by attracting the attention of the Turks, they made haſte to deſtroy every veſtige of it.

Volcanos and Earthquakes.

The ſouth of Syria, that is, the hollow through which the Jordan flows, is a country of volcanos; the bituminous and ſulphureous ſources of the lake Aſphaltites, the lava, the pumice-ſtones thrown upon its banks, and the hot bath of Tabaria, demonſtrate that this valley has been the ſeat of a ſubterraneous fire which is not yet extinguiſhed. Clouds of ſmoke are often obſerved to iſſue from the lake, and new crevices to be formed upon its banks. If conjectures in ſuch caſes were not too liable to error, we might ſuſpect that the whole valley has been formed only by a violent ſink-

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ing of a country which formerly poured the Jordan into the Mediterranean. It appears certain, at leaſt, that the cataſtrophe of five cities, deſtroyed by fire, muſt have been occaſioned by the eruption of a volcano, then burning. Strabo expreſsly ſays *, "that the tradition of the inhabitants of the country, (that is, of the Jews themſelves), was, that formerly the valley of the Lake was peopled by thirteen flouriſhing cities, and that they were ſwallowed up by a volcano." This account ſeems to be confirmed by the quantities of ruins ſtill found by travellers on the weſtern border. Theſe eruptions have ceaſed long ſince, but earthquakes, which uſually ſucceed them, ſtill continue to be felt at intervals in this country. The coaſt in general is ſubject to them, and hiſtory gives us many examples of earthquakes, which have changed the face of Antioch, Laodicea, Tripoli, Berytus, Tyre, Sidon, &c. In our time, in the year 1759, there happened one which cauſed the greateſt ravages. It is ſaid to have deſtroyed, in the valley of Balbek, upwards of twenty thouſand perſons, a loſs which has never been repaired. For three months, the ſhocks of it terrified the inhabitants of Lebanon ſo much as to make them abandon their houſes, and dwell under tents. Very lately (the 14th of December, 1783) when I was at Aleppo, ſo violent a ſhock was felt, as to ring the bell in the houſe of the French conſul. It is remarked in Syria, that earthquakes ſeldom happen but in winter, after the autumnal rains; and this obſervation, conformable to that made by Doctor Shaw in Barbary, ſeems to prove that the action of water on the dried earth has ſome ſhare in theſe convulſive motions. It may not be improper to remark, that the whole of Aſia Minor is ſubject to them in like manner.

Of the Locuſts.

Syria, as well as Egypt, Perſia, and almoſt all the ſouth of Aſia, is ſubject to another calamity no leſs dreadful, I mean thoſe clouds of locuſts, ſo often mentioned by travellers. The quantity of theſe inſects is incredible to all who have not themſelves witneſſed their aſtoniſhing numbers; the whole earth is covered with them for the ſpace of ſeveral leagues. The noiſe they make in browzing on the trees and herbage, may be heard at a great diſtance, and reſembles that of an army foraging in ſecret. The Tartars themſelves are a leſs deſtructive enemy than theſe little animals; one would imagine, that fire had followed their progreſs. Wherever their myriads ſpread, the verdure of the country diſappears, as if a curtain had been removed; trees and plants, ſtripped of their leaves, and reduced to their naked boughs and ſtems, cauſe the dreary image of winter to ſucceed in an inſtant, to the rich ſcenery of the ſpring. When theſe clouds of locuſts take their flight, to ſurmount any obſtacle, or to traverſe more rapidly a deſert ſoil, the heavens may literally be ſaid to be obſcured with them. Happily this calamity is not frequently repeated, for it is the inevitable forerunner of fa-

* Lib. xvi. p. 764.

mine, and the maladies it occaſions. The inhabitants of Syria have remarked, that locuſts are always bred by too mild winters, and that they conſtantly come from the deſert of Arabia. From this obſervation, it is eaſy to conceive that, the cold not having been rigorous enough to deſtroy their eggs, they multiply ſuddenly, and, the herbage failing them in the immenſe plains of the deſert, innumerable legions iſſue forth. When they make their firſt appearance on the frontiers of the cultivated country, the inhabitants ſtrive to drive them off, by raiſing large clouds of ſmoke, but frequently their herbs and wet ſtraw fail them; they then dig trenches, where numbers of them are buried; but the two moſt efficacious deſtroyers of theſe inſects, are the ſouth and ſouth-eaſterly winds, and the bird called the *ſamarmar*. Theſe birds, which greatly reſemble the woodpecker, follow them in numerous flocks, like ſtarlings, and not only greedily devour them, but kill as many as they can; accordingly, they are reſpected by the peaſants, and nobody is ever allowed to ſhoot them. As for the ſoutherly and ſouth-eaſterly winds, they drive with violence theſe clouds of locuſts over the Mediterranean, where ſuch quantities of them are drowned, that, when their carcaſes are thrown on the ſhore, they infect the air for ſeveral days, even to a great diſtance.

We may reaſonably preſume, that in ſo extenſive a country as Syria, the quality of the ſoil is not every where the ſame. In general the land of the mountains is rude; that of the plains fat and loamy, and exhibits every ſign of the greateſt fecundity. In the territory of Aleppo, towards Antioch, it reſembles very fine brick-duſt, or Spaniſh ſnuff. The waters of the Orontes, however, which traverſe this diſtrict, are tinged with white, which proceeds from the nature of the lands towards its ſource. Almoſt every where elſe the earth is brown, and like fine garden mould. In the plains, ſuch as thoſe of Hauran, Gaza, and Balbek, it is often difficult even to find a pebble. The winter rains occaſion deep quagmires, and, on the return of ſummer, the heat produces, as in Egypt, large cracks in the earth ſeveral feet deep.

Of the Rivers and Lakes.

The exaggerated, or, if you will, the grand ideas which hiſtory and travellers uſually give us of diſtant objects, have accuſtomed us to ſpeak of the waters of Syria with a reſpect which amuſes our imagination. We are fond of ſaying the *river Jordan*, the *river Orontes*, the *river Adonis*. If, however, we wiſh to preſerve to words their proper ſignification, we ſhall hardly find in this country any other than *rivulets*. The channels of the Orontes and the Jordan, the two moſt conſiderable, are ſcarcely ſixty paces wide at their mouths *; the others do not merit to be mentioned. If the rains and melted ſnow give them ſome importance in the winter, their courſe is only to be diſcovered, during

* The Jordan, it muſt be owned, has conſiderable depth, but if the Orontes were not impeded by repeated obſtacles, it would be quite dry during the ſummer.

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the remainder of the year, by the round ſtones and fragments of rocks with which their beds are filled. They are nothing but torrents and caſcades; and it may be conceived that, from the proximity of the mountains, among which they riſe, to the ſea, their waters have not time to collect in long valleys, ſo as to form rivers. The obſtacles oppoſed by theſe mountains, in ſeveral places, at their iſſue, have formed conſiderable lakes, ſuch as thoſe of Antioch, Aleppo, Damaſcus, Houla, Tabaria, and that which is honoured with the name of the Dead Sea, or Lake Aſphaltites. All theſe lakes, except the laſt, are of freſh water, and contain ſeveral ſpecies of fiſh, different from * thoſe we are acquainted with.

Lake Aſphaltites, alone, contains neither animal nor vegetable life. We ſee no verdure on its banks, nor are fiſh to be found within its waters; but it is not true that its exhalations are peſtiferous, ſo as to deſtroy birds flying over it. It is very common to ſee ſwallows ſkimming its ſurface, and dipping for the water neceſſary to build their neſts. The real cauſe which deprives it of vegetables and animals is the extreme ſaltneſs of the water, which is infinitely ſtronger than that of the ſea. The ſoil around it, equally impregnated with this ſalt, produces no plants, and the air itſelf, which becomes loaded with it from evaporation, and which receives alſo the ſulphureous and bituminous vapours, cannot be favourable to vegetation: hence the deadly aſpect which reigns around this lake. In other reſpects, the ground about it, however, is not marſhy, and its waters are limpid and incorruptible, as muſt be the caſe with a diſſolution of ſalt. The origin of this mineral is eaſy to be diſcovered; for on the ſouth-weſt ſhore are mines of foſſil ſalt, of which I have brought away ſeveral ſpecimens. They are ſituated in the ſide of the mountains which extend along that border, and, for time immemorial, have ſupplied the neighbouring Arabs, and even the city of Jeruſalem. We find alſo on this ſhore fragments of ſulphur and bitumen, which the Arabs convert into a trifling article of commerce; as alſo hot fountains, and deep crevices, which are diſcovered at a diſtance, by little pyramids built on the brink of them. We likewiſe find a ſort of ſtone, which, on rubbing, emits a noxious ſmell, burns like bitumen, receives a poliſh like white alabaſter, and is uſed for the paving of court-yards. At intervals, we alſo meet with unſhapen blocks, which prejudiced eyes miſtake for mutilated ſtatues, and which paſs with ignorant and ſuperſtitious pilgrims for monuments of the adventure of *Lot's wife*, though it is no where ſaid ſhe was metamorphoſed into ſtone, like Niobe, but into ſalt, which muſt have melted the enſuing winter.

Some naturaliſts have been greatly embarraſſed to find a diſcharge for the waters which the Jordan is

* The lake of Antioch abounds particularly with eels, and a ſort of red fiſh of an indifferent quality. The Greeks, who keep a perpetual Lent, conſume great quantities of them. Lake Tabaria is ſtill richer; crabs, eſpecially, are very numerous, but, as its environs are inhabited only by Mahometans, it is but little fiſhed.

continually pouring into the lake, and have therefore been inclined to ſuſpect it had a communication with the Mediterranean; but, beſides that we know of no gulph to corroborate this ſuppoſition, it has been demonſtrated, by accurate calculations, that evaporation is more than ſufficient to carry off the waters brought by the river. It is, in fact, very conſiderable, and frequently becomes ſenſible to the eye, by the fogs with which the lake is covered, at the riſing of the ſun, and which are afterwards diſperſed by the heat.

Of the Climate.

It is an opinion pretty generally received, that Syria is a very hot country; but it will be neceſſary to make ſeveral diſtinctions: firſt, on account of the difference of latitude, which, from one extremity to the other, is not leſs than ſix degrees: ſecondly, from the natural diviſion of the country into low and flat, and high and mountainous, which diviſion occaſions a ſtill more ſenſible difference; for while Reaumur's thermometer ſtands at twenty-five and twenty-ſix degrees upon the coaſt, it hardly riſes to twenty or twenty-one among the mountains *. In winter, therefore, the whole chain of mountains is covered with ſnow, while the lower country is always free from it, or at leaſt it lies only for an inſtant. We muſt firſt then eſtabliſh two general climates; the one very hot, which is that of the coaſt, and the interior plains, ſuch as thoſe of Balbek, Antioch, Tripoli, Acre, Gaza, Hauran, &c. the other temperate, and almoſt like our own, which is the climate of the mountains, at leaſt at a certain height. The ſummer of 1784 was reckoned, among the Druzes, one of the hotteſt they remembered, yet I never found the heat to be compared to that I had felt at Saide or Bairout.

In this climate, the order of the ſeaſons is nearly the ſame as in the middle provinces of France; the winter, which laſts from November to March, is ſharp and rigorous. Not a year paſſes without ſnow, and the earth is frequently covered ſeveral feet deep with it for months together; the ſpring and autumn are mild, and the ſummer heat is abſolutely inſupportable. In the plains, on the contrary, as ſoon as the ſun returns to the equator, the tranſition is rapid to oppreſſive heats, which continue to the end of October. But then the winter is ſo moderate, that the orange, date, banana, and other delicate trees, flouriſh in the open air; and it appears equally extraordinary and pictureſque to an European at Tripoli, to behold, under his windows, in the month of January, orange-trees loaded with flowers and fruit, while the lofty head of Lebanon is covered with ice and ſnow. It muſt nevertheleſs be obſerved that, in the northern parts, and to the eaſt of the mountains,

* Along the coaſt of Syria, and at Tripoli, in particular, the loweſt degrees to which the thermometer falls in winter, are eight and nine degrees above the freezing point; in ſummer, in cloſe apartments, it riſes from 25½ to 26°. As for the barometer, it is remarkable that at the latter end of May, it fixes at 28 inches, and never varies till October.

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the winter is more rigorous without the ſummer being leſs hot. At Antioch, Aleppo, and Damaſcus, there are ſeveral weeks of froſt and ſnow every winter; which ariſes from the ſituation of the country ſtill more than the difference of latitude. For, in fact, all the plain to the eaſt of the mountains is very high above the level of the ſea, expoſed to all the parching winds of the north and north-eaſt, and ſcreened from the humid winds of the ſouth and ſouth-weſt. Beſides, Antioch and Aleppo receive from the mountains of Alexandretta, which are within ſight, an air which the ſnow, that covers them ſo long, muſt neceſſarily render very ſharp.

Syria, therefore, unites different climates under the ſame ſky, and collects, within a narrow compaſs, pleaſures and productions which nature has elſewhere diſperſed at great diſtances of times and places. With us, for inſtance, ſeaſons are ſeparated by months; there we may ſay they are only ſeparated by hours. If in Saide or Tripoli, we are incommoded by the heats of July, in ſix hours we are, in the neighbouring mountains, in the temperature of March; or, on the other hand, if chilled by the froſts of December, at Beſharrai, a day's journey brings us back to the coaſt, amid the flowers of May *. The Arabian poets have therefore ſaid, that "the Sannin bears winter on "his head, ſpring upon his ſhoulders, and autumn in his boſom, "while ſummer lies ſleeping at his "feet." I have myſelf experienced the truth of this figurative obſervation, during the eight months I reſided at the monaſtery of Mar-Hanna †, ſeven leagues from Bairout. At the end of February, I left at Tripoli a variety of vegetables which were in perfection, and many flowers in full bloom. On my arrival at Antoura ‡, I found the plants only beginning to ſhoot; and, at Mar-Hanna, every thing was covered with ſnow. It had not entirely left the Sannin till the end of April, and, already, in the valley it overlooks, roſes had begun to bud. The early figs were paſt at Bairout, when they were firſt gathered with us, and the ſilk-worms were in cod, before our mulberry-trees were half ſtripped.

To this advantage, which perpetuates enjoyments by their ſucceſſion, Syria adds another, that of multiplying them by the variety of her productions. Were nature aſſiſted by art, thoſe of the moſt diſtant countries might be produced within the ſpace of twenty leagues. At preſent, in ſpite of the barbariſm of a government which is an enemy to all induſtry and improvement, we are aſtoniſhed at the variety this province affords. Beſides wheat, rye, barley, beans, and the cotton plant, which is cultivated every where, we find a multitude

* This is the practice of ſeveral of the inhabitants of this diſtrict, who paſs the winter near Tripoli, while their houſes are buried under the ſnow.

† Mar-Hanna el Shouair; i. e. St. John, near the village of Shouair. This monaſtery is ſituated in a ſtony valley, which joins to that of *Nahr el Kalb*, or Torrent of the Dog. The religious are Greek Catholics, of the order of Saint Baſil.

‡ A houſe formerly belonging to the Jeſuits, but occupied at preſent by the Lazariſts.

of useful and agreeable productions, appropriated to different situations. Palestine abounds in sesamum, from which oil is procured, and doura * as good as that of Egypt †. Maize thrives in the light soil of Balbek, and even rice is cultivated, with success, on the borders of the marshy country of Havula. They have lately begun to plant sugar-canes in the gardens of Saide and of Bairout, and they find them equal those of the Delta. Indigo grows without cultivating, on the banks of the Jordan, in the country of Bisan, and only requires care to make it of an excellent quality. The hill-sides of Latakia produce tobacco, which is the principal article of its commerce with Damietta and Cairo. This is now cultivated throughout all the mountains. As for trees, the olive-tree of Provence grows at Antioch, and at Ramla, to the height of the beech. The white mulberry-tree constitutes the wealth of the whole country of the Druzes, by the beautiful silks which are produced on it, while the vine, supported on poles, or winding round the oaks, supplies grapes which afford red and white wines that might rival those of Bourdeaux. Before the ravages occasioned by the late troubles, there were, in the gardens of Yaffa, two plants of the Indian cotton-tree, which grew rapidly, nor has this town lost its lemons, its enormous citrons ‡, or its water-melons, which are preferable even to those of Broulos ||. Gaza produces dates like Mecca, and pomegranates like Algiers; Tripoli affords oranges equal to those of Malta; Bairout figs like those of Marseilles, and bananas not inferior to those of St. Domingo; Aleppo enjoys the exclusive advantage of producing pistachios; and Damascus justly boasts of possessing all the fruits known in our provinces. Its stony soil suits equally the apples of Normandy, the plumbs of Touraine, and the peaches of Paris. Twenty sorts of apricots are reckoned there, the stone of one of which contains a kernel highly valued through all Turkey. In short, the cochineal plant, which grows on all that coast, contains, perhaps, that precious insect in as high perfection as it is found in Mexico and St. Domingo §; and if we consider that the mountains of the Yemen, which produce such excellent coffee, are only a continuation of those of Syria, and that their soil and

* A sort of pulse, something like lentils, which grows in clusters, on a stalk six or seven feet high. It is the *holcus arundinaceus* of Linnæus.

† I never saw any buck-wheat in Syria, and oats are very rare. Rye and straw are given to the horses.

‡ I have seen some which weighed eighteen pounds.

|| Broulos, on the coast of Egypt, produces better water-mellons than are found in the rest of the Delta, where the fruits in general are too watery.

§ It was long imagined that the insect of the cochineal was peculiar to Mexico; and the Spaniards, to secure the exclusive possession of it, have prohibited the exportation of the living cochineal, under pain of death; but M. Thierri, who succeeded in bringing it away, in 1771, and carried it to Saint Domingo, found the nopals of that island contained it before his arrival. It seems as if nature scarcely ever separated insects from the plants appropriated to them.

climate are almoſt the ſame *, we ſhall be induced to believe that Judea, eſpecially, might eaſily cultivate this valuable production of Arabia. With theſe numerous advantages of climate and of ſoil, it is not aſtoniſhing that Syria ſhould always have been eſteemed a moſt delicious country, and that the Greeks and Romans ranked it among the moſt beautiful of their provinces, and even thought it not inferior to Egypt. In more modern times, alſo, a Pacha, who was acquainted with both theſe provinces, being aſked to which he gave the preference, replied, "Egypt, without doubt, is a moſt beautiful "farm, but Syria is a charming "country-houſe †."

Qualities of the Air.

I muſt not forget to ſpeak of the qualities of the air and waters. Theſe elements preſent in Syria very remarkable phænomena. On the mountains, and in all the elevated plain which ſtretches to the eaſtward, the air is light, pure, and dry; while on the coaſt, and eſpecially from Alexandretta to Yafa, it is moiſt and heavy; thus Syria is divided lengthways into two different diſtricts, ſeparated by the chain of mountains which alſo cauſe their diverſity; for theſe preventing, by their height, the free paſſage of the weſterly winds, force the vapours which they bring from the ſea to collect in the valleys; and as air is light only in proportion to its purity, theſe are unable to riſe above the ſummits of this rampart. The conſequence is, that the air of the deſert and the mountains, though ſufficiently wholeſome

* The ſituation of the country of Yemen and Tahama is very ſimilar to that of Syria. See M. Niebuhr *Voyage en Arabie*.

† To complete the Natural Hiſtory of Syria, it is proper to add that it produces all our domeſtic animals, and, beſides them, the buffalo and the camel, whoſe utility is ſo well known. We alſo find gazelles (antelopes) in the plains, which ſupply the place of our roebucks; in the mountains are numbers of wild-boars, not ſo large nor ſo fierce as ours. The ſtag and the deer are unknown there; the wolf and the real fox are very rare; but there is a prodigious quantity of the middle ſpecies, named *Shacal* (jackall) which in Syria is called *awawee*, in imitation of its howl; and in Egypt *dib*, or wolf. Theſe jackalls go in droves, and frequent the environs of the towns, where they feed on what carrion they can find. They never attack any body, but are always ready to ſave themſelves by flight. Every evening they ſeem to give each other the watch-word, to begin howling, and their cries, which are very doleful, ſometimes laſt a quarter of an hour. In unfrequented places there are alſo hyenas, in Arabic named *daba*, and ounces, improperly called tygers (in Arabic *nema*). Lebanon, the country of the Druzes, Nablous, Mount Carmel, and the environs of Alexandretta, are their principal haunts. But, in return, the country is exempt from lions and bears. Water fowl are very plentiful; land game is not ſo abundant, except in particular diſtricts. The hare and the large red partridge are the moſt common; rabbits, if there are any, are extremely ſcarce. The francolin, or attagen, is more numerous at Tripoli, and in the neighbourhood of Yafa. Nor ought we to omit obſerving that a ſpecies of the colibri (or humming-bird) ſtill exiſts in the territory of Saide. M. J. B. Adanſon, formerly interpreter in that city, who cultivates natural hiſtory with equal taſte and ſucceſs, met with one, which he made a preſent of to his brother the Academician. This and the pelican are the only remarkable birds in Syria.

for such as are in no danger of pulmonary complaints, is hurtful to those who are, and it is necessary to send such from Aleppo to Latakia or Saide. This good property of the air on the coast is, however, outweighed by more serious bad ones, and it may in general be pronounced unhealthy, as it causes intermittent and putrid fevers, and those defluxions of the eyes, of which I have spoken in treating of Egypt. The evening dews, and sleeping on the terraces, are found much less hurtful in the mountainous and interior parts of the country, as the distance from the sea is greater, which confirms what I have already observed upon that subject.

Qualities of the Waters.

The waters of this country have also a remarkable difference. In the mountains, that of the springs is light, and of a very good quality; but in the plain, whether to the east or west, if it has no natural or artificial communication with the springs, we find nothing but brackish water, which becomes still more so the nearer we approach the desert, where there is not a drop of any other. This inconvenience has rendered rain so precious to the inhabitants of the frontiers, that they have in all ages taken care to collect it in wells and caverns carefully closed: hence, among all ruins, cisterns are the first things we discover.

The face of the heavens, in Syria, particularly on the coast, and in the desert, is in general more constant and regular than in our climates; rarely is the sun obscured for two successive days. In the course of a whole summer we see few clouds, and still less rain; which only begins about the end of October, and then is neither long nor plentiful. The husbandmen wish for it to sow what they call their *winter* crop, that is, their wheat and barley *. In December and January, the rain becomes more frequent and heavier, and snow often falls in the higher country. It sometimes rains also in March and April; and the husbandman avails himself of it to sow his *summer* crop of sesamum, doura, tobacco, cotton, beans, and watermelons. The remainder of the year is uniform, and drought is more frequently complained of than too much wet.

Of the Winds.

The winds in Syria, as in Egypt, are in some degree periodical, and governed by the seasons. About

* The seed-time of the winter crop, called *Shetawia*, takes place, throughout Syria, only at the time of the autumnal rains, or toward the end of October. The time of reaping this crop varies according to the difference of situation. In Palestine, and in the Hauran, they reap their wheat and barley from the end of April through the whole month of May. But as we advance toward the north, or ascend the mountains, the harvest does not begin till June and July.

The seed-time of the summer crop, or *Saifia*, begins with the spring rains, that is, in March and April; and their harvest is in the months of September and October.

The time of vintage, in the mountains, is about the end of September; the silkworms hatch there in April and May, and begin to spin in July.

the autumnal equinox, the north-weſt winds begin to blow more frequently and ſtronger. It renders the air dry, clear, and ſharp; and it is remarkable that, on the ſea-coaſt, it cauſes the head-ach, like the north-eaſt wind in Egypt; and this more in the northern than in the ſouthern parts, but never in the mountains. We may further remark, that it uſually blows three days ſucceſſively, like the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt at the other equinox. It continues to prevail till November, that is, about fifty days, and its variations are generally toward the eaſt. Theſe winds are followed by the north-weſt, the weſt, and ſouth-weſt, which prevail from November to February. The two latter are, to uſe the expreſſion of the Arabs, *the fathers of the rains*. In March ariſe the pernicious winds from the ſouthern quarter, with the ſame circumſtances as in Egypt; but they become feebler as we advance toward the north, and are much more ſupportable in the mountains than in the flat country. Their duration, at each return, is uſually of four and twenty hours, or three days. The eaſterly winds, which follow, continue till June, when a north wind ſucceeds, with which veſſels may go and return along all the coaſt. At the ſame ſeaſon too, the wind varies through all the points, every day, paſſing with the ſun from the eaſt to the ſouth, and from the ſouth to the weſt, to return by the north, and recommence the ſame circuit. At this time alſo a local wind, called the land breeze, prevails along the coaſt, during the night; it ſprings up after ſun-ſet, laſts till ſun-riſing, and reaches only two or three leagues out at ſea.

The cauſes of all theſe phænomena are problems well deſerving the attention of natural philoſophers. No country is better adapted to obſervations of this kind than Syria. It ſeems as if nature had there prepared whatever is neceſſary to the ſtudy of her operations. We, in our foggy climates, in the depth of vaſt continents, are unable to purſue the great changes which happen in the atmoſphere: the confined horizon which bounds our view, circumſcribes alſo our ideas. The field of our obſervation is very limited; and a thouſand circumſtances combine to vary the effects of natural cauſes. There, on the contrary, an immenſe ſcene opens before us, and the great agents of nature are collected in a ſpace which renders it eaſy to watch their various operations. To the weſt is the vaſt liquid plain of the Mediterranean; to the eaſt the plain of the deſert, no leſs vaſt, but abſolutely dry; in the midſt of theſe two level ſurfaces, riſe the mountains, whoſe ſummits are ſo many obſervatories, from whence the ſight may diſcern full thirty leagues. Four obſervers might command the whole extent of Syria; and from the tops of Caſius, Lebanon, and Tabor, let nothing eſcape them within that boundleſs horizon. They might obſerve how the region of the ſea, at firſt unclouded, veils itſelf with vapours; in what manner theſe vapours form into groupes, and ſeparate, and by a conſtant mechaniſm, aſcend and riſe above the mountains; while, on the other hand, the deſert, invariably clear, never produces clouds, and has only thoſe it has received from the ſea. They might reply to the queſtion of M. Michaelis,

M. Michaelis *, "Whether the desert produces dews?" that the desert, containing no water, except in winter, after the rains, can only furnish vapours at that period. On viewing the valley of Balbek, burnt up with heat, whilst the head of Lebanon is hoary with ice and snow, they would be sensible of the truth of an axiom, which ought no longer to be disputed, *that the heat is greater in proportion as we approach the surface of the earth, and diminishes as we remove from it*; so that it seems to proceed only from the action of the rays of the sun upon the earth. In short, they might successfully attempt the solution of the greatest part of meteorological problems.

Some Account of the Productions and Peculiarities of the Marratta *Country.—From the* Asiatic Miscellany.

THE kinds of grain chiefly produced in this country are *jawâr bâjerâ* †, &c. Rice grows in the Kokun Province ‡, and is also brought from the Soobah of Khandaisse; it is sold for ten or twelve seer for a rupee, and wheat-flour, also, bears the same price. Grain is in general very dear, and there is but little trade in other commodities. Silk is brought hither from Bengal. Of linen manufactures there is abundance; but they are not to be compared with those of Bengal. Pearls are here a great article of merchandize; they are brought from Mocho and Judda. The fruits of the country are grapes, pomegranates, water-melons, mangoes, and pears.

Of manufactures, here are only some of white cloth, chintz, Burhaunpoor turbants, &c. but Europe goods, such as broad cloaths, &c. and silk, opium, and Bengal cloths, are imported hither from Bombay, and dispersed on all sides as far as Dehly.

Excellent horses ‖ are to be had here in great abundance, but the market price is high. In every province, and in every place dependent on the Marrattas, there are stables and herds § of horses; and in

* See the *questions* proposed by M. Michaelis to the travellers for the king of Denmark.

† These are different kinds of pulse.

‡ The Kokun rice is like that commonly used in Bengal, and is indeed generally sold at 12 or 13 seer for a rupee; but the Khandaisse rice, called in Hindostan *pattny chauvel*, which is the only species brought from that province, is generally used by the higher ranks of people, and is seldom at a lower price than 6 or 7 seer per rupee. It is a long and small grained rice, like that used for pillows by Mussulmen of high rank on the Coromandel coast.

‖ The horses most esteemed by the Marrattas are those bred on the banks of the river Bheema, which runs into the Krishtna, about thirty cos west of Bidder, in the province of Bhaulky. They are of a middling size and strong, but are, at the same time, a very handsome breed, generally of a dark bay with black legs, and are called, from the place which produces them, Bheemertedy horses. Some of them bear a price as high as 5000 rupees upon the market. Mares are commonly the dearest.

§ These herds are called, in the Marratta language, Jhundy, and are composed of the horses of several individuals, who send them to feed on the open plains as long

in moſt places there are herds the property of the Paiſhwah. The principal men alſo have all herds of horſes on their reſpective jageers, and inliſt horſemen, who ſerve on them in time of war, of whom the bodies of horſe called Bargeer are compoſed. Accompanied by theſe the chiefs offer their ſervices to government; and each of them has from a thouſand to two thouſand horſes of his own. In a word, ſtout men and good horſes are the chief boaſt of this country: beſides theſe it has little to ſhow but rocky hills and ſtony ground. The ſoil, indeed, in ſome places, is black, which creates an exceſſive quantity of mud in the rainy ſeaſon, and the roads at that time are rendered alſo in moſt parts impaſſable by the torrents that come down from the hills.

The city of Poonah has nothing extraordinary to recommend it: it is about three or four coſs in circuit; but there are no gardens to be ſeen here like thoſe of Bengal or Benares *, and the houſes of the principal people are like the houſes of Mahaujins.—Few of them have any extent either of building or of ground, and fewer ſtill are adorned with courts, parterres, rivulets, or fountains. The inhabitants are, nevertheleſs, moſt of them wealthy, and merchants, and the beſt part of the offices and employments are held by Brahmans.

As to beauty and complexion, the people of this country reſemble thoſe of Punjaub †; few are to be ſeen of a very dark colour. The women of all ranks, both rich and poor, go unveiled; and thoſe of diſtinction go in palankeens without curtains. The wives of ſoldiers ride about on horſeback. Curtain ſelling ‡ is very common in this country.

Many Brahmans || ſell their own daughters, and girls that they have brought up, for a great price.

long as they have no immediate occaſion for them. But thoſe that are the property of the Paiſhwah are called, as well as the places where they are kept, Paugah.

* There are, it ſeems, a few gardens to the eaſt and to the ſouth of Poonah. Among the latter, that of Mooroophernevees is the beſt; but even that has few or none of the ornaments here mentioned. On the north and weſt of the city runs a ſmall river called the Moolamootha, but it is full of rocks, and not navigable. Narrayen Row began to build a bridge over this river, which was intended to be open during the rains, and ſhut during the hot months, in order to preſerve the water for the uſe of the town; but he was killed before it was finiſhed, and it has not ſince been carried on. This idea was ſuggeſted by a dreadful ſeaſon of drought, which happened under his reign, during which a cudgeree pot of water was at one time ſold in Poonah for half a rupee. This exceſſive ſcarcity, however, did not continue above ten or fifteen days.

† From other accounts it ſhould appear, that the people of Punjaub are of a very different feature and make from the Marrattas; and that there are more people of a dark colour among the latter than would be underſtood from this deſcription of them.

‡ By this he means proſtitution.

|| A Maratta Brahman to whom this was read diſcovered great indignation at this aſſertion, and denied that they ever ſell their own daughters, or bring up girls for ſale, though he acknowledged it was not unuſual among the inferior caſts.

Other

Other casts *, besides Brahmans, bring up fowls in their houses, and eat the eggs; but the Brahmans eat neither flesh nor fish.

Cows are not allowed to be killed in any of the countries dependent on the Marrattas. Mussulmans are here but few in number, and the influence of Islam at a low ebb.—But idolatry flourishes, and here are idol temples in abundance.

* The fact is, that not only the Brahmans abstain from fish and flesh, but all the different divisions of the Vies, or Banian cast, are equally abstemious, while the Chettri and Sudder indulge in both.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

The following Experiments on the Culture of Turneps, *and a Receipt for preſerving the* Turnep Seed *from being deſtroyed by the* Fly, *is taken from a Letter of Mr.* Winter's, *of* Charlton, *near* Briſtol, *addreſſed to the Society inſtituted at* London *for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.—From Vol. 5th of the* Tranſactions *of that Society.*

"SIR,

"THE very numerous experiments I have repeatedly made, more particularly this ſummer, on turnep-ſeed, to prevent being deſtroyed by the fly, enables me to ſend you my firſt account and recipe, for the moſt effectual preſervation of that excellent vegetable.

My turneps have already been inſpected by many gentlemen in this neighbourhood: ſhould a member of your ſociety live near this place, he may examine my numerous experiments, which, if your ſociety will deem worthy their peruſal, will ſend you an account of the whole, with the particulars of my obſervations on each.

As I have been credibly informed, that turneps have this ſeaſon been ſowed three times on the ſame ground, as the ſeaſon is ſo far advanced, I think no time ſhould be loſt in ſerving the community.

Your anſwer by return of poſt, will be eſteemed a favour confered on

Sir,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
GEORGE WINTER.

Mr. MORE.

Charlton, near Briſtol,
July 7, 1786.

P. S. Steep turnep-ſeed, twenty-four hours or more, in ſufficient quantity of train oil. Take a fine ſieve, or linen bag, drain the oil from the ſeed, which mix with a quantity of good earth finely ſifted, immediately drill or ſow. When the plants begin to appear on the ſurface, let the ground be ſowed with ſoot, from eight to ſixteen buſhels per acre.

N. B. Linſeed, or other good vegetable oil, is equally as efficacious, and by draining the oil, a ſmall quantity will be effectual for a large quantity of ſeed—the remainder will ſerve for common uſe, ſuch as for harneſs, &c.

This mode is equally beneficial for every kind of grain, or ſeed ſown in the garden. Time will not permit me at preſent to ſtate my philoſophical reaſons on the ſubject."

"Experiments

"Experiments on early Dutch turnep-ſeed, ſowed on beds in my kitchen garden, in drills twelve inches diſtant, one inch and a half deep, on the 11th of May, 1786. Theſe beds had been manured with rotten dung, in 1785—After planted with cabbages.

Remarks made the 26th of June.

Stake
N° 1 Seed without any preparation—N° 4, or 4th beſt.
2 Ditto mixed with ſoot, 3d.
3 with barton draining, 4th.
4 out of dunghill, 2nd.
5 Stale human urine, very few plants appeared.
6 Lime and barton draining, none vegetate.
7 Soot and water, 2nd.
8 Soot and barton draining, 2nd.
9 Elder leaf juice, 3d.
10 Seed mixed with elder and barton draining, 2nd.
11 Ditto and ſoot ſowed over the covered drills, 3d.
12 Ditto and lime ſowed over ditto, 3d.
13 Ditto mixed with ſlaked lime, very few plants appeared.
14 Seed ſowed, ſcattered ſoot over, then covered, 3d.
15 Ditto ditto, ſlaked lime over ditto, very few plants appeared.
16 Elder buſh drawn over when the plants appeared, 4th.
Stake
N° 17 Seed ſteeped in train oil, flouriſhed extremely, 1ſt.
18 Ditto in linſeed oil, rather inferior.

The linſeed oil was taken out of a bottle that had contained oil of turpentine for painters uſe.

N. B. All the ſeeds were ſteeped ſix hours in the different compoſitions.

Experiments on turneps (green Norfolk) drilled one inch and a half deep, at one foot diſtance in the rows, on beds eight feet three inches long, and two feet wide—Weight of ſeed, half a drachm to each bed, mixed and ſteeped with ſundry articles as under, to endeavour to aſcertain the moſt effectual remedy for preventing the fly: drilled on unmanured ground, the 20th of June, 1786. Marked with ſtakes.

N° 1 Seed mixed with half an ounce of dry ſoot, then mixed with a pint of ſifted mould, and drilled.
2 Soaper's aſhes, ditto.
3 Wood aſhes, ditto.
4 Pounded gunpowder.
5 Brimſtone.
6 Slaked lime.
7 Seed ſteeped ſix hours in ſoot, and a quarter of an ounce of train oil, mixed with a pint of ſifted mould.
8 Seed ſteeped in ſoaper's aſhes, and ditto.
9 Wood aſhes.

N° 10

Stake

N° 10 Gunpowder pounded.
11 Brimſtone.
12 Slaked lime.
13 Seed ſteeped ſix hours in ſoot, and a quarter of an ounce of linſeed oil, mixed with a pint of ſifted mould.
14 Soaper's aſhes, and ditto.
15 Wood aſhes.
16 Gunpowder pounded.
17 Brimſtone.
18 Slaked lime.
19 Seed mixed with brimſtone, and ſaltpetre pounded, mixed with a pint of ſifted mould.
20 Seed ſteeped ſix hours with ditto, and a quarter of an ounce of linſeed oil, ditto.
21 Seed ſteeped ſix hours with ditto, ditto train oil ditto.
22 Seed ſteeped ſix hours with brimſtone, and barton draining, mixed with mould.
23 Ditto with linſeed oil.
24 Ditto with train oil.
25 Seed drilled in, and covered, after ſowed ſoot over the beds.
26 Soaper's aſhes.
27 Wood aſhes.
28 Slaked lime.
29 Seed ſteeped ſix hours in linſeed oil, mixed with mould, and covered, then ſowed ſoot over the beds.
30 Ditto in train oil, ditto, ditto.

July 17, 1786. Particularly examined all the beds.—None had entirely eſcaped the fly—The leaſt injury was done to N° 30, 29, 24, and 23, which grew ſo luxuriant, as to produce rough leaves ſeveral days prior to the moſt flouriſhing of any other number, and enabled them the ſooner and better to withſtand the fly's attack.—The linſeed oil was the ſame as that uſed in the firſt experiment—Its effects were inferior to train oil, which I muſt impute to the drying properties of the turpentine.—The leaves of the ſeeds ſteeped in oil were of a much darker green, and appeared twice as thick in bulk and luxuriancy, and the plants were a conſiderable deal larger than any of the other numbers—In point of luxuriancy, &c. they ſtand as under.

N° 33, 29: 1ſt beſt. Longeſt before, and leaſt touched with the fly, which in ſome degree impute to the ſoot's being ſcattered over the beds.

24, 23—2nd beſt.

3, 5, 11, 17, 22, 25, 26, 27—4th beſt.

7, 13, 19—5th beſt.

All the others far inferior to even N° 5."

Some Account of the Racine de Diſette, *or* Root of Scarcity, *of its Utility, and the Mode of treating it; from a Letter of* Thomas Boothby Parkyns, *Eſq. addreſſed to the Secretary of the above-mentioned* Society.—*From the ſame Work.*

"SIR,

"I HAVE this inſtant received Sir Richard Jebb's letter concerning the Racine de Diſette, and ſend in conſequence a parcel of the ſeed, which the ſociety will honour me by accepting.—I am obliged to ſend

ſend it to the warehouſe immediately, as the diligence by which it is to go, ſets off to Paris in a few hours—I have therefore no time to tranſlate, or tranſcribe, the full directions given by the perſon who introduced it firſt into this country for the cultivation of the Racine de Diſette; nor to deſcribe its various and profitable uſes. I ſhall content myſelf, as no time ought to be loſt, and that I may not let this opportunity ſlip, being now full late to ſow the ſeed, to ſay that the ſeed ſhould be ſown in the garden, or very good ground, in rows, or broadcaſt, and as ſoon as the plants are of the ſize of a gooſe-quill, to be tranſplanted in rows of eighteen inches diſtance, and eighteen inches apart, one plant from the other: care muſt be taken in the ſowing, to ſow very thin, and to cover the ſeed, which lays in the ground about a month, an inch only.—In tranſplanting, the root is not to be ſhortened, but the leaves cut at the top; the plant is then to be planted with a ſetting-ſtick, ſo that the upper part of the root ſhall appear about half an inch out of the ground; this laſt precaution is very neceſſary to be attended to. Theſe plants will ſtrike root in twenty-four hours, and a man a little accuſtomed to planting, will plant with eaſe one thouſand eight hundred, or two thouſand a day. In the ſeed-bed, the plants, like all others, muſt be kept clear of weeds: when they are planted out, after once hoeing, they will take care of themſelves, and ſuffocate every kind of weed near them.

The beſt time to ſow the ſeed is from the beginning of March to the middle of April; the cultivator, however, adviſes to continue ſowing every month until the beginning of July, to have a ſucceſſion of plants. The ſeed will get to England ſix weeks or two months too late; of courſe, the leaves will not produce ſo much green forage, nor will the roots be ſo large by five or ſix pounds weight as if they had been ſown at the proper ſeaſon.

I ſhall only add for the preſent, that both leaves and roots are moſt excellent both for man and beaſt. This plant is not liable, like the turnep, to be deſtroyed by inſects, for no inſect touches it, nor is it affected by exceſſive drought, or the changes of ſeaſons. Horned cattle, horſes, pigs, and poultry, are exceedingly fond of it, when cut ſmall. The leaves may be gathered every twelve or fifteen days; they are from thirty to forty inches long, by twenty-two to twenty-five inches broad. This exfoliation, which is properly explained by the cultivator, aſſiſts the encreaſe of the root inſtead of deſtroying it, as it does that of the beet-root, which it reſembles very much, both in the ſeed and leaves. This plant is excellent for milch cows, when given to them in proper proportions, as it adds much to the quality as well as quantity of their milk; but care muſt be taken to proportion the leaves with other green food, otherwiſe it would abate the milk, and fatten them too much, it is of ſo exceeding a fattening quality.

I have taken ſteps for my receiving in England any quantity of the ſeed I may want, a precaution very neceſſary, becauſe this plant, like the cabbage, muſt be planted in the ſpring, for ſeed; ſo that the plants of this year 1786, will not produce ſeed time enough for the year 1787.

I intend

I intend being in England the firſt or ſecond week in Auguſt, and ſhall be happy to communicate the full directions for the cultivation of this excellent plant, that will be full time enough for every purpoſe the ſociety can wiſh in the further culture of the Racine de Diſette.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
Mr. More. T. B. Parkyns.

Metz, May 13, 1786.

P. S. I intend ſending another parcel of this ſeed the firſt opportunity, for fear this may miſcarry. Sir R. Jebb will preſent the ſeed to the ſociety.

A Method of deſtroying Ants, Spiders, *and other* Inſects, *in* Hot-houſes *and* Pinerys; *from a Letter of Mr.* Ailway *to the Secretary of the Society.—From the ſame.*

An eaſy method of deſtroying the red ſpider, and other noxious inſects, in hot-houſes and pinerys, has long been conſidered as a very deſirable object both to gentlemen and gardeners, and various modes of fumigating ſuch places have been propoſed, and premiums paid by the ſociety for that purpoſe; particularly to Mr. Green, of her Majeſty's flower-garden at Kew, for his invention of a kind of bellows, contrived by him, and now much in requeſt, and commonly ſold in the ſhops, by which the fumes of burning tobacco, put into a cavity made in the nozzle of the bellows, are blown into the places infected.—The following letter from Mr. Ailway contains a method to obtain the ſame end—but it is hardly neceſſary to add, when the nature and properties of white ſublimate are conſidered, that the waſhing the frames and walls muſt be done with great care and caution.

Sir,

As the ſociety have ſufficiently expreſſed their deſire of finding a method of deſtroying the red ſpider, by having propoſed a premium for that purpoſe, I ſend them an account of an attempt to anſwer that end; made in the hot-houſe of Thomas Clutterbuck, jun. of Watford, Herts, Eſq.

Laſt ſummer, this houſe being much infeſted with the red ſpider, I prepared pieces of match, about ſix inches long, the pieces were moiſtened on the outſide with a tincture of aſſafœtida, in ſpirits of wine, and then rolled in a powder, equal parts of brimſtone and Scotch ſnuff; the gardener was directed to light the pieces, and by means of wires, or other contrivances, place them as near the ground as he could, and behind the frames, &c. at night, and then ſhut up the houſe cloſe. The event was, many were deſtroyed or diſappeared, and very little inconvenience was ſuffered from them the reſt of the year.

Some time laſt winter, I directed the walls of the houſe, frames, &c. to be well waſhed with the following: take ſublimate four ounces, and diſſolve it in two gallons of water. This hot-houſe was likewiſe greatly infeſted with ants, not much leſs troubleſome than the ſpider; neither ſpider nor ants have been ſeen in this houſe all this ſummer. If this method proves effectual, on farther trial, the ſocie-

ty's wiſhes will be gratified, I hope, to the utmoſt, as the remedy is cheap and eaſily applied.

This waſh may be uſed on old garden walls, and to the roots of trees infeſted with ants, if made weaker; the experiments I have made, prove that it will deſtroy the tender leaves of ſome plants, though not the roots: one pint and a half, poured four months ago on a ſtandard currant-tree, as near the ſtem as I could, has not effected either the leaves or tree itſelf, as far as I can perceive at this time. That this waſh will be effectual in the deſtruction of all inſects of a tender cuticle, and the ova of moſt others, I am myſelf perfectly convinced, and alſo that it will effectually deſtroy the ſpider; I recommend to every gentleman inclined to make the trial, to take care that it be applied with diligence into every crevice of the walls, frames, &c. with a painter's bruſh.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

Mr. More. JOHN AILWAY.

Curious Diſcovery of the ancient Grecian *Method of painting on* Wax, *by Miſs* Greenland.—*From the ſame Work.*

THE well-known diſadvantages that paintings in oil lie under, have rendered the diſcovery of ſome other vehicle an object of attentive enquiry among the learned; and diſſertations have been written on the ſubject, by various authors, as Count Caylus, Muntz, &c. &c.

Wax has been univerſally conſidered as the moſt likely ſubſtance to ſupply the place of the oil, and moſt of the writers have recommended the uniting it, with alkaline ſalts, into a kind of ſoap for that purpoſe; the impropriety of ſuch a meaſure is evident to any one, in the leaſt acquainted with the properties of thoſe ſalts.

The method made uſe of by Miſs Greenland provides againſt all thoſe inconveniences, and the brilliancy of the colours in the picture painted by her, and exhibited to the ſociety, fully juſtifies the opinion, that the art of painting in wax, as deſcribed in the following letter and account, highly merited the reward of a gold pallet, voted to Miſs Greenland on this occaſion.

Sir,

I was extremely fortunate, when at Florence the ſummer before laſt, in the acquaintance of an *Amateur* of painting, who procured me the ſatisfaction of ſeeing ſome paintings in the ancient Grecian ſtyle, executed by Signora Parenti, a profeſſor at that place, who received her inſtructions from a Jeſuit at Pavia, the perſon who made the fartheſt diſcoveries in that art. My friend, knowing I was fond of painting, very politely informed me what were the materials the paintreſs uſed, but could not tell me the proportions of the compoſition; however, from my anxiety to ſucceed in ſuch an acquiſition, I made various experiments, and at laſt obtained ſuch a ſufficient knowledge of the quantities of the different ingredients, as to begin and finiſh a picture, which I ſhall be happy to lay before the ſociety for their inſpection.

As I muſt ever conſider myſelf greatly indebted to the ſociety, for the many honours received from them;

them; ſhould you approve of the diſcovery being mentioned to the ſociety, and they think it worthy their attention, I ſhall be extremely happy in giving them a particular account of the manner in which I accompliſhed my undertaking.

I am, Sir,
Your much obliged
and obedient humble ſervant,
EMMA JANE GREENLAND.

Nov. 14, 1786.

Mr. MORE.

Take an ounce of white wax, and the ſame weight of gum maſtick in lachrymæ, that is, as it comes from the tree, which muſt be reduced to a coarſe powder. Put the wax in a glazed earthen veſſel, over a very ſlow fire, and when it is quite diſſolved, ſtrew in the maſtick, a little at a time, ſtirring the wax continually, until the whole quantity of gum is perfectly melted and incorporated; then throw the paſte into cold water, and when it is hard, take it out of the water, wipe it dry, and beat it in one of Mr. Wedgwood's mortars, obſerving to pound it at firſt in a linen cloth to abſorb ſome drops of water that will remain in the paſte, and would prevent the poſſibility of reducing it to a powder, which muſt be ſo fine as to paſs through a thick gauze. It ſhould be pounded in a cold place and but a little while at a time, as, after long beating, the friction will in a degree ſoften the wax and gum, and inſtead of their becoming a powder they will return to a paſte.

Make ſome ſtrong gum arabick water, and when you paint, take a little of the powder, ſome colour, and mix them together with the gum-water. Light colours require but a ſmall quantity of the powder, but more of it muſt be put in proportion to the body and darkneſs of the colours; and to black, there ſhould be almoſt as much of the powder as colour.

Having mixed the colours, and no more than can be uſed before they grow dry, paint with water, as is practiſed in painting with water-colours, a ground on the wood being firſt painted of ſome proper colour prepared in the ſame manner as is deſcribed for the picture; walnut-tree and oak are the ſorts of wood commonly made uſe of in Italy for this purpoſe. The painting ſhould be very highly finiſhed, otherwiſe, when varniſhed, the tints will not appear united.

When the painting is quite dry, with rather a hard bruſh, paſſing it one way, varniſh it with white wax, which is put into an earthen veſſel, and kept melted over a very ſlow fire till the picture is varniſhed, taking great care the wax does not boil. Afterwards hold the picture before a fire, near enough to melt the wax, but not make it run; and when the varniſh is entirely cold and hard, rub it gently with a linen cloth. Should the varniſh bliſter, warm the picture again very ſlowly, and the bubbles will ſubſide.

When the picture is dirty, it need only be waſhed with cold water.

Extract of a Letter from Bernard Romans, *of* Penſacola, *dated* Auguſt 20, 1773, *on an improved* Sea Compaſs. — *From* Tranſactions *of the* American *Philoſophical Society.*

THE common mariners compaſs has always appeared to

accurate obſervers as an imperfect inſtrument, but in nothing has it proved to be more defective than in its uſe in ſtorms; the heavieſt braſs compaſſes now in uſe are by no means to be relied on in a hollow or high ſea. This is owing to the box hanging in two braſs rings, confining it to only two motions, both vertical, and at right angles with each other, by which confinement of the box upon any ſuccuſſion, more eſpecially ſudden ones, the card is always put into too much agitation, and before it can well recover itſelf, another jerk again prevents its pointing to the pole, nor is it an extraordinary thing to ſee the card unſhipped by the violence of the ſhip's pitching.

All theſe inconveniences are remedied to the full by giving the box a vertical motion at every degree and minute of the circle, and to compound theſe motions with a horizontal one, of the box, as well as of the card. By this unconfined diſpoſition of the box the effects of the jerks on the card are avoided, and it will always very ſteadily point to the pole. Experience has taught me, that the card not only is not in the ſmalleſt degree affected by the hollow ſea, but even in all the violent ſhocks and whirlings the box can receive, the card lies as ſtill as if in a room, unaffected by the leaſt motion.

Lately a compaſs was invented and made in Holland, which has all theſe motions. It is of the ſize of the common braſs compaſſes; the bottom of the braſs box, inſtead of being like a bowl, muſt be raiſed into a hollow cone, like the bottom of a common glaſs bottle; the vertex of the cone muſt be raiſed ſo high as to leave but one inch between the card and the glaſs; the box muſt be of the ordinary depth, and a quantity of lead muſt be poured in the bottom of the box round the baſe of the cone, this ſecures it on the ſtyle whereon it traverſes.

This ſtyle is firmly fixed in the center of a ſquare wooden box, like the common compaſs, except that it requires a thicker bottom. The ſtyle muſt be of braſs about ſix inches long, round and of the thickneſs of one-third of an inch, its head blunt, like the head of a ſewing thimble, but of a good poliſh; the ſtyle muſt ſtand perpendicular, the inner vertex of the cone muſt alſo be well poliſhed; the vertical part of the cone ought to be thick enough to admit of a well poliſhed cavity ſufficient to admit a ſhort ſtyle proceeding from the center of the card whereon it traverſes. The compaſs I ſaw was ſo conſtructed; but I ſee no reaſon why the ſtyle might not proceed from the center of the vertex of the cone, and ſo be received by the card the common way. The needle muſt be a magnetic bar blunt at each end; the glaſs and cover is put on in the common way.

A compaſs of this kind was given by the captain of a Dutch man of war to Captain Burnaby of the Zephyr ſloop; this gentleman gave it to me to examine, and was very profuſe in his encomiums thereon, ſaying that in a very hard gale, which laſted ſome days, there was not a compaſs but it of any ſervice at all. Indeed to me it appears to deſerve all the praiſe he gave it. My ſtay is ſo ſhort here, as not to allow me time to have one made; but I intend to have one made for my own uſe, and ſhall offer it to the

the ſociety for inſpection. I hope that this uſeful inſtrument may become univerſal, as navigation certainly will be rendered more ſafe through its means; and I ſhall think myſelf highly honoured, if through the channel of this ſociety it becomes public.

Letter concerning Smoky Chimneys, *to his Excellency* Benjamin Franklin, *Eſq. LL. D. Preſident of the State of* Penſylvania, *and of the* American *Philoſophical Society, &c.—From the ſame Work.*

Philadelphia, January 12, 1786.

SIR,

THE ſubject of ſmoky chimneys, of which I had the honour of converſing with you at your own houſe laſt evening, is of ſo much importance to every individual, as well as to every private family, that too much light cannot be thrown upon it.

A ſmoky houſe and a ſcolding wife,
Are (ſaid to be) two of the greateſt ills in life.

And however difficult it may be to remedy one of thoſe ills, yet any advances we may be able to make towards removing the inconveniences ariſing from the other, cannot fail to be favourably received by the public. As they are ſhortly to be favoured with your ſentiments on that ſubject, poſſibly the following obſervations, which were in fact occaſioned by neceſſity, and are the reſult of my own experience, may not be altogether undeſerving of notice.

When I left London and went to live in Devonſhire, in the latter end of the year 1777, it happened to be my lot to dwell in an old manſion which had been recently modernized, and had undergone a thorough repair. But as in moſt of the old houſes in England the chimneys, which were perhaps originally built for the purpoſe of burning wood, though they had been contracted in front, ſince coal fires came into general uſe, to the modern ſize, yet they were ſtill above, out of ſight, extravagantly large. This method of building chimneys may perhaps have anſwered well enough while it was the cuſtom to ſit with the doors and windows open; but when the cuſtoms and manners of the people began to be more poliſhed and refined, when building and architecture were improved, and they began to conceive the idea of making their chambers cloſe, warm, and comfortable, theſe chimneys were found to ſmoke abominably, for want of a ſufficient ſupply of air. This was exactly the caſe with the houſe in which I firſt lived, near Exeter, and I was under the neceſſity of trying every expedient I could think of to make it habitable.

The firſt thing I tried, was that method of contracting the chimneys by means of earthen pots, much in uſe in England, which are made on purpoſe, and which are put upon the tops of them; but this method by no means anſwered. I then thought of contracting them below, but as the method of contracting them in front to the ſize of a ſmall coal-fire grate has an unſightly appearance, as it makes a diſagreeable blowing like a furnace, and as it is the occaſion of conſuming a great deal of unneceſſary fuel, the heat of which is immediately hur-

ried up the chimney, I rejected this method, and determined to contract them above, a little out of ſight. For this purpoſe, I threw an arch acroſs, and alſo drew them in at the ſides. This had ſome effect, but as this contraction was made rather ſuddenly, and the ſmoke, by ſtriking againſt the corners that were thereby occaſioned, was apt to recoil, by which means ſome part of it was thrown out into the room; I determined to make the contraction more gradually, and therefore run it up at the back, where the depth of the chimney would admit of it, and alſo ſhelving or ſloping in a conical kind of direction at the ſides, as high as a man, ſtanding upright, could conveniently reach, and by this means brought the cavity within the ſpace of about twelve by fourteen or ſixteen inches, which I found ſufficiently large to admit a boy to go up and down to ſweep the chimneys. This method I found to ſucceed perfectly well, as to curing the chimneys of ſmoking, and it had this good effect of making the rooms conſiderably warmer; and as this experiment ſucceeded ſo well, ſince the only uſe of a chimney is to convey away the ſmoke, I determined to carry it ſtill farther, in order to aſcertain with preciſion how much ſpace is abſolutely neceſſary for that purpoſe, becauſe all the reſt that is ſhut up muſt be ſo much gained in warmth. Accordingly I laid a piece of ſlate acroſs the remaining aperture, removable at pleaſure, ſo as to contract the ſpace above two thirds, leaving about three inches by twelve remaining open; but this ſpace, except when the fire burnt remarkably clear, was ſcarcely ſufficient to carry away the ſmoke. I therefore enlarged it to half the ſpace, that is, to about ſix by ſeven or eight inches, which I found fully ſufficient to carry away the ſmoke from the largeſt fires.

When I removed into the Bedford Circus in Exeter, though the houſe was modern, and almoſt perfectly new, yet the chimneys were large; in conſequence of which almoſt every room of it ſmoked. My predeceſſor, who was the firſt inhabitant, had been at great expence in patent ſtoves, &c. but without effect; but by adopting the method I have juſt now deſcribed, I not only cured every chimney of ſmoking, but my houſe was remarked for being one of the warmeſt and moſt comfortable to live in of any in that large and opulent city.

The houſe I now live in, in Philadelphia, I am told, has always had the character of being both cold and ſmoky; and I was convinced, as ſoon as I ſaw the rooms and examined the chimneys, that it deſerved that character; for tho' the rooms were cloſe, the chimneys were large: and we ſhall ever find, that if our chimneys are large, our rooms will be cold even though they ſhould be tolerably cloſe and tight; becauſe the conſtant ruſhing in of the cold air at the cracks and crevices, and alſo at every opening of the door, will be ſufficient to chill the air, as faſt as it is heated, or to force the heated air up the chimney; but by contracting the chimneys I have cured it of both theſe defects. There was one remarkable circumſtance attending the contraction of the chimney in the front parlour, which deſerves to be attended to; which was, that before I applied the caſt iron plate, which I made uſe of inſtead of ſlate, to diminiſh the ſpace requiſite for a chimney-

chimney-sweeper's boy to go up and down, the suction or draught of air was so great, that it was with difficulty I could shut the door of the room, insomuch that I at first thought it was owing to a tightness of the hinges, which I imagined must be remedied, but upon applying the iron plate, by which the space was diminished one half, the door shut to with the greatest ease. This extraordinary pressure of the air upon the door of the room, or suction of the chimney, I take to be owing in some measure to the unusual height of the house.

Upon the whole, therefore, this fact seems clearly ascertained, viz. That the flue or size of the chimney ought always to be proportioned to the tightness and closeness of the room; some air is undoubtedly necessary to be admitted into the room in order to carry up the smoke, otherwise, as you justly observed, we might as well expect smoke to arise out of an exhausted receiver; but if the flue is very large, and the room is tight, either the smoke will not ascend, the consequence of which will be, that the air of your room will be so frequently and so constantly changed, that as fast as it is heated it will be hurried away, with the smoke, up the chimney, and of course your room will be constantly cold.

One great advantage attending this method of curing smoky chimneys is, that, in the first place, it makes no awkward or unsightly appearance, nothing being to be seen but what is usual to chimneys in common; and in the second place, that it is attended with very little expence, a few bricks and mortar, with a plate or covering to the aperture, and a little labour, being all that is requisite. But in this new country, where crops of houses may be expected to rise almost as quick as fields of corn, when the principles upon which chimneys are erected ought to be thoroughly understood, it is to be hoped, that not only this expence, small as it is, but that all the other inconveniences we have been speaking of, will be avoided, by constructing the flues of the chimneys sufficiently small.

From your humble servant,

THOMAS RUSTON.

A Letter from the Reverend Jeremy Belknap, *on the preserving of* Parsnips *by drying.—From the same Work.*

Dover, New-Hampshire, March 5, 1784.

SIR,

AMONG the number of esculent roots, the parsnip has two singular good qualities. One is, that it will endure the severest frost, and may be taken out of the ground in the spring, as fresh and sweet as in autumn; the other is, that it may be preserved by drying, to any desired length of time.

The first of these advantages has been known for many years past; the people in the most northerly parts of New-England, where winter reigns with great severity, and the ground is often frozen to the depth of two or three feet for four months, leave their parsnips in the ground till it thaws in the spring, and think them much better preserved than in cellars.

The other advantage never occurred to me till this winter, when one of my neighbours put into my hands a substance which had the

appearance of a piece of buck's horn. This was part of a parſnip which had been drawn out of the ground laſt April, and had lain neglected in a dry cloſet for ten months. It was ſo hard as to require conſiderable ſtrength to force a knife through it croſs-wiſe; but being ſoaked in warm water, for about an hour, became tender, and was as ſweet to the taſte as if it had been freſh drawn from the ground.

As many uſeful diſcoveries owe their origin to accident, this may ſuggeſt a method of preſerving ſo pleaſant and wholeſome a vegetable for the uſe of ſeamen in long voyages, to prevent the ſcurvy and other diſorders incident to a ſea-faring life, which is often rendered tedious and diſtreſſing for want of vegetable food; ſince I am perſuaded that parſnips dried to ſuch a degree, as above related, and packed in tight caſks, may be tranſported round the globe, without any loſs of their flavour or diminution of their nutritive quality.

I am, Sir,
Your humble ſervant,
JEREMY BELKNAP.

Letter to Mr. Nairne, *of* London; *from Dr.* Franklin, *propoſing a ſlowly ſenſible* Hygrometer *for certain Purpoſes.—From the ſame.*

Paſſy, near Paris, Nov. 13th, 1780.

SIR,

THE qualities hitherto ſought in a hygrometer, or inſtrument to diſcover the degrees of moiſture and dryneſs in the air, ſeem to have been an aptitude to receive humidity readily from a moiſt air, and to part with it as readily to a dry air. Different ſubſtances have been found to poſſeſs more or leſs of this quality; but when we ſhall have found the ſubſtance that has it in the greateſt perfection, there will ſtill remain ſome uncertainty in the concluſions to be drawn from the degree ſhown by the inſtrument, ariſing from the actual ſtate of the inſtrument itſelf as to heat and cold. Thus, if two bottles or veſſels of glaſs or metal being filled, the one with cold and the other with hot water, are brought into a room, the moiſture of the air in the room will attach itſelf in quantities to the ſurface of the cold veſſel, while if you actually wet the ſurface of the hot veſſel, the moiſture will immediately quit it, and be abſorbed by the ſame air. And thus in a ſudden change of the air from cold to warm, the inſtrument remaining longer cold, may condenſe and abſorb more moiſture, and mark the air as having become more humid than it is in reality, and the contrary in a change from warm to cold.

But if ſuch a ſuddenly changing inſtrument could be freed from theſe imperfections, yet when the deſign is to diſcover the different degrees of humidity in the air of different countries, I apprehend the quick ſenſibility of the inſtrument to be rather a diſadvantage; ſince, to draw the deſired concluſion from it, a conſtant and frequent obſervation day and night in each country will be neceſſary for a year or years, and the mean of each different ſet of obſervations is to be found and determined. After all which, ſome uncertainty will remain reſpecting the different degrees of exactitude with which different perſons may have

have made and taken notes of their obſervations.

For theſe reaſons, I apprehend, that a ſubſtance which, though capable of being diſtended by moiſture and contracted by dryneſs, is ſo ſlow in receiving and parting with its humidity, that the frequent changes in the atmoſphere have not time to effect it ſenſibly, and which therefore ſhould gradually take nearly the medium of all thoſe changes and preſerve it conſtantly, would be the moſt proper ſubſtance of which to make ſuch an hygrometer.

Such an inſtrument, you, my dear ſir, though without intending it, have made for me; and I, without deſiring or expecting it, have received from you. It is therefore with propriety that I addreſs to you the following account of it; and the more, as you have both a head to contrive and a hand to execute the means of perfecting it. And I do this with greater pleaſure, as it affords me the opportunity of renewing that ancient correſpondence and acquaintance with you, which to me was always ſo pleaſing and ſo inſtructive.

You may poſſibly remember, that in or about the year 1758, you made for me a ſet of artificial magnets, ſix in number, each five and a half inches long, half an inch broad, and one eighth of an inch thick. Theſe, with two pieces of ſoft iron, which together equalled one of the magnets, were incloſed in a little box of mahogany wood, the grain of which ran with, and not acroſs, the length of the box; and the box was cloſed by a little ſhutter of the ſame wood, the grain of which ran acroſs the box; and the ends of this ſhutting piece were bevelled ſo as to fit and ſlide in a kind of dovetail groove when the box was to be ſhut or opened.

I had been of opinion that good mahogany wood was not affected by moiſture ſo as to change its dimenſions, and that it was always to be found as the tools of the workman left it. Indeed the difference at different times in the ſame country is ſo ſmall, as to be ſcarcely in a common way obſervable. Hence the box, which was made ſo as to allow ſufficient room for the magnets to ſlide out and in freely, and, when in, afforded them ſo much play, that by ſhaking the box one could make them ſtrike the oppoſite ſides alternately, continued in the ſame ſtate all the time I remained in England, which was four years, without any apparent alteration. I left England in Auguſt 1762, and arrived at Philadelphia in October the ſame year. In a few weeks after my arrival, being deſirous of ſhowing your magnets to a philoſophical friend, I found them ſo tight in the box, that it was with difficulty I got them out; and conſtantly during the two years I remained there, viz. till November 1764, this difficulty of getting them out and in continued. The little ſhutter too, as wood does not ſhrink lengthways of the grain, was found too long to enter its grooves, and not being uſed, was miſlaid and loſt; and I afterwards had another made that fitted.

In December 1764 I returned to England, and after ſome time I obſerved that my box was become full big enough for my magnets, and too wide for my new ſhutter; which was ſo much too ſhort for its grooves, that it was apt to fall out; and

and to make it keep in, I lengthened it by adding to each end a little coat of sealing-wax.'

I continued in England more than ten years, and during all that time, after the first change, I perceived no alteration. The magnets had the same freedom in their box, and the little shutter continued with the added sealing-wax to fit its grooves, till some weeks after my second return to America.

As I could not imagine any other cause for this change of dimensions in the box, when in the different countries, I concluded, first generally, that the air of England was moister than that of America; and this I supposed an effect of its being an island, where every wind that blew must necessarily pass over some sea before it arrived, and of course lick up some vapour. I afterwards indeed doubted whether it might be just only so far as related to the city of London, where I resided; because there are many causes of moisture in the city air, which do not exist to the same degree in the country; such as the brewers and dyers boiling caldrons, and the great number of pots and tea-kettles continually on the fire, sending forth abundance of vapour; and also the number of animals who by their breath continually increase it; to which may be added, that even the vast quantity of sea coals burnt there, do in kindling discharge a great deal of moisture.

When I was in England, the last time, you also made for me a little achromatic pocket telescope; the body was brass, and it had a round case (I think of thin wood) covered with shagrin. All the while I remained in England, though possibly there might be some small changes in the dimensions of this case, I neither perceived nor suspected any. There was always comfortable room for the telescope to slip in and out. But soon after I arrived in America, which was in May 1775, the case became too small for the instrument, it was with much difficulty and various contrivances that I got it out, and I could never after get it in again, during my stay there, which was eighteen months. I brought it with me to Europe, but left the case as useless, imagining that I should find the continental air of France as dry as that of Pensylvania, where my magnet-box had also returned a second time to its narrowness, and pinched the pieces, as heretofore, obliging me too to scrape the sealing-wax off the ends of the shutter.

I had not been long in France, before I was surprised to find, that my box was become as large as it had always been in England, the magnets entered and came out with the same freedom, and, when in, I could rattle them against its sides; this has continued to be the case without sensible variation. My habitation is out of Paris distant almost a league, so that the moist air of the city cannot be supposed to have much effect upon the box. I am on a high dry hill in a free air, as likely to be dry as any air in France. Whence it seems probable that the air of England in general may, as well as that of London, be moister than the air of America, since that of France is so, and in a part so distant from the sea.

The greater dryness of the air in America appears from some other observations.

obſervations. The cabinet-work formerly ſent us from London, which conſiſted in thin plates of fine wood glued upon fir, never would ſtand with us, the vaneering, as thoſe places are called, would get looſe and come off; both woods ſhrinking, and their grains often croſſing, they were for ever cracking and flying. And in my electrical experiments there, it was remarkable, that a mahogany table, on which my jars ſtood under the prime conductor to be charged, would often be ſo dry, particularly when the wind had been ſome time at north-weſt, which with us is a very drying wind, as to iſolate the jars, and prevent their being charged till I had formed a communication between their coatings and the earth. I had a like table in London, which I uſed for the ſame purpoſe all the time I reſided there; but it was never ſo dry as to refuſe conducting the electricity.

Now what I would beg leave to recommend to you is, that you would recollect, if you can, the ſpecies of mahogany of which you made my box, for you know there is a good deal of difference in woods that go under that name; or, if that cannot be, that you would take a number of pieces of the cloſeſt and fineſt grained mahogany that you can meet with, plane them to the thinneſs of about a line, and the width of about two inches acroſs the grain, and fix each of the pieces in ſome inſtrument that you can contrive, which will permit them to contract and dilate, and will ſhow, in ſenſible degrees, by a moveable hand upon a marked ſcale, the otherwiſe leſs ſenſible quantities of ſuch contraction and dilatation. If theſe inſtruments are all kept in the ſame place while making, and are graduated together while ſubject to the ſame degrees of moiſture or dryneſs, I apprehend you will have ſo many comparable hygrometers, which being ſent into different countries, and continued there for ſome time, will find and ſhow there the mean of the different dryneſs and moiſture of the air of thoſe countries, and that with much leſs trouble than by any hygrometer hitherto in uſe.

With great eſteem,

I am, dear Sir,

Your moſt obedient,

and moſt humble ſervant,

B. FRANKLIN.

Some Obſervations on ancient Inks, *with the Propoſal of a new Method of recovering the Legibility of decayed Writings. By* Charles Blagden, *M. D. Sec. R. S. and F. A. S. —From* Philoſophical Tranſactions *of the Royal Society of* London.

IN a converſation ſome time ago with my friend Thomas Aſtle, Eſq. F. R. S. and A. S. relative to the legibility of ancient MSS. a queſtion aroſe, whether the inks in uſe eight or ten centuries ago, and which are often found to have preſerved their colour remarkably well, were made of different materials from thoſe employed in later times, of which many are already become ſo pale as ſcarcely to be read. With a view to the deciſion of this queſtion, Mr. Aſtle obligingly furniſhed me with ſeveral MSS. on parchment and vellum, from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries inclusively; ſome of which were ſtill very black, and others of different ſhades of colour, from a deep yellowiſh

lowiſh brown to a very pale yellow, in ſome parts ſo faint as to be ſcarcely viſible. On all of theſe I made experiments with the chemical re-agents which appeared to me beſt adapted to the purpoſe; namely, alkalies both ſimple and phlogiſticated, the mineral acids, and infuſion of galls.

It would be tedious and ſuperfluous to enter into a detail of the particular experiments; as all of them, one inſtance only excepted, agreed in the general reſult, to ſhew, that the ink employed anciently, as far as the above-mentioned MSS. extended, was of the ſame nature as the preſent; for the letters turned of a reddiſh or yellowiſh brown with alkalies, became pale, and were at length obliterated, with the dilute mineral acids, and the drop of acid liquor which had extracted a letter, changed to a deep blue or green on the addition of a drop of phlogiſticated alkali; moreover, the letters acquired a deeper tinge with the infuſion of galls, in ſome caſes more, in others leſs. Hence it is evident, that one of the ingredients was iron, which there is no reaſon to doubt was joined with the vitriolic acid; and the colour of the more perfect MSS. which in ſome was a deep black, and in others a purpliſh black, together with the reſtitution of that colour, in thoſe which had loſt it, by the infuſion of galls, ſufficiently proved that another of the ingredients was aſtringent matter, which from hiſtory appears to have been that of galls. No trace of a black pigment of any ſort was diſcovered, the drop of acid, which had completely extracted a letter, appearing of an uniform pale ferrugineous colour, without an atom of black powder, or other extraneous matter, floating in it.

As to the greater durability of the more ancient inks, it ſeemed, from what occurred to me in theſe experiments, to depend very much on a better preparation of the material upon which the writing was made, namely, the parchment or vellum; the blackeſt letters being generally thoſe which had ſunk into it the deepeſt. Some degree of effervescence was commonly to be perceived when the acids came in contact with the ſurface of theſe old vellums. I was led, however, to ſuſpect, that the ancient inks contained a rather leſs proportion of iron than the more modern; for in general the tinge of colour, produced by the phlogiſticated alkali in the acid laid upon them, ſeemed leſs deep; which, however, might depend in part upon the length of time they had been kept: and perhaps more gum was uſed in them, or poſſibly they were waſhed over with ſome kind of varniſh, though not ſuch as gave any gloſs.

One of the ſpecimens ſent me by Mr. Aſtle proved very different from the reſt. It was ſaid to be a MS. of the fifteenth century; and the letters were thoſe of a full engroſſing hand, angular, without any *fine* ſtrokes, broad, and very black. On this none of the above-mentioned re-agents produced any conſiderable effect; moſt of them rather ſeemed to make the letters blacker, probably by cleaning the ſurface; and the acids, after having been rubbed ſtrongly upon the letters, did not ſtrike any deeper tinge with the phlogiſticated alkali. Nothing had a ſenſible effect toward obliterating theſe letters, but what took off part of the ſurface of the

the vellum; when ſmall rolls, as of a dirty matter, were to be perceived. It is therefore unqueſtionable, that no iron was uſed in this ink; and from its reſiſtance to the chemical ſolvents, as well as a certain clotted appearance in the letters when examined cloſely, and in ſome places a ſlight degree of gloſs, I have little doubt but they were formed with a compoſition of a black ſooty or carbonaceous powder and oil, probably ſomething like our preſent printers' ink, and am not without ſuſpicion that they were actually printed *.

Whilſt I was conſidering of the experiments to be made, in order to aſcertain the compoſition of ancient inks, it occurred to me, that perhaps one of the beſt methods of reſtoring legibility to decayed writing might be, to join phlogiſticated alkali with the remaining calx of iron; becauſe, as the quantity of precipitate formed by theſe two ſubſtances very much exceeds that of the iron alone, the bulk of colouring matter would thereby be greatly augmented. M. Bergman was of opinion, that the blue precipitate contains only between a fifth and a ſixth part of its weight of iron; and though ſubſequent experiments † tend to ſhew that, in ſome caſes at leaſt, the proportion of iron is much greater, yet upon the whole it is certainly true, that if the iron left by the ſtroke of a pen were joined to the colouring matter of phlogiſticated alkali, the quantity of Pruſſian blue thence reſulting would be much greater than the quantity of black matter originally contained in the ink depoſited by the pen; though perhaps the body of colour might not be equally augmented. To bring this idea to the teſt, I made a few experiments as follows.

The phlogiſticated alkali was rubbed upon the bare writing, in different quantities; but in general with little effect. In a few inſtances, however, it gave a bluiſh tinge to the letters, and increaſed their intenſity, probably where ſomething of an acid nature had contributed to the diminution of their colour.

Reflecting that when the phlogiſticated alkali forms its blue precipitate with iron, the metal is uſually firſt diſſolved in an acid, I was next induced to try the effect of adding a dilute mineral acid to writing, beſides the alkali. This anſwered fully to my expectations; the letters changing very ſpeedily to a deep blue colour, of great beauty and intenſity. It ſeems of little conſequence as to the ſtrength of colour obtained, whether the writing be firſt wetted with the acid, and then the phlogiſticated alkali be touched upon it, or whether the proceſs be inverted, beginning with the alkali; but on another account, I think, the latter way preferable. For the principal inconvenience which occurs in the propoſed method of reſtoring MSS. is, that the colour frequently ſpreads, and ſo much blots the parchment, as to detract greatly from the legibility; now this appears to happen in a leſs degree when the alkali is put on firſt, and

* A ſubſequent examination of a larger portion of this ſuppoſed MS. has ſhewn, that it is really part of a very ancient printed book.

† Crell. Beyträge, B. i. ſt. 1. p. 42, &c.

the

the dilute acid is added upon it. The method I have hitherto found to answer best has been, to spread the alkali thin with a feather over the traces of the letters, and then to touch it gently, as nearly upon or over the letters as can be done, with the diluted acid, by means of a feather, or a bit of stick cut to a blunt point. Though the alkali has occasioned no sensible change of colour, yet the moment that the acid comes upon it, every trace of a letter turns at once to a fine blue *, which soon acquires its full intensity, and is beyond comparison stronger than the colour of the original trace had been. If now the corner of a bit of blotting paper be carefully and dexterously applied near the letters, so as to suck up the superfluous liquor, the staining of the parchment may be in great measure avoided: for it is this superfluous liquor, which, absorbing part of the colouring matter from the letters, becomes a dye to whatever it touches. Care must be taken not to bring the blotting paper in contact with the letters, because the colouring matter is soft whilst wet, and may easily be rubbed off.

The acid I have chiefly employed has been the marine; but both the vitriolic and nitrous succeed very well. They should undoubtedly be so far diluted as not to be in danger of corroding the parchment, after which the degree of strength does not seem to be a matter of much nicety.

The method now commonly practised to restore old writings, is by wetting them with an infusion of galls in white wine †. This certainly has a great effect; but it is subject, in some degree, to the same inconvenience as the phlogisticated alkali, of staining the substance on which the writing was made. Perhaps if, instead of galls themselves, the peculiar acid or other matter which strikes the black with iron were separated from the simple astringent matter, for which purpose two different processes are given by Piepenbring ‡ and by Scheele ||, this inconvenience might be avoided. It is not improbable, likewise, that a phlogisticated alkali might be prepared, better suited to this object than the common; as by rendering it as free as possible from iron, diluting it to a certain degree,

* The *phlogisticated alkali* (which is to be considered simply as a name) appears to consist of a peculiar acid, in the present extensive acceptation of that term, joined to the alkali. Now the theory of the above-mentioned process I take to be, that the mineral acid, by its stronger attraction for the alkali, dislodges the colouring (Prussian) acid, which then immediately seizes on the calx of iron, and converts it into Prussian blue, without moving it from its place. But if the mineral acid be put upon the writing first, the calx of iron is partly dissolved and diffused by that liquor before the Prussian acid combines with it; whence the edges of the letters are rendered more indistinct, and the parchment is more tinged. The sudden evolution of so a fine colour, upon the mere traces of letters, affords an amusing spectacle.

† See a complicated process for the preparation of such a liquor in Cancparius, De Atramentis, p. 277.

‡ Crell. Annal. 1786, B. i. p. 51.

|| Kongl. Vetensk Acad. Nya Handlingar, tom. vii. p. 30. See also M. de Morveau's account of this substance in the Encyclopedie par ordre des matieres.

† or

or ſubſtituting the volatile alkali for the fixed. Experiment would moſt likely point out many other means of improving the proceſs deſcribed above; but in its preſent ſtate I hope it may be of ſome uſe, as it not only brings out a prodigious body of colour upon letters which were before ſo pale as to be almoſt inviſible, but has the further advantages over the infuſion of galls, that it produces its effect immediately, and can be confined to thoſe letters only for which ſuch aſſiſtance is wanted.

ANTIQUITIES.

The Copie of a notable L're written by the Duke of * Suff' *to his* † *Sonne giving hym therein very good Counſeil.—From Original Letters, written during the Reigns of* Henry VI. Edward IV. *and* Richard III. *by various Perſons of Rank or Conſequence.*

MY dere and only welbeloved Sone I beſeche oure Lord in Heven y^e maker of alle the world

The Copy of a notable Letter, written by the Duke of * Suffolk *to his* † *Son, giving him therein very good Counſel.—From Original Letters, written during the Reigns of* Henry VI. Edward IV. *and* Richard III. *by various Perſons of Rank or Conſequence.*

MY Dear and only wellbeloved Son, I beſeech our Lord in Heaven, the Maker of all the World,

The following Pedigree of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, the Son of the Writer of this Letter, is taken from a letter of John Paſton, Eſq. to his Couſin Margaret Paſton, dated Saturday, and written between 1460 and 1466, 1 and 6 of E. IV. having for the Paper Mark a Bull.

" Item, as for the Pedegre of ye ſeyd Dewk, he is Sone to Will'm Pool, " Dewk of Suff', Sone to Mychell Pool, Erl of Suff', Sone to Michel Pool, ye " firſt Erl of Suff' of the Poles, mad by Kyng Ric ſeth *(ſince)* my Fader was " born.

" And ye ſeyd furſt Mychell was Sone to on *(one)* Will'm Pool of Hull, " whech was a worſchepfull man grow be furtwne of y^e world, and he was " furſt a Murchant and aft' a Kenygth and aft' he was mad Banęret."

* William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, ſucceeded his Brother Michael, ſlain at the Battle of Agincourt, in 1415, as Earl of Suffolk; he was Prime Miniſter, and Favourite of Henry VI. and Queen Margaret; was created in 1443, 23 H. VI. Marquis, and in 1448, 26 H. VI. Duke of Suffolk. He was baniſhed by the King, at the inſtigation of the Commons, &c. and murdered on the Sea, on the 2d of May, 1450, 28 H. VI.

He married Alice, widow of Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Saliſbury, and Daughter and heir of Thomas Chaucer, Eſq. of Ewelme, in Oxfordſhire, and Grand-daughter of Geoffery Chaucer, the celebrated Poet.

† John de la Pole (after his Father's Murder) Duke of Suffolk, &c. He married Elizabeth, Daughter of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, and Siſter of Edward IV. He died in 1491, 7 H. VII. and was buried by his Father at Wingfield in Suffolk.

to bleſſe you and to ſende you eu' grace to love hym and to drede hym to y^e which as ferre as a Fader may charge his child I both charge you and prei you to ſette alle your ſpirites and wittes to do and to knowe his holy Lawes and Comaundments by the which ye ſhall w^t his grete m'cy paſſe alle y^e grete tempeſtes and troubles of y^is wrecched world, and y^t alſo wetyngly ye do no thyng for love nor drede of any erthely creature y^t ſhuld diſpleſe hym. And y^re as any Freelte maketh you to falle be ſecheth hys m'cy ſoone to calle you to hym agen w^t repentaunce ſatiſfaccõn and contricõn of youre herte never more in will to offende hym.

Secoundly next hym above alle erthely thyng to be trewe Liege man in hert in wille in thought in dede unto y^e Kyng oure alder moſt high and dredde Sou'eygne Lord, to whom bothe ye and I been ſo moche bounde too, Chargyng you as Fader can and may rather to die yan to be y^e contrarye or to knowe any thyng y^t were ayenſte ye * welfare or p'ſp'ite of his moſt riall p'ſone but y^t as ferre as youre body and lyf may ſtrecthe ye lyve and die to defende it. And to lete his Highneſſe have knowlache y^rof in alle y^e haſte ye can.

Thirdly in y^e ſame wyſe I charge you my Dere Sone alwey as ye be bounden by y^e com'aundement of God to do, to love to worſhepe youre Lady and Moder, and alſo y^t ye obey alwey hyr com'aundements and to beleve hyr councelles and adviſes in alle youre werks y^e

to bleſs you, and to ſend you ever grace to love him, and to dread him, to the which, as far as a Father may charge his child, I both charge you, and pray you to ſet all your ſpirits and wits to do, and to know his Holy Laws and Commandments, by the which ye ſhall, with his great mercy, paſs all the great tempeſts and troubles of this wretched world.

And that, alſo weetingly, ye do nothing for love nor dread of any earthly creature that ſhould diſpleaſe him. And there as [*whenever*] any Frailty maketh you to fall, beſeech his mercy ſoon to call you to him again with repentance, ſatisfaction, and contrition of your heart, never more in will to offend him.

Secondly, next him above all earthly things, to be true Liegeman in heart, in will, in thought, in deed, unto the King our alder moſt [*greateſt*] high and dread Sovereign Lord, to whom both ye and I be ſo much bound to; Charging you as Father can and may, rather to die than to be the contrary, or to know any thing that were againſt the * welfare or proſperity of his moſt Royal Perſon, but that as far as your body and life may ſtretch, ye live and die to defend it, and to let his Highneſs have knowledge thereof in all the haſte ye can.

Thirdly, in the ſame wiſe, I charge you, my dear Son, alway as ye be bounden by the Commandment of God to do, to love, to worſhip, your Lady and Mother; and alſo that ye obey alway her commandments, and to believe her counſels

* This very particular advice to his Son, ſhows his fears for the King's perſonal ſafety at this time.

which dredeth not but ſhall be beſt and treweſt to you. And yef any other body wold ſtere you to y^e contrarie to flee y^e councell in any wyſe for ye ſhall fynde it nought and evyll.

Forthermore as ferre as Fader may and can I charge you in any wyſe to flee y^e cōpany and councel of proude men, of coveitowſe men and of flateryng men the more eſpecially and myghtily to withſtonde hem and not to drawe ne to medle w^t hem w^t all youre myght and power. And to drawe to you and to your company good and v'tuowſe men and ſuch as ben of good conu'ſacon and of trouthe and be them ſhal ye nev' be deſeyved ner repente you off, moreover nev' follow youre owne witte in no wyſe, but in alle youre werkes of ſuche Folks as I write of above axeth youre adviſe and counſel and doyng thus w^t y^e m'cy of God ye ſhall do right well and lyue in right moche worſhip and grete herts reſt and eaſe. And I wyll be to you as good Lord and Fader as my hert can thynke. And laſt of alle as hertily and as lovyngly as ever Fader bleſſed his child in erthe I yeve you y^e bleſſyng of Oure Lord and of me, whiche of his infynite m'cy encrece you in alle vertu and good lyvyng. And y^t youre blood may by his grace from kynrede to kynrede multeplye in this erthe to hys ſ'viſe in ſuche wyſe as after y^e departyng fro this wreched world here ye and thei' may glorefye

and advices in all your works, the which dread not but ſhall be beſt and trueſt to you.

And if any other body would ſteer you to the contrary, to flee the counſel in any wiſe, for ye ſhall find it nought and evil.

Furthermore, as far as Father may and can, I charge you in any wiſe to flee the Company and Counſel of proud men, of covetous men, and of flattering men, the more eſpecially and mightily to withſtand them, and not to draw nor to meddle with them, with all your might and power; and to draw to you and to your company good and virtuous men, and ſuch as be of good converſation, and of truth, and by them ſhall ye never be deceived nor repent you of.

Moreover, never follow your own wit in no wiſe, but in all your works, of ſuch Folks as I write of above, aſk your advice and counſel, and doing thus, with the mercy of God, ye ſhall do right well, and live in right much worſhip, and great heart's reſt and eaſe.

And I will be to you as good Lord and Father as my heart can think.

And laſt of all, as heartily and as lovingly as ever Father bleſſed his child in earth, I give you the Bleſſing of our Lord and of me, which of his infinite mercy increaſe you in all virtue and good living; and that your Blood may by his grace from kindred to kindred multiply in this earth to his ſervice, in ſuch wiſe as after the departing

N. B. Thoſe words with dots over them are added, as in the Copy they were chafed and illegible.

hym

hym et'nally amongs his Aungelys in hevyn.

* Wreten of myn hand,
ye day of my dep'tyng fro this land.
Your trewe and lovyng Fader,
Suffolk.

11 ¾ by 8 ½.

Paper Mark.
Cap and Flower de Lys †.

from this wretched world here, ye and they, may glorify him eternally amongst his Angels in heaven.

* Written of mine hand,
The day of my departing fro this Land.
Your true and loving Father,
SUFFOLK.

April,
1450, 28 H. VI.

To the ryght Worchipfull John Paston *at* Norwich.—*From the same Work. Giving a particular Account of the Death of the Duke of* Suffolk.

RYGHT worchipfull Sr. I recomaunde me to yow and am right sory of that I shalle sey and have soo weshe this litel bille with sorwfulle terys that on ethes ye shalle reede it.

As on monday nexte after may day ther come tydyngs to London that on thorsday before the Duke of Suff' come unto the ‡ Costes of Kent full nere Dower with his ij

To the right worshipful John Paston, *at* Norwich.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you, and am right sorry of that I shall say, and have so washed this little bill with sorrowful tears, that uneths [*scarcely*] ye shall read it.

As on Monday next after May day *(4th May)* there came Tidings to London, that on Thursday before *(30th of April)*, the Duke of Suffolk came unto the ‡ Coasts of

* The concluding sentences are in rhime.

This affectionate Letter, strongly inculcating his Son's Duty to God, his Sovereign, and his Parents, gives him good and fatherly Counsel, as to his Company, his Conversation, and Transactions in life; tells him, that in following the advice it contains, he will prosper in the world; and then solemnly pronouncing a Blessing on him, it concludes with a Prayer for him and his Posterity.

May not this well-written Epistle alone entitle this Duke to a place amongst the Noble Authors of England?

This advice written so immediately upon his departure, and so short a time before his murder, must have made a deep impression on his Son's mind, and doubtless in that age the Letter was much admired, as even at this period of refined Literature, it may be called a good and an affecting Composition.

† This is the Mark on the paper, upon which the Copy of this Letter is written, and being of the same kind with that on the paper, which contains the account of the Duke's murder, shows that this copy was transcribed about the same time, and in some measure authenticates the truth of it.

The Apograph is copied from an Indenture, dated 19th of May, 1436, 14 H. VI. and signed by the Duke when Earl of Suffolk.

‡ Some of our Historians say that he put to Sea from the Coast of Norfolk.

Shepes and a litel Spynnr the qweche Spynnr he ſente with crteyn Lettrs to crteyn of his truſtid men unto Caleys warde to knowe howe he ſhuld be reſceyvyd and with hym mette a Shippe callyd * Nicolas of the Towre with other Shippis waytyng on hym and by hem that were in the Spyner the maiſter of the Nicolas hadde knowlich of the Dukes comyng and whanne he eſpyed the Dukes Shepis he ſent forthe his bote to wete what they were and the Duke hym ſelfe ſpakke to hem and ſeyd he was be the Kyngs comaundemēt ſent to Caleys warde, &c.

And they ſeyd he moſte ſpeke with here maſtr and ſoo he wt ij or iij of his men wente forth wyth hem yn here bote to the Nicolas and whanne he come the maſtr badde hym Welcom Traitor as mē ſey and forthr the maiſtr deſyryd to wete yf the Shepmen woldde holde with the Duke and they ſent word they wold not yn noo wyſe, and ſoo he was yn the Nicolas tyl Satrday next folwyng.

Soom ſey he wrotte moche thenke to be delyu'd to the Kynge but thet is not verily knowe, he hadde hes Confeſſor with hym, &c.

And ſome ſey he was arreyned yn the Sheppe on here manr upon the † appechementes and fonde gylty, &c.

Alſo he aſked the name of the Sheppe and whanne he knew it he remembred ‡ Stacy that ſeid if he myght eſchape the daungr of the Kent full near Dover with his two Ships and a little Spinner; the which Spinner he ſent with certain Letters, by certain of his truſted men unto Calais ward, to know how he ſhould be received; and with him met a Ship called * Nicholas of the Tower with other Ships waiting on him, and by them that were in the Spinner, the Maſter of the Nicholas had knowledge of the Duke's coming.

When he eſpied the Duke's Ships, he ſent forth his Boat to weet what they were, and the Duke himſelf ſpoke to them, and ſaid, he was by the King's Commandment ſent to Calais warde, &c. and they ſaid, he muſt ſpeak with their Maſter; and ſo he with two or three of his men went forth with them in their Boat to the Nicholas; and when he came, the Maſter bade him, Welcome Traitor, as men ſay.

And further the Maſter defired to wete if the Shipmen would hold with the Duke, and they ſent word they would not in no wiſe; and ſo he was in the Nicholas till Saturday *(2d May)* next following.

Some ſay he wrote much thing to be delivered to the King, but that is not verily known.

He had his Confeſſor with him, &c. and ſome ſay, he was arraigned in the Ship on their manner upon the † Impeachments and found guilty, &c.

Alſo he aſked the name of the Ship, and when he knew it, he remembered ‡ Stacy that ſaid, if he

Towr

* This Ship belonged to Briſtol in 1442, 20 H. VI. and was a great Ship with Fore-Stages, and carried 150 men.

† Impeachments by the Commons; this ſhows that theſe Ships were ſent out on purpoſe to take him, &c.

‡ Prophecies in theſe times were generally believed, and being always ambiguouſly expreſſed, had a greater chance of being ſometimes fulfilled.

King

Towr he ſhuld be ſaffe and thanne his herte faylyd hym for he thowght he was deſſeyvyd, and yn the ſyght of all his men he was drawyn ought of the grete Shippe yn to the Bote and there was an Exe and a ſtoke and oon of the lewdeſte of the Shippe badde hym ley down hys hedde and he ſhuld be fair ferd wyth and dye on a ſwerd and toke a ruſty ſwerd and ſmotte of his hedde withyn * halfe a doſeyn ſtrokes and toke awey his Gown of ruſſette and his Dobelette of velvet mayled, and leyde his body on the Sonds of Dover and ſome ſey his hedde was ſette oon a pole by it † and hes men ſette on the londe be grette circōſtᵘnce and preye and the Shreve of Kent doth weche the ‡ body and ſent his Underᵗ Shreve to the Juges to wete what to doo, and alſo to the Kenge whatte ſhalbe doo.

Forther I wotte notte but this fer is yᵗ yf the pˢ be erroneoˢ lete his concell reuᵗſe it, &c.

Alſo for alle yoᵘʳ otheʳ matᵗˢ they ſlepe and the ffreeʳ alſo, &c. Sʳ Thomas || Keriel is take pˢſonʳ and alle the legge harneyſe and abowte iij mᶜ Engliſhe men ſlayn.

Mathew § Gooth with xvᶜ fledde and ſavyd hym ſelffe and hem, and might eſcape the danger of the Tower he ſhould be ſafe, and then his heart failed him, for he thought he was deceived.

And in the ſight of all his men, he was drawn out of the great Ship into the Boat, and there was an Axe, and a Stock, and one of the lewdeſt [*meaneſt*] of the Ship bade him lay down his head, and he ſhould be fairly ferd [*dealt*] with, and die on a Sword; and took a ruſty Sword and ſmote off his head within * half a dozen ſtrokes, and took away his Gown of Ruſſet, and his Doublet of velvet mailed, and laid his Body on the Sands of Dover; and ſome ſay his Head was ſet on a pole by it; † and his men ſit an the land by great circumſtance [q. *by great numbers*] and pray.

And the Sheriff of Kent doth watch the ‡ body, and *(hath)* ſent his Underſheriff to the Judges to weet what to do; and alſo to the King *(to know)* what ſhall be done.

Further I wot not, but thus far is it, if the proceſs be erroneous let his Counſel reverſe it, &c.

Alſo for all the other matters, they ſleep and the Fryar alſo, &c. Sir Thomas || Keriel is taken Pri-

King Henry IV. from one of theſe ambiguous Prophecies, believed he was to die in Jeruſalem.

* A moſt cruel manner of putting him to death.

† May not this ſentence be thus read?
and his men [*were*] ſet on the land be [*together with*] great circumſtance [*wealth*] and prey [*booty*].

‡ His Body was taken from Dover Sands, and carried to the Collegiate Church of Wingfield, in Suffolk, where it lies interred under an Altar Tomb, in the Chancel, with his Effigies in Armour, painted, gilt, &c. carved in wood, lying on it. It is remarkably well executed, as is that of Alice his wife, likewiſe, which lies at his right hand.

|| He was taken Priſoner at the battle of Fourmigni, fought on the 18th of April, 1450, where he defended himſelf with great bravery. He was beheaded by Queen Margaret's order, after the ſecond battle of St. Alban's, in 1460.

Peris Brusy was Cheffe Capteyn and hadde x m^e frenshe men and more, &c.

I prey yow lete my mastras yo^r mode^r knowe these tydyngis and God have yow all yn his kepyn.

I prey yow this bille may recomaunde me to my Mastrases yo^r Mod^r and Wyfe, &c.

James Gresham hath wretyn to John of Dam and recomaundith him, &c.

Wretyn yn gret haste at Lond, the v day of May, &c.

by yowr Wyfe,

W. L.

12 by 8 ½.

Paper Mark.
Cap and Fleur de Lys.

soner and all the leg harness, and about 3000 Englishmen slain.

Matthew § Gooth [q. *Gough*] with 1500 fled, and saved himself and them. And Peris Brusy was chief Captain and had 10,000 Frenchmen and more, &c.

I pray you let my Mistress your Mother know these tidings, and God have you all in his keeping.

I pray you *(that)* this bill may recommend me to my Mistresses your Mother and wife, &c.

James Gresham hath written to John of Dam and recommendeth him, &c.

Written in great haste at London the 5th day of May, &c.

By your Wife,

WILLIAM LOMNER.

London,
Tuesday, 5th of May,
1450, 28 H. VI.

§ Query, if the brave Matthew Gough, who was afterwards slain in Cade's Rebellion, fighting on the Citizens' Part, in July 1450, at the battle of the bridge.

The conclusion of this Letter puzzled me for a long time; at first I thought that the word Wyfe might be read Neif or Servant, but the W was too much like all the others in the same Letter to warrant that reading.

I think it may be thus explained.

On looking over this Collection of Letters, I found some subscribed W L, and others Will^m Lomner in the same hand.

But then this difficulty occurred, how could W L or Will^m Lomner be the Wife of John Paston?

On examining some of the Letters of Margaret Paston to her husband, and which were subscribed "Be your Wife M P," I found them written in the same hand as those signed W L, and Will^m Lomner.

I guess, therefore, that, being used to write sometimes for his Mistress to her husband John Paston, he now in his hurry instead of concluding "By your Ser-"vant W L," as some of his Letters do, he wrote by mistake "By yowr Wyfe, "W L."

The family of Lomner had property both at Mannington and Wood Dalling, in Norfolk; at the latter Town his Son William built a castellated Mansion.

To

To my right worſhupfull Coſygne John Paſton *of* Norwyche *Squyer.*—*From the ſame Work, and on the ſame Subject with the preceding Letter.*

RIGHT worſhupfull Sr. I recomaunde me unto yow in the moſt goodly wyſe that y can, and forasmuche as ye deſired of me to ſende yow worde of dyurs matirs her' whiche been opened in the prliament openly, I ſende yow of theme ſuche as I can.

Firſt mooſt eſpi'all that for verray trowthe upon ſat'day that laſt was the Duke of * Suffolk was taken in the See, and there he was byheded and his body wt the apprtenaunce ſette at lande at Dover, and alle the Folks that he haad wt hym were ſette to lande, and haad noon harme.

Alſo the Kyng hath ſūwhat graanted to have the reſūpſion agayne in ſūme but nat in alle, &c.

Alſo yef ye purpoſe to come hydre to put up your † bylles, ye may come now in a good tyme, ffor now eury man that hath any they put theyme now inne, and ſo may ye yif ye come, wt Godds Grace to your pleaſur.

Ferthermore upon the iiijthe day of this monthe the Erle of ‡ Deveneſhire come hydre wt iijc men || wel byſeen, &c.

And upon the morrow aft' my Lord of § Warrewyke wt iiijc and moo, &c.

To my right worſhipful Couſin, John Paſton, *of* Norwich, *Eſquire.*

RIGHT worſhipful Sir, I recommend me unto you in the moſt goodly wiſe that I can; and for as much as ye deſired of me to ſend you word of divers matters here, which have been opened in the Parliament openly, I ſend you of them ſuch as I can.

Firſt moſt eſpecial, that for very truth upon Saturday that laſt was, the Duke of * Suffolk was taken in the Sea, and there he was beheaded, and his body with the appurtenance ſet at land at Dover; and all the Folks that he had with him were ſet to land, and had none harm, &c.

Alſo the King hath ſomewhat granted to have the reſumption again, in ſome but not in all, &c.

Alſo if ye purpoſe to come hither to put up your † bills, ye may come now in a good time, for now every man that hath any, they put them in, and ſo may ye if ye come, with God's Grace to your pleaſure.

Furthermore upon the 4th day of this Month, the Earl of ‡ Devonſhire came hither with 300 men || well beſeen, &c. and upon the morrow after, my Lord of § Warwick, with 400 and more, &c.

* This Account exactly agrees with that in the laſt Letter, as to the murder, &c. of the Duke of Suffolk.

† Here follows ſome advice relative to ſome private Bills of J. Paſton, to be preſented to the Parliament.

‡ Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonſhire, was taken at the battle of Towton, in 1461, and afterwards beheaded, by order of Edward IV. he having revolted from Edward to Henry VI.

|| A fine body of men well arrayed and accoutred.

§ Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, was killed in the battle of Barnet, in 1471, moſt furiouſly fighting againſt Edward IV.

Alſo as hyt ys noyſed here Calys ſhal be byſeged w^tynne this vij dayes, &c.

God ſave the Kyng and ſende us pees, &c.

Other tithyngs be ther noon here, but Almyghty God have yow in his kepyng.

Writen at Leyceſtr the vj day of May.

Your Coſigne,
* John Crane.

11 by 5 ½.

Paper Mark.
Croſs, &c.

Alſo as it is noiſed here, Calais ſhall be beſieged within this ſeven days, &c.

God ſave the King, and ſend us peace, &c.

Other tidings be there none here, but Almighty God have you in his keeping.

Written at Leiceſter, the 6th day of May.

Your Couſin,
* JOHN CRANE.

Leiceſter,
Wedneſday, 6th of May,
1450, 28 H. VI.

Some Obſervations on the Two preceding Letters to the worſhipful John Paſton, *Eſquire, at* Norwich.

THE Murder of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, is, by our Hiſtorians, variouſly related; ſome informing us, in general terms, that it was committed by the contrivance of the Party then in oppoſition to the Queen; others, that it was done by order of the Party then in the Duke of York's Intereſt; and others, that a Captain Nicholas, of a Ship belonging to the Tower, or a Captain of a Ship called the Nicholas, met him on the Sea, and there took and murdered him; but whether in conſequence of being employed for that purpoſe, or on his own authority, does not ſufficiently appear.

A Short Sketch of the Proceedings of the Parliament, and of the Duke of Suffolk's ſituation previous to his leaving the Kingdom, are neceſſary to the clearly underſtanding of the following account.

Upon the Meeting of the Parliament at Weſtminſter, in November 1449, the Commons preſented to the Lords ſeveral Articles of Impeachment againſt the Duke of Suffolk. The Queen, fearing the conſequences of theſe, perſuaded the King to ſend the Duke to the Tower, hoping by this ſtep to ſatisfy the Commons.

After this, by her addreſs, the Parliament was adjourned to Leiceſter, to meet in April 1450, where the Duke, being releaſed from his impriſonment, appeared, with the King and Queen, as Prime Miniſter.

This Proceeding extremely offending the Commons, they preſented a Petition to the King, pray-

* The Cranes were a good family, flouriſhing at this time in the Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; and the writer of this Letter belonged to the Court.

The Seal on this Letter is defaced, but it has a neat braid of twine round it.

ing that all, who had been concerned in the delivery of Normandy to the French, might be punished.

The Queen's Fears were now renewed, and she prevailed upon the King instantly to banish the Duke for five years, which he did; and the Duke very soon embarked with an intention of going to France, where his Friend the Duke of Somerset was Regent.

From the plain State of this historical Fact, delivered down to us in these Letters, the following observations are deduced, first premising that, in 1447, the Duke of Suffolk, in conjunction with the Queen and her Ministry, had been one of the principal Agents in the Murder of the Duke of Gloucester; an Event which, in all human probability, was the immediate occasion of the Duke of York's Thoughts of asserting his Claim to the Crown, a Claim, in which he could have had little hopes of success during the life of a Prince, the Uncle of the reigning King, and the Brother and Son of the two preceding Sovereigns.

A Prince likewise well beloved by the People, and endowed with abilities which would have adorned a Throne.

The Duke of York at this time most certainly had a personal hatred to the Duke of Suffolk, as by him he had been not long before dismissed from the Regency of France, and was very lately sent into Ireland, to quell a Rebellion with a Force inadequate to the purpose.

The Duke of Suffolk's undoubted attachment to the House of Lancaster, must be, at all times, a great impediment to the taking of many necessary steps by the York Party, towards carrying this meditated Claim into execution; the having him therefore put to Death, must be a very desirable circumstance to the Duke of York and his Friends.

The Arrival of the Earls of Devonshire and Warwick, at this critical time at Leicester, with such large Retinues of Men "well by-"seen," furnishes very sufficient reasons for thinking, that the Murder of the Duke of Suffolk was a premeditated scheme; and that these Noblemen came, thus attended, to prevent any proceedings which might have been adopted by the Queen and her Party, on their knowledge of this Event being accomplished; for these two Noblemen could not arrive at Leicester in consequence of the Murder, as it was impossible for them to know of it, to get their men together, and to enter Leicester, the one on the 4th, the other on the 5th of May, the account of it not arriving in London till the 4th; they therefore most probably came in consequence of their previous knowledge of the plan that was laid, to wait the event of it, and to act as circumstances might require.

The sentence of Banishment seems to have been almost instantaneous; this method therefore of taking him off, must have been as instantaneously resolved upon, by those of the Party then near the Court; for though the People in general, and the Commons, hated the Duke, it no where appears, that he was thus taken off by any generally concerted plan for that purpose, but by a Party; and as these two Noblemen, both at that time professed Friends to the Duke of York, arrived thus critically

critically with ſuch numerous Attendants ſo well arrayed and accoutred, it gives the greateſt reaſon to ſuſpect that it was by their Party.

What Captain of a Ship that had met the Duke on the Sea, unleſs his Ship had been ſent out on purpoſe to take him, could have known what had paſſed at Leiceſter, otherwiſe than from the Duke's own people in the Spinner, and from that account only would have dared to take and murder him?

This Force too, the Nicholas, with the other Ships waiting on him, was certainly much ſuperior to the Duke's two Ships and one little Spinner; otherwiſe, how can we account for his own Shipmen not holding with him; for however lowly fallen in the public eſteem, a Nobleman, of his conſequence and poſſeſſions, muſt have ſtill had faithful Adherents enough to have defended him, and to have accompanied him to France, unleſs they found that reſiſtance in their ſituation to ſuch ſuperior force (a force ſent out on purpoſe to take him) could be of no ſervice, but would moſt probably have haſtened his fate.

The Words "God ſave the Kyng, "and ſende us pees," ſeem to inſinuate a ſuſpicion of the King's perſonal ſafety at this time, and a fear that the diſturbances which then overſpread the land, might be productive of civil wars; for the Prayer for Peace being coupled with that for the King's ſafety, plainly refers to the diſturbances at home, and not to thoſe in France.

From theſe, and all other circumſtances, therefore, as ſtated in the two preceding Letters, it may be juſtly concluded, that the York Party not only contrived, but perpetrated the Murder of this Nobleman; who thus fell a terrible Example, that Blood requires Blood; and had it been the only, inſtead of the firſt blood, ſpilt by the Yorkiſts, happy had it been for England, who would not then have had to lament thoſe Deluges of it, which ſoon after flowed, in the dreadful Civil Conteſts between the two Houſes of York and Lancaſter.

The following Letter preſents to us a certain and curious Account of the Commons of Kent, *when aſſembled at* Blackheath *under* Cade, *in* 1450, *and was written by* J. Payn*, *who was taken by them, carried about with them, and threatened to have been beheaded, &c.—It truly ſhews to us the Violence and Barbarity of a Body of Men, collected chiefly from the meaneſt of the People, combined together for the pretended Purpoſe of Reformation; but really for the Deſtruction of all good Order and legal Government.—From the ſame Work.*

* J. Payn had been formerly a Servant to Sir John Faſtolf, of ſome conſequence, and was now a Petitioner for ſome relief, on account of his loſſes and misfortunes, while a Priſoner, &c. with the Rebels, from John Paſton, one of the Executors of Sir John Faſtolf's Will.

To

To my ryght honūrabyll Maiſter John Paſton.

RYGHT honurabyll and my ryght enterly belovyd Maiſter I recomaunde me un to yow w^t all maner of due reu^rence in the moſte louly wyſe as me ought to do eu^rmor deſyryng to here of yo^r worſhipfull ſtate proſp'ite and welfar the whech I beſeke God of his aboundant gr'ce encrece and mayntene to his moſte pleſaunce and to yo^r hartis deſyre.

Pleaſyth it yo^r gode and gracios maiſterſhipp tendyrly to conſedir the grete loſſes and hurts y^t yo^r por peticioner haeth and haeth jhad evyrſeth the Comons of Kent come to the Blakheth and y^t is at xv yer paſſed wher'as my Maiſt' Syr John * Faſtolf knyght y^t is youre Teſtat^r com'andyt yo^r beſecher to take a man and ij of the beſte orſſe y^t wer in his ſtabyll w^t hym to ryde to the Comens of Kent to gete the Articles y^t they come for. and ſo I dyd and alſo ſone as I come to the Blakheth the † Capteyn made the Comens to take me and for the ſavacion of my Maiſt's horſe I made my fellowe to ryde a wey w^t the ij horſes and I was brought forth w^t befor the Capteyn of Kent and the Capteyn demaund^t me what was my cauſe of comyng thedyr and why y^t I made my fellowe to ſtele a wey w^t he horſe and I ſeyd y^t I come thedyr to cher' w^t my wyves brethren and other y^t wer' my alys and Goſſippes of myn y^t wer' p'ſent ther' and yan was y^r oone y^r and ſeid to the Capteyn y^t I was one of S^r. John Faſtolfes men and

To my right honourable Maſter, John Paſton.

RIGHT honourable and my right entirely beloved Maſter, I recommend me unto you, with all manner of due reverence in the moſt lowly wiſe as me ought to do, evermore deſiring to hear of your worſhipful ſtate, proſperity, and welfare; the which I beſeek [*beſeech*] God, of his abundant grace, increaſe and maintain to his moſt pleaſance, and to your heart's deſire.

Pleaſeth it, your good and gracious Maſterſhip, tenderly to conſider the great loſſes and hurts that your poor Petitioner hath, and hath had, ever ſince the Commons of Kent came to the Blackheath, and that is at 15 years paſſed; whereas my Maſter Sir John * Faſtolf, knight, that is, your Teſtator, commanded your Beſeecher to take a man, and two of the beſt horſes that were in his ſtable, with him to ride to the Commons of Kent, to get the Articles that they come for; and ſo I did; and all ſo ſoon as I came to the Blackheath, the † Captain made the Commons to take me; and for the ſavation [*ſaving*] of my Maſter's horſes I made my Fellow to ride away with the two horſes; and I was brought forthwith before the Captain of Kent; and the Captain demanded *(of)* me, what was my cauſe of coming thither, and why that I made my Fellow to ſteal away with the horſes; and I ſaid, that I came thither to cheer with my wife's brethren, and others that were mine Allies, and Goſſips of mine, that

* He died on the 6th of November, St. Leonard's Day, in 1459, aged 80 years and upwards.

† Jack Cade, an Iriſhman; he called himſelf John Mortimer, of the Houſe of Marche, he was likewiſe ſtyled Captain Mend-all.

the

the ij horſe wer' S^r. John Falſtolfes and then the Capteyn lete cry treſon upon me thorought ought all the felde and brought me at iiij p'tes of the feld w^t a Harrawd of the Duke of * Exett^r before me in the Dukes Cote of Armes makyng iiij Oyes at iiij p'tes of the feld p'claymyng opynly by the ſeid Harrawd y^t I was ſent thedyr for to aſpy yeyre puſaunce and theyre Abyllyments of werr fro the grettyſt Tray't^r y^t was in Yngelond or in Fraunce as y^e ſeyd Capteyn made p'claymacion at y^t tyme fro oone S^r. John Faſtolf knyght the whech mynnyſshyd all the Garriſons of Norm^undy and Manns and Mayn the whech was the cauſe of the leſyng of all the Kyng's tytyll and ryght of an herytñce y^t he had by yonde ſee and morovyr he ſeid y^t the ſeid S^r. John Faſtolf had furnyſshed his plaſe with the olde Sawdyors of Norm^undy and Abyllymēts of werr to deſtroy the Comens of Kent whan y^t they come to Southewerk and y^rfor he ſeyd playnly y^t I ſhulde leſe my hede and ſo furthew^t I was taken and led to the Capteyns Tent and j ax and j blok was brought forth to have ſmetyn of myn hede and yan my Maiſt' † Ponyngs yo^t brodyr w^t other of my Frendes come and lettyd y^e Capteyn and ſeyd pleynly y^t y^r ſhulde dye a C or ij y^t in caſe be y^t I dyed and ſo by y^t meane my lyf was

were preſent there; and then was there one there, and [*who*] ſaid to the Captain, that I was one of Sir John Faſtolf's men, and the two horſes were Sir John Faſtolf's; and then the Captain, let cry Treaſon upon me throughout all the field, and brought me at four parts of the field, with a Herald of the Duke of * Exeter before me, in the Duke's Coat of Arms, making four Oyez at four parts of the field; proclaiming openly by the ſaid Herald, that I was ſent thither for to eſpy their puiſſance, and their habiliments of war, from the greateſt Traitor that was in England or in France, as the ſaid Captain made proclamation at that time, from one Sir John Faſtolf knight, the which miniſhed [*diminiſhed*] all the Garriſons of Normandy, and Mams, and Mayn, the which was the cauſe of the loſing of all the King's title and right of an heritance, that he had beyond ſea. And moreover, he ſaid, that the ſaid Sir John Faſtolf had furniſhed his Place with the old Soldiers of Normandy and habiliments of war, to deſtroy the Commons of Kent, when that they came to Southwark, and therefore he ſaid plainly that I ſhould loſe my head; and ſo forthwith I was taken, and led to the Captain's Tent, and one axe and one block was brought forth to have ſmitten off mine head; and then my Maſter † Poynyngs

* It cannot be ſuppoſed that the Duke of Exeter, a faithful Lancaſtrian, took any part in this Commotion, but it is probable his Herald might be forced into the ſervice of the Rebels.

Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter, though he married Anne, Siſter of Edward IV. always adhered to the Houſe of Lancaſter, and after the battle of Barnet, in 1471, took Sanctuary at Weſtminſter; whence he privately eſcaped abroad, where he lived in great poverty and diſtreſs. It is ſaid that his dead body was found in 1474, on the ſea ſhore, on the Coaſt of Kent.

† Robert Poynyngs married Elizabeth, the Siſter of J. Paſton, and was Sword Bearer and Carver to Cade.

ſavyd

ſavyd at yt tyme and yan I was ſworen to the Capteyn and to the Comens yt I ſhulde go to Southewerk and aray me in the beſt wyſe yt I coude and come ageyn to hem to helpe hem and ſo I gote tharticles and brought hem to my Maiſt' and yt coſt me mor' emongs ye Comens yt day yan xxvij S.

Wherupon I come to my Maiſt' Faſtolf and brought hym tharticles and enforme[d] hym of all the mat' and counſeyled hym to put a wey all his Abyllyments of werr and the olde Sawdiors and ſo he dyd and went hymſelf to the Tour and all his meyny wt hym but Betts and j Mathew Brayn and had not I ben the Comens wolde have brennyd his plaſe and all his ten'uryes wherthorough it coſte me of my noune p'pr godes at yt tyme mor than vj m'rks in mate and drynke and nought wtſtondyng the Capteyn yt ſame tyme lete take me atte Whyte Harte in Suthewerk and yr comandyt Lovelaſe to diſpoyle me oute of myn aray and ſo he dyd and yr he toke a fyn Gowne of Muſt' dewyllrs furryd wt fyn beurs and j peyr of * Bregandyrns kevrt wt blew fellewet and gylt naile wt legharneyſe, the vallew of the gown and the Bregardyns viij li.

Itm the Capteyn ſent certeyn of his meyny to my Chamber in yor rents and yr breke up my Cheſt and toke a wey j Obligacion of myn yt was due unto me of xxxvj li. by a p'ſt of Poules and j nother Obligacion of j knyght of xli and my purſe wt v ryngs of golde and xvijs vjd of golde and ſylvr and j herneyſe complete of the touche of † Milleyn and j gowne of fyn perſe blewe furryd

your brother, with other of my Friends came, and letted [*prevented*] the Captain, and ſaid plainly, that there ſhould die an hundred or two, that in caſe be that I died; and ſo by that mean my life was ſaved at that time.

And then I was ſworn to the Captain, and to the Commons, that I ſhould go to Southwark, and array me in the beſt wiſe that I could, and come again to them to help them; and ſo I got the Articles, and brought them to my Maſter, and that coſt me more amongſt the Commons that day than 27s.

Whereupon I came to my Maſter Faſtolf, and brought him the Articles, and informed him of all the matter, and counſelled him to put away all his habiliments of war, and the old Soldiers, and ſo he did, and went himſelf to the Tower, and all his meny [*family*] with him, but Betts and one Matthew Brayn; and had not I been, the Commons would have brenned [*burnt*] his Place, and all his Tenuries; where though it coſt me of my own proper goods at that time more than ſix marks [4*l.*] in meat and drink, and [*yet*] notwithſtanding the Captain that ſame time, let take me at the White Hart in Southwark, and there commanded Lovelace to deſpoil me out of mine array, and ſo he did; and there he took a fine gown of Muſter' devillers furred with fine beavers, and one pair of * Brigandines covered with blue velvet and gilt nails, with leg-harneſs; the value of the Gown and the Brigandines 8*l.*

Item, the Captain ſent certain of his meny to my Chamber in your

* A Coat of Mail, conſiſting of many jointed and ſcale-like Plates, &c.
† Milan, a City in Italy, famous for its works in iron and ſteel, &c.

ryd

ryd wt Mart'ns and ij Gounes one furryd wt bogey and j nother lyned wt ffryse and yr wolde have smetyn of myn hede wh'n yt they had dyspoyled me atte White Harte and yr my Maist' Ponyngs and my Frends savyd me and so I was put up tyll at nyght yt the ‡ bat'yle was at London Brygge and yan attenyght the Capteyn put me oute into the batayle atte brygge and yr I was won'dyt and hurte nere hand to deth, and yr I was vj oures in the batayle and myght nevyr come oute yrof and iiij tymes befor' yt tyme I was caryed abought thorought Kent and Sousex and yr they wolde have smetyn of my hede and in Kent yt as my wyfe dwellyd they toke awey all oure godes mevabyll yt we had and yr wolde have hongyd my wyfe and v of my chyldern and lefte her no mor' gode but her kyrtyll and her smcok and a none aftyr yt Hurlyng the Byshop § Rosse apechyd me to the Quene and so I was arestyd by the Quenes com'aundent in to the Marchalsy and yr was in rygt grete durasse and fer' of myn lyf and was thretenyd to have ben hongyd drwē and qu'r't'yd and so wolde have made me to have pechyd my Maist' Fastolf of || Treson and by cause yt I wolde not yey had me up to Westm' and yr wolde have sent me to the Gole

rents, and there *(they)* broke up my Chest, and took away one Obligation of mine, that was due unto me of 36*l.* by a Priest of Paul's, and one other Obligation, of one knight of 10*l.* and my purse with five Rings of gold, and 17*s.* 6*d.* of gold and silver; and one harness complete of the touch of † Milan; and one Gown of fine Perse blue, furred with Martens; and two Gowns, one furred with Bogey, [*Budge*,] and one other lined with frieze; and there would have smitten off mine head, when that they had despoiled me at *(the)* White Hart; and there my Master Poynyngs, and my Friends saved me; and so I was put up, till at night that the ‡ Battle was at London Bridge; and then at night the Captain put me out into the battle at the Bridge, and there I was wounded, and hurt near hand to death; and there I was six hours in the battle, and might never come out thereof; and four times before that time, I was carried about throughout Kent and Suffex, and there they would have smitten off my head; and in Kent there as [*where*] my Wife dwelled, they took away all our Goods moveable that we had; and there would have hanged my Wife, and five of my Children, and left her no more goods but her Kir-

‡ The battle at the Bridge was fought, according to our Historians, on the 8th of July, 1450; but on a paper, amongst this collection of Letters, marked with the Bull's Head and Star, and on which are recorded several Events of the reign of Henry VI. is the following Note.

"Jak Cade, proditor de Kent fugit de le Blakheth xxij die Junij Anno "28 H. VI.—Julij mense decapitat' fuit."

If therefore Cade fled from Blackheath on the 22d of June, the battle at the Bridge must have been fought then, and not in July.

§ John Lowe, a learned Divine.

|| Why this attempt was made upon him to accuse his Master Sir John Fastolf of Treason I cannot conceive, unless it was, because Sir John left his House, &c. in Southwark, and retired to the Tower, instead of resisting and attacking the Rebels.

houſe at Wyndſor' but my wyves and j Coſeyn of myn noune yt wer' yomen of ye Croune yey went to the Kyng and gote graſe and j Chartyr of p'don.

Per le v're,

J. Payn.

11 ½ by 16 ½.

Paper Mark.
YHS ſurrounded with a radiated Star of 16 Points.

tle and her Smock; and anon after that Hurling [*Commotion*], the Biſhop of § Rocheſter impeached me to the Queen, and ſo I was arreſted by the Queen's commandment into the Marſhalſea, and there was in right great dureſs, and fear of mine life, and was threatened to have been hanged, drawn, and quartered; and ſo *(they)* would have made me have impeached my Maſter Faſtolf of || Treaſon, and becauſe that I would not, they had me up to Weſtminſter, and there would have ſent me to the Gaol Houſe at Windſor, but my Wife's, and one Couſin of mine own, that were Yeomen of the Crown, they went to the King, and got grace and one Charter of Pardon.

Per le votre,
J. PAYN.

June and July
1450, 28 H. VI.
but written
1465, 5 E. IV.

A Letter, containing a moſt curious and authentic Account of the Marriage of Charles the Bold, *Duke of* Burgundy, *with* Margaret, *Daughter of* Richard Plantagenet, *Duke of* York, *and Siſter of* Edward IV. *and of the ſubſequent Diverſions exhibited at* Bruges *in Honour of it, written by* John Paſton, *an Eye-Witneſs, who, with his Brother Sir* John Paſton, *Knight, attended in the Retinue of the Princeſs.—From Vol. II. of the ſame Work.*

To my ryght reu'end and worchepfull Modyr Margaret Paſton *dwellyng at* Caſter *be thys delyu'yd in haſt.*

RYTH reu'end and worchepfull Modyr I recom'and me on to you as humbylly as I can thynk deſyryng moſt hertly to her of your welfare and herts eſe whyche I pray God ſend yow as haſtyly as eny hert can thynk Ples yt yow to wete yt at the makyng of thys byll

To my right reverend and worſhipful Mother, Margaret Paſton, *dwelling at* Caſter, *be this delivered in haſte.*

RIGHT reverend and worſhipful Mother, I recommend me unto you as humbly as I can think, deſiring moſt heartily to hear of your welfare and heart's eaſe, which I pray God ſend you as haſtily as any heart can think.

Pleaſe it you to weet, that at the

my

my brodyr and I and all our felawſhep wer in good helle blyſſyd be God As for the gydyng her in thys contre it is as worchepfull as all the world can devyſe it and ther wer neu' englyſhe men had ſo good cher owt of Inglong that eu' I herd of.

As for tydyngs her but if it be of the feſt I can non ſend yow ſavyng y^t my Lady † Margaret was maryd on Sonday laſt paſt at a towne y^t is callyd the Dame iij myle owt of ‡ Brugys at v of the clok in the mornȳg and ſche was browt the ſame day to Bruggys to hyr dener and ther ſche was receyvyd as worchepfully as all the world cowd devyſe as w^t preſeſſion w^t Ladys and Lordys beſt beſeyn of eny pepyll that ever I ſye or herd of many Pagentys wer pleyed in hyr wey in Bryggys to hyr wel comyng the beſt y^t eu' I ſye And the ſame Sonday my Lord the || Baſtard took upon hym to anſwere xxiiij knyts and Gentylmen w^t in viij dayes at Joſtys of peſe and when y^t they wer anſweryd they xxiiij and hym ſelve ſchold torney w^t othyr xxv the next day aftyr whyche is on monday next comȳg and they that have joſtyd w^t hym into thys day have ben as rychely beſeyn and hymſelve alſo as clothe of gold and ſylk and ſylvyr and goldſmyths werk myght mak hem for of ſyche ger and gold and perle and ſtanys they of the Dwkys coort neythyr Gentylmen nor Gentylwomen they want non for w^t owt y^t they have it by wyſhys

making of this bill, my Brother, and I, and all our Fellowſhip, were in good heele [*health*], bleſſed be God.

As for the Guiding here in this Country, it is as worſhipful as all the world can deviſe, and there were never Engliſhmen had ſo good cheer out of England, that ever I heard of.

As for Tidings here, but if [*unleſs*] it be of the Feaſt, I can none ſend you; ſaving, that my Lady † Margaret was married on Sunday laſt paſt at a Town that is called The Dame, three miles out of ‡ Bruges, at five of the clock in the morning; and ſhe was brought the ſame day to Bruges to her dinner; and there ſhe was received as worſhipfully as all the world could deſire; as with proceſſion with Ladies, and Lords, beſt beſeen of any people, that ever I ſaw or heard of. Many Pageants were played in her way in Bruges to her welcoming, the beſt that ever I ſaw; and the ſame day my Lord, the || Baſtard, took upon him to anſwer 24 Knights and Gentlemen, within 8 days at Juſts of Peace; and when that they were anſwered, they 24 and himſelf ſhould turney with other 25 the next day after, which is on Monday next coming; and they that have juſted with him into this day, have been as richly beſeen, and himſelf alſo, as cloth of Gold, and Silk, and Silver, and Goldſmiths work, might make them; for of ſuch Gear, and Gold, and Pearl, and

† Margaret Plantagenet, Siſter of Edward IV. according to this Account, was married on Sunday the 3d of July, 1468, 8 E. IV.

‡ A City and Port Town in Flanders.

|| Anthony, Count de la Roche, called the Baſtard of Burgundy, was a natural Son of Duke Philip the Good, by Johanna of Prulles, famous for his wit, courage, and polite accompliſhments. He was born in 1421, and died in 1504.

by

by my trowthe I herd nevyr of ſo gret plente as ther is.

Thys day my Lord * Scalys juſtyd w^t a Lord of thys contre but not w^t the Baſtard for they mad promyſe at London that non of them bothe ſhold never dele w^t othyr in armys but the Baſtard was on' of the Lords y^t browt the Lord Scalys in to the feld and of mysfortwne an horſe ſtrake my Lord Baſtard on the lege and hathe hurt hym ſo ſore that I can thynk he ſhalbe of no power to acomplyſhe up hys armys and that is gret pete for by my trowthe I trow God mad neu' a mor worchepfull knyt. And as for the Dwkys coort as of Lords Ladys and Gentylwomen Knyts Sqwyers and Gentylmen I hert neu' of non lyek to it ſave Kyng Artourys cort and by my trowthe I have no wyt nor remẽbrans to wryte to yow half the worchep that is her but y^t lakyth as it comyth to mynd I ſhall tell yow when I come home whyche I tryſt to God ſhal not belong to for we depart owt of Brygys homward on twyſday next comyng and all folk y^t cam w^t my Lady of Burgoyn owt of Inglond except ſyche as ſhall abyd her ſtyll w^t hyr whyche I wot well ſhall be but fewe. We depart the ſoner for the † Dwk hathe word that the ‡ frenſhe Kyng is

Stones, they of the Duke's Court, neither Gentlemen nor Gentlewomen, they want none; for without [*unleſs*] that they have it by wiſhes, by my truth, I heard never of ſo great plenty as here is.

This day my Lord * Scales juſted with a Lord of this country, but not with the Baſtard; for they made *(a)* promiſe at London, that none of them both ſhould never deal with other in arms; but the Baſtard was one of the Lords, that brought the Lord Scales into the field; and of misfortune an horſe ſtruck my Lord Baſtard on the leg, and hath hurt him ſo ſore, that I can think he ſhall be of no power to accompliſh up his arms; and that is great pity, for by my truth I trow [*think*] God made never a more worſhipful Knight.

And as for the Duke's Court, as of Lords, Ladies and Gentlewomen, Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen, I heard never of none like to it, ſave King Arthur's Court. And by my truth, I have no wit nor remembrance to write to you, half the worſhip that is here; but what lacketh, as it cometh to mind I ſhall tell you, when I come home, which I truſt to God ſhall not be long tofore. We depart out of Bruges homeward on Tueſday next p'poſyd

* Anthony Widville, or Woodville, Lord Scales, &c. and afterwards Earl Rivers, Son of Sir Richard Widville, by Jaqueline of Luxemburgh, Ducheſs Dowager of Bedford, and Brother of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV. was born about 1441, and became the moſt diſtinguiſhed Warrior, Stateſman, and moſt learned Gentleman, of his time. In the 7 Edward IV. he challenged and vanquiſhed the Baſtard of Burgundy in a grand and ſolemn Juſt in Smithfield; at which time the promiſe mentioned in this Letter was made. This accompliſhed Nobleman was beheaded at Pomfret, in June 1483, by the command of the Protector, Richard, Duke of Glouceſter.

† Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, was born in 1433, and was ſlain in battle, near Nancy, in Lorrain, in 1477.

‡ Charles VII. It is worthy of Remark how cautious the Writers of theſe

p'posyd to mak wer upon hym hastyly and that he is w'in iiij or v dayis jorney of Brugys and the Dwk rydyth on twysday next comyng forward to met w^t hym God geve hym good sped and all hys for by my trowthe they are the goodlyest felawshep the eu' I cam among and best can behave them and most lyek Gentylmen.

Othyr tydyngs have we non her but that the Dwke of || Som'set and all hys bands depertyd welbeseyn owt of Brugys a day befor that my Lady the Dwches cam thedyr and they sey her that he is to Qwen Margaret y^t was and shal no mor come her ayen nor be holpyn by the Dwk.

No mor but I beseche yow of you^r blyssyng as lowly as I can whyche I beseche yow forget not to geve me eu' day onys And Modyr I beseche yow y^t ye wolbe good mastras to my lytyll man and to se y^t he go to scole I sent my cosyn Dawbeney v^s by Callys man for to bye for hym syche ger as he nedyth and modyr I pray yow thys byll may recomend me to my Sustyrs bothe and to y^e Mastyr my cosyn Dawbeney Syr Jamys S^r John Stylle and to pray hym to be good Mastyr to lytyll § Jak and to lerne hym well and I pray yow y^t thys byll

coming, and all Folk that came with my lady of Burgoyn [*Burgundy*] out of England, except such as shall abide here still with her, which I wot [*know*] well shall be but few.

We depart the sooner, for the † Duke hath word that the ‡ French King is purposed to make war upon him hastily, and that he is within four or five days journey of Bruges, and the Duke rideth, on Tuesday next coming, forward to meet with him; God give him good speed, and all his; for by my truth they are the goodliest Fellowship that ever I came amongst, and best can behave them, and most like Gentlemen.

Other Tidings have we none here, but that the Duke of || Somerset, and all his Bands departed well beseen out of Bruges a day before that my Lady the Duchess came thither, and they say here, that he is to Queen Margaret that was, and shall no more come here again, nor be holpen by the Duke.

No more, but I beseech you of your blessing as lowly as I can, which I beseech you forget not to give me every day once; and, Mother, I beseech you that ye will be good mistress to my little man, and to see that he go to school.

times were not to give the title of King of France to the Ruler of that Kingdom, but to style him the French King. In this place, (and I have observed it in others) the word "King" (intending to go on with, of France) was written without consideration, and then, on observing it, immediately crossed out, and "Frenshe Kyng" put in its place.

|| Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, an Adherent to Henry VI. and his Queen Margaret, commanded at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471; which being lost, he fled to Sanctuary, whence he was taken and beheaded.

§ This Little John, whose school Education, J. Paston seems so anxious about, must have been born before 1464, and most probably died under age, if he was his Son, as Sir William Paston, Knight, who as some pedigrees state was born in 1464, stands in the Pedigree as heir to his Father; but I rather think that J. Paston had not been married at this time, and that this "lytyll man" was not his son.

may

may recomand me to all your folkys and my wellwyllers.

And I pray God ſend yow your herts deſyr.

Wretyn at Bruggys the fryday next aftyr Seynt * Thom's

Yor. Sone and humbyll Servñt,

J. Paſton, ye ponger.

12 by 11 ½.

Paper Mark,
A Catharine Wheel.

I ſent my Couſin Dawbeney 5s by Calle's man, for to buy for him ſuch gear as he needeth: and, Mother, I pray you this bill may recommend me to my Siſters both, and to the Maſter, my Couſin Dawbeney, Sir James, Sir John Stylle, and to pray him to be good Maſter to little § Jack, and to learn him well; and I pray you that this bill may recommend me to all your Folks, and to my Well Willers; and I pray God ſend you your heart's deſire.

Written at Bruges the Friday next after Saint * Thomas.

Your Son and humble Servant,
J. PASTON, the Younger.

Bruges,
Friday, 8th of July,
1468, 8 E. IV.

Curious Specimen of the Celebration of Marriages at Court in the Beginning of the Reign of James the Firſt, *extracted from a Letter from Sir* Dudley Carlton *to Mr.* Winwood.—*From the Gentleman's Magazine for* February 1787.

London, January, 1604.

"ON St. John's day we had the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Suſan performed at Whitehall, with all the honour could be done a great favourite. The court was great, and for that day put on the beſt bravery. The prince and duke of Holſt led the bride to the church; the queen followed her from thence. The King gave her, and ſhe, in her treſſes and trinkets, brided and bridled it ſo handſomely, and indeed became herſelf ſo well, that the king ſaid, if he were unmarried he would not give her, but keep her himſelf. The marriage-dinner was kept in the great chamber, where the prince and the duke of Holſt and the great lords and ladies accompanied the bride. The ambaſſador of Venice was the only bidden gueſt of ſtrangers, and he had place above the duke of Holſt, which the duke took not well. But after dinner he was as little pleaſed himſelf; for, being brought into the cloſet to retire himſelf, he was there ſuffered to walk out his ſupper unthought-of. At night there was a maſk in the hall, which, for conceit and faſhion,

* This muſt mean either the 3d or 7th day of July, the one being the Tranſlation of St. Thomas the Apoſtle, the other of St. Thomas à Becket. I believe it means the latter.

was ſuitable to the occaſion. The actors were, the Earl of Pembrook, the Lord Willoby, Sir Samuel Hays, Sir Thomas Germain, Sir Robert Cary, Sir John Lee, Sir Richard Preſton, and Sir Thomas Bager. There was no ſmall loſs that night of chains and jewels, and many great ladies were made ſhorter by the ſkirts, and were well enough ſerved that they could keep cut no better. The preſents of plate, and other things given by the noblemen, were valued at 2500 l.; but that which made it a good marriage was a gift of the King's, of 500 l. land for the bride's joynture. They were lodged in the council chamber, where the King, in his ſhirt and night-gown, gave them a *reveille matin* before they were up, and ſpent a good time in or upon the bed, chuſe which you will believe. No ceremony was omitted of bride cakes, points, garters, and gloves, which have been ever ſince the livery of the court; and at night there was ſewing into the ſheet, caſting off the bride's left hoſe, with many other pretty ſorceries.

New year's day paſt without any ſolemnity, and the exorbitant gifts that were wont to be uſed at that time are ſo far laid by, that the accuſtomed preſents of the purſe and gold was hard to be had without aſking.

The next day the king plaid in the preſence, and, as good or ill luck ſeldom comes alone, the bridegroom, that threw for the king, had the good fortune to win 1000 l. which he had for his pains."

On the Dreſs and Ornaments of the antient Mexicans.—*From the Hiſtory of* Mexico, *tranſlated from the* Italian *of* Saverio Clavigero, *by Mr.* Cullen.

"THE Mexicans were leſs ſingular in their dreſs than in their food. Their uſual habit was quite ſimple, conſiſting ſolely of the *maxtlatl* and *tilmatli* in the men, and of the *cueitl*, and the *huepilli*, in the women. The maxtlatl was a large belt or girdle, the two ends of which hung down before and behind to cover the parts of ſhame. The *tilmatli* was a ſquare mantle, about four feet long; the two ends were tied upon the breaſt, or upon one ſhoulder, as appears in our figures. The *cueitl*, or Mexican gown, was alſo a piece of ſquare cloth, in which the women wrapped themſelves from their waiſts down to the middle of the leg. The *huepilli* was a little under veſt, or waiſtcoat, without ſleeves.

The dreſs of the poor people was made of the thread of the maguei, or mountain palm, or at beſt the cloth of coarſe cotton; but thoſe of better ſtation wore the fineſt cotton, embelliſhed with various colours, and figures of animals, or flowers, or wove with feathers, or the fine hair of the rabbit, and adorned with various little figures of gold and looſe locks of cotton hanging about the girdle or *maxtlatl*. The men uſed to wear two or three mantles, and the women three or four veſts, and as many gowns, putting the longeſt undermoſt, ſo as that a part of each of them might be ſeen. The lords wore in winter waiſtcoats of cotton, interwoven with ſoft feathers, or the hair of the rabbit. Women of rank wore, beſides the huepilli, an upper veſt, ſomething

ſomething like the ſurplice or gown of our eccleſiaſtics, but larger and with longer ſleeves.

Their ſhoes were nothing but ſoles of leather, or coarſe cloth of the maguei, tied with ſtrings, and only covered the under part of the foot. The kings and lords adorned the ſtrings with rich ribbands of gold and jewels.

All the Mexicans wore their hair long, and were diſhonoured by being ſhaved, or having it clipped, except the virgins conſecrated to the ſervice of the temples. The women wore it looſe, the men tied in different forms, and adorned their heads with fine plumes, both when they danced and when they went to war.

It would be difficult to find a nation which accompanied ſo much ſimplicity of dreſs, with ſo much vanity and luxury in other ornaments of their perſons. Beſides feathers and jewels, with which they uſed to adorn their cloaths, they wore ear-rings, pendants at the under-lip, and many likewiſe at their noſes, necklaces, bracelets for the hands and arms, and alſo certain rings like collars about their legs. The ear-rings and pendants of the poor were ſhells, pieces of cryſtal, amber, or ſome ſhining little ſtone; but the rich wore pearls, emeralds, amethyſts, or other gems, ſet in gold."

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Various Particulars relative to the Religion of the Mexicans.—*From the Hiſtory of* Mexico, *by* Abbè D. F. S. Clavigero, *tranſlated from the Original* Italian *by* C. Cullen, *Eſq.*

Firſt, concerning their different Religious Orders.

"AMONGST the different orders or congregations both of men and women, who dedicated themſelves to the worſhip of ſome particular gods, that of * Quetzalcoatl is worthy to be mentioned. The life led in the colleges or monaſteries of either ſex, which were devoted to this imaginary god, was uncommonly rigid and auſtere. The dreſs of the order was extremely decent; they bathed regularly at midnight, and watched until about two hours before day, ſinging hymns to their god, and obſerving many rules of an auſtere life. They were at liberty to go to the mountains at any hour of the day or night, to ſpill their blood; this was permitted them from a reſpect to the virtue which they were all thought to poſſeſs. The ſuperiors of the monaſteries bore alſo the name of Quetzalcoatl, and were perſons of ſuch high authority, that they viſited none but the king when it was neceſſary. The members of this religious order were deſtined to it from their infancy. The parents of the child invited the ſuperior to an entertainment, who uſually deputed one of his ſubjects. The deputy brought the child to him, upon which he took the boy in his arms, and offered him with a prayer to Quetzalcoatl, and put a collar about his neck, which was to be worn until he was ſeven years old. When the boy completed his ſecond year, the ſuperior made a ſmall inciſion in his breaſt, which, like the collar, was another mark of his deſtination. As ſoon as the boy attained his ſeventh year, he entered into the monaſtery, having firſt heard a long diſcourſe from his parents, in which they advertiſed him of the vow which they had made to Quetzalcoatl, and exhorted him to fulfil it, to behave well, to ſubmit himſelf to his prelate, and to pray to the gods for his parents and the whole nation. This order was called *Tlamacazcajotl*, and the members of it *Tlamacazque*.

Another order, which was called *Telpochtliztli*, or the youths, on account of its being compoſed of youths and boys, was conſecrated to Tezcatlipoca. This was alſo a deſtination from infancy, attended with almoſt the ſame ceremonies as that of Quetzalcoatl; however, they did not live together in one community, but each individual had his own home. In every diſtrict of the city they had a ſuperior, who governed them, and a houſe where they aſ-

* *Quetzalcoatl*, or Feathered Serpent, god of the air.

ſembled

ſembled at ſun-ſet to dance and ſing the praiſes of their god. Both ſexes met at this dance, but without committing the ſmalleſt diſorder, owing to the vigilance of the ſuperiors, and the rigour with which all miſdemeanors were puniſhed.

Among the Totonacas was an order of monks devoted to their goddeſs * Centeotl. They lived in great retirement and auſterity, and their life, excepting their ſuperſtition and vanity, was perfectly unimpeachable. None but men above ſixty years of age who were widowers, eſtranged from all commerce with women, and of virtuous life, were admitted into this monaſtery. Their number was fixed, and when any one died another was received in his ſtead. Theſe monks were ſo much eſteemed, that they were not only conſulted by the common people, but likewiſe by the firſt nobility and the high-prieſt. They liſtened to conſultations ſitting upon their heels, with their eyes fixed upon the ground, and their anſwers were received like oracles even by the kings of Mexico. They were employed in making hiſtorical paintings, which they gave to the high-prieſt that he might exhibit them to the people."

Concerning the common Sacrifice of human Victims.

"But the moſt important duty of the prieſthood, and the chief ceremony of the religion of the Mexicans, conſiſted in the ſacrifices which they made occaſionally to obtain any favour from Heaven, or in gratitude for thoſe favours which they had already received. This is a ſubject which we would willingly paſs over, if the laws of hiſtory permitted, to prevent the diſguſt which the deſcription of ſuch abominable acts of cruelty muſt cauſe to our readers; for although there has hardly been a nation which has not practiſed ſimilar ſacrifices, it would be difficult to find one which has carried them to ſo great an exceſs as the Mexicans appear to have done.

We are ignorant what ſort of ſacrifices may have been practiſed by the ancient Toltecas. The Chechemecas continued long without uſing them, having at firſt neither idols, temples, nor prieſts, nor offering any thing to their gods, the Sun and Moon, but herbs, flowers, fruits, and copal. Thoſe nations never thought of ſacrificing human victims, until the example of the Mexicans baniſhed the firſt impreſſions of nature from their minds. What they report touching the origin of ſuch barbarous ſacrifices we have already explained; namely, that which appears in their hiſtory concerning the firſt ſacrifice of the four Xochimilcan priſoners which they made when in Colhuacan. It is probable, that at the time when the Mexicans were inſulated in the lake, and particularly while they remained ſubject to the dominion of the Tepanecas, the ſacrifice of human victims muſt have happened very ſeldom, as they neither had priſoners, nor could purchaſe ſlaves for ſacrifices. But when they had enlarged their dominions, and multiplied their victories, ſacrifices became frequent, and on ſome feſtivals the victims were numerous.

* The goddeſs of the earth, and of corn, called likewiſe *Tepacajohua*, i. e. ſhe who ſupports us.

The ſacrifices varied with reſpect to the number, place, and mode, according to the circumſtances of the feſtival. In general the victims ſuffered death by having their breaſts opened; but others were drowned in the lake, others died of hunger ſhut up in caverns of the mountains, and laſtly, ſome fell in the gladiatorian ſacrifice. The cuſtomary place was the temple, in the upper area of which ſtood the altar deſtined for ordinary ſacrifices. The altar of the greater temple of Mexico was a green ſtone (probably jaſper) convex above, and about three feet high, and as many broad, and more than five feet long. The uſual miniſters of the ſacrifice were ſix prieſts, the chief of whom was the *Topiltzin*, whoſe dignity was pre-eminent and hereditary; but at every ſacrifice he aſſumed the name of that god to whom it was made. For the performance of this function, he was clothed in a red habit, ſimilar in make to the ſcapulary of the moderns, fringed with cotton; on his head he wore a crown of green and yellow feathers, at his ears hung golden ear-rings and green jewels, (perhaps emeralds), and at his under lip a pendant of turquoiſe. The other five miniſters were dreſſed in white habits of the ſame make, but embroidered with black; their hair was wrapped up, their heads were bound with leathern thongs, their foreheads armed with little ſhields of paper painted of various colours, and their bodies dyed all over black. Theſe barbarous miniſters carried the victim entirely naked to the upper area of the temple, and after having pointed out to the byſtanders the idol to whom the ſacrifice was made, that they might pay their adoration to it, extended him upon the altar; four prieſts held his legs and arms, and another kept his head firm with a wooden inſtrument made in form of a coiled ſerpent, which was put about his neck; and on account of the altar being convex, the body of the victim lay arched, the breaſt and belly being raiſed up and totally prevented from the leaſt movement. The inhuman Topiltzin then approached, and with a cutting knife made of flint, dexterouſly opened his breaſt and tore out his heart, which, while yet palpitating, he offered to the ſun, and afterwards threw it at the feet of the idol; then taking it up again he offered it to the idol itſelf, and afterwards burned it, preſerving the aſhes with the utmoſt veneration. If the idol was gigantic and hollow, it was uſual to introduce the heart of the victim into its mouth with a golden ſpoon. It was cuſtomary alſo to anoint the lips of the idol and the cornices of the door of the ſanctuary with the victim's blood. If he was a priſoner of war, as ſoon as he was ſacrificed they cut off his head to preſerve the ſkull, and threw the body down the ſtairs to the lower area, where it was taken up by the officer or ſoldier to whom the priſoner had belonged, and carried to his houſe to be boiled and dreſſed as an entertainment for his friends. If he was not a priſoner of war, but a ſlave purchaſed for a ſacrifice, the proprietor carried off the carcaſe from the altar for the ſame purpoſe. They eat only the legs, thighs, and arms, and burned the reſt, or preſerved it for food to the wild beaſts or birds of prey which were kept in the royal palaces. The Otomies, after having killed the victim, tore the

the body in pieces, which they ſold at market. The Zapotecas ſacrificed men to their gods, women to their goddeſſes, and children to ſome other diminutive deities.

This was the moſt common mode of ſacrifice, but often attended with ſome circumſtances of ſtill greater cruelty, as we ſhall ſee hereafter; other kinds of ſacrifices which they uſed were much leſs frequent. At the feſtival of *Teteoinan*, the woman who repreſented this goddeſs was beheaded on the ſhoulders of another woman. At the feſtival of the arrival of the gods, they put the victims to death by fire. At one of the feſtivals made in honour of Tlaloc, they ſacrificed two children of both ſexes by drowning them in a certain place of the lake. At another feſtival of the ſame god, they purchaſed three little boys of ſix or ſeven years of age, ſhut them up inhumanly in a cavern, and left them to die of fear and hunger."

Concerning the Gladiatorian Sacrifice.

"The moſt celebrated ſacrifice among the Mexicans was that called by the Spaniards with much propriety *the gladiatorian*. This was a very honourable death, and only priſoners who were renowned for their bravery were permitted to die by it. Near to the greater temple of large cities, in an open ſpace of ground ſufficient to contain an immenſe croud of people, was a round terrace, eight feet high, upon which was placed a large round ſtone, reſembling a mill-ſtone in figure, but greatly larger, and almoſt three feet high, well poliſhed, with figures cut upon it *. On this ſtone, which was called the *Temalacatl*, the priſoner was placed, armed with a ſhield and a ſhort ſword, and tied by one foot. A Mexican officer or ſoldier, better accoutred in arms, mounted to combat with him. Every one will be able to imagine the efforts made by the deſperate victim to defend his life, and alſo thoſe of the Mexican to ſave his honour and reputation, before the multitude of people that aſſembled at ſuch a ſpectacle. If the priſoner remained vanquiſhed, immediately a prieſt named *Chalchiuhtepehua*, carried him dead or alive to the altar of the common ſacrifices, opened his breaſt, and took out his heart, while the victor was applauded by the aſſembly, and rewarded by the king with ſome military honour. But if the priſoner conquered ſix different combatants, who came ſucceſſively to fight with him, agreeable to the account given by the conqueror Cortes, he was granted his life, his liberty, and all that had been taken from him, and returned with glory to his native country *. The ſame author relates, that in a battle between the Cholulans and Huexotzincas, the principal lord of Cholula grew ſo warm in the conteſt, that having inadvertently removed to a great diſtance from his own people he was made priſoner in ſpite of his bravery, and conducted to Huexotzinco, where

* Several hiſtorians ſay, that when the firſt combatant was overcome the priſoner became free; but we are rather inclined to credit the conqueror; for it is not probable, that they would liberate a priſoner for ſo ſmall a riſk who might ſtill prove deſtructive to them, or that they would deprive their gods of a victim ſo acceptable to their cruelty.

being

being put upon the gladiatorian ſtone, he conquered ſeven combatants which were oppoſed to him, and gained his liberty; but the Huexotzincas foreſeeing, that on account of his ſingular courage he would become the cauſe of many diſaſters to them if they granted him his liberty, put him to death contrary to univerſal cuſtom; by which act they rendered themſelves eternally infamous among thoſe nations.

With reſpect to the number of the victims which were annually ſacrificed we can affirm nothing; the opinions of hiſtorians on that head being extremely different *. The number of twenty thouſand, which is conjectured to approach the neareſt to truth, does not appear to us improbable, if we include in it all the victims which were ſacrificed throughout the whole empire; but if that number comprehends, as ſome hiſtorians aſſert, the infants only, or the victims which were ſacrificed on the mountain Tepeyacac, or in the capital, we think it altogether incredible. It is certain, that the number of ſacrifices was not limited, but always proportioned either to the number of priſoners which were made in war, to the neceſſities of the ſtate, or the nature of the feſtivals, as appears from the dedication of the greater temple of Mexico, on which occaſion the cruelty of the Mexicans exceeded all bounds of belief. It is not, however, to be doubted, that the ſacrifices were very numerous; the conqueſts of the Mexicans having been extremely rapid, and as their aim in war was not ſo much to kill as to make priſoners of the enemy for this purpoſe. If to theſe victims we add the ſlaves which were purchaſed for the ſame end, and many criminals who were condemned to expiate their crimes by the ſacrifice of their lives, we ſhall find the number greatly exceed that computed by Las Caſas, who was too anxious to exculpate the Americans of all the exceſſes of which they were accuſed by the Spaniards †. The ſacrifices multiplied in *Divine* years, and ſtill more in *Secular* years.

The Mexicans were accuſtomed at their feſtivals to clothe the victim in the ſame dreſs and badges in which they dreſſed that god to

* Zumarraga, the firſt biſhop of Mexico, ſays, in a letter of the 12th of June, 1531, addreſſed to the general chapter of his order, that in that capital alone twenty thouſand human victims were annually ſacrificed. Some authors, quoted by Gomara, affirm, that the number of the ſacrificed amounted to fifty thouſand. Acoſta writes, that there was a certain day of the year on which five thouſand were ſacrificed in different places of the empire; and another day on which they ſacrificed twenty thouſand. Some authors believe, that on the mountain Tepeyacac alone, twenty thouſand were ſacrificed to the goddeſs Tonantzin. Torquemada, in quoting, though unfaithfully, the letter of Zumarraga, ſays, that there were twenty thouſand infants annually ſacrificed. But on the contrary, Las Caſas, in his refutation of the bloody book, wrote by Dr. Sepulveda, reduces the ſacrifices to ſo ſmall a number, that we are left to believe, they amounted not to fifty, or at moſt not to a hundred. We are ſtrongly of opinion, that all theſe authors have erred in the number, Las Caſas by diminution, the reſt by exaggeration of the truth.

† We cannot account why Las Caſas, who, in his writings, makes uſe of the teſtimony of Zumarraga, and other churchmen, againſt the conquerors, ſhould afterwards ſo openly contradict them reſpecting the number of the ſacrifices.

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whom the ſacrifice was made; thus habited, the victim went round the city demanding alms for the temple, accompanied with a guard of ſoldiers. If any one accidentally made his eſcape, the corporal of the guard was ſubſtituted in his ſtead as a puniſhment for his careleſſneſs. They uſed alſo to feed and fatten the victims, as they did ſeveral animals for the table.

The religion of the Mexicans was not confined to theſe ſacrifices; offerings were made of various kinds of animals. They ſacrificed quails and falcons to their god Huitzilopochtli, and hares, rabbits, deer, and coyotos to their god Mixcoatl. They daily made an offering of quails to the ſun. Every day as the ſun was about to riſe, ſeveral prieſts, ſtanding on the upper area of the temple, with their faces towards the eaſt, each with a quail in his hand, ſaluted that luminary's appearance with muſic, and made an offering of the quails after cutting off their heads. This ſacrifice was ſucceeded by the burning of incenſe, with a loud accompaniment of muſical inſtruments.

In acknowledgment of the power of their gods, they alſo made offerings of various kinds of plants, flowers, jewels, gums, and other inanimate ſubſtances. To their gods * Tlaloc and † Coatlicue they offered the firſt-blown flowers; and to Centeotl, the firſt maize of every year. They made oblations of bread, various paſtes, and ready-dreſſed victuals in ſuch abundance, as to be ſufficient to ſupply all the miniſters of the temple. Every morning were ſeen at the foot of the altars innumerable diſhes and porringers of boiling food, that the ſteams ariſing from them might reach the noſtrils of the idols, and nouriſh their immortal gods.

The moſt frequent oblation, however, was that of copal. All daily burned incenſe to their idols; no houſe was without cenſers. The prieſts in the temple, fathers of families in their houſes, and judges in their tribunals, whenever they pronounced ſentence in an important cauſe, whether civil or criminal, offered incenſe to the four principal winds. But incenſe-offering among the Mexicans, and other nations of Anahuac, was not only an act of religion towards their gods, but alſo a piece of civil courteſy to lords and ambaſſadors.

The ſuperſtition and cruelties of the Mexicans were imitated by all the nations which they conquered, or that were contiguous to the empire, without any difference, except that the number of ſacrifices amongſt thoſe nations was leſs, and that particular circumſtances ſometimes attended them. The Tlaſcalans, at one of their feſtivals, fixed a priſoner to a high croſs, and ſhot arrows at him; and upon another occaſion, they tied a priſoner to a low croſs, and killed him by the baſtinado.

The ſacrifices celebrated every fourth year by the Quauhtitlans in honour of the god of fire, were inhuman and dreadful. A day before the feſtival, they planted ſix very lofty trees in the under area of the temple, ſacrificed two ſlaves, ſtripped their ſkins off, and took out the bones of their thighs. The next day two eminent prieſts, clothed themſelves in the bloody ſkins, took

* The god of water.

† Goddeſs of flowers.

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the bones in their hands, and descended with solemn steps and dismal howlings, down the stairs of the temple. The people who were assembled in crouds below, called out in a loud voice, "Behold there come our gods." As soon as they reached the lower area, they began a dance to the sound of musical instruments, which lasted the greatest part of the day. In the mean-while, the people sacrificed an incredible quantity of quails, the number of them being never less than eight thousand. When these sacrifices were over, the priests carried six prisoners to the tops of the trees, and after tying them there, descended; but they had hardly time to reach the ground, before the unhappy victims were pierced with a multitude of arrows. The priests mounted again to cut down the dead bodies, and let them drop from the height; immediately their breasts were opened, and their hearts torn out, according to the custom of those people. The victims as well as the quails were shared among the priests and nobles of that city, for the banquets which crowned their barbarous and detestable festival."

Concerning the Austerities and Fasting of the Mexicans.

"While they were thus cruel to others, it is not wonderful that they likewise practised inhumanity towards themselves. Being accustomed to bloody sacrifices of their prisoners, they also failed not to shed abundance of their own blood, conceiving the streams which flowed from their victims insufficient to quench the diabolical thirst of their gods. It makes one shudder to read the austerities which they exercised upon themselves, either in atonement of their transgressions, or in preparation for their festivals. They mangled their flesh as if it had been insensible, and let their blood run in such profusion, that it appeared to be a superfluous fluid of the body.

The effusion of blood was frequent and daily with some of the priests, to which practice they gave the name of *Tlamacazqui*. They pierced themselves with the sharpest spines of the aloe, and bored several parts of their bodies, particularly their ears, lips, tongue, and the fat of their arms and legs. Through the holes which they made with these spines, they introduced pieces of cane, the first of which were small pieces, but every time this penitential suffering was repeated, a thicker piece was used. The blood which flowed from them was carefully collected in leaves of the plant acxojatl *. They fixed the bloody spines in little balls of hay, which they exposed upon the battlements of the walls of the temple, to testify the penance which they did for the people. Those who exercised such severities upon themselves within the inclosure of the greater temple of Mexico, bathed themselves in a pond that was formed there, which from being always tinged with blood was called *Ezapan*. There was a certain fixed number of canes to be made use of on this occasion, which, after being once used were preserved as attestations of their penitence. Besides those and other austere practices of

* Acxojatl is a tree of several upright stems, with long leaves, which are strong and symmetrically disposed. They made formerly and still make excellent brooms of this plant.

which

which we shall treat shortly, watching and fasting was very frequent amongst the Mexicans. A festival hardly occurred for which they did not prepare themselves with fasting for some days, more or less, according to the prescriptions of their ritual. From all that is to be inferred from their history, their fasting consisted in abstaining from flesh and wine, and in eating but once a day; this some did at midday, others after that time, and some tasted nothing till evening. Fasting was generally accompanied with watching and the effusion of blood, and then no person was permitted to have commerce with any woman, not even with his own wife.

Some fasts were general and observed by the whole people; namely, the fast of five days before the festival of Mixcoatl, which was observed even by children; the fast of four days before the festival of Tezcatlipoca, and also, as we suspect, that which was made previous to the festival of the sun *. During this fast the king retired into a certain place of the temple, where he watched and shed blood, according to the custom of his nation. Any other fasts bound only particular individuals, such as that which was observed by the proprietors of victims the day before a sacrifice. The proprietors of prisoners which were sacrificed to the god Xipe, fasted twenty days. The nobles as well as the king had a house within the precincts of the temple, containing numerous chambers, where they occasionally retired to do penance. On one of the festivals, all those persons who exercised public offices, after their daily duty was over, retired there at evening for this purpose. In the third month the Tlamacazqui, or penance-doers watched every night; and in the fourth month they were attended in their duty by the nobility.

In Mixteca, where there were many monasteries, the first-born sons of lords, before they took possession of their estates, were subjected to a rigorous penance during a whole year. They conducted the heir with a numerous attendance to a monastery, where they stripped off his garments, and clothed him in rags daubed over with *olli*, or elastic gum, rubbed his face, belly, and back, with stinking herbs, and delivered a small lance of *itztli* to him, that he might draw his own blood. They restricted him to a very abstemious diet, subjected him to the hardest labours, and punished him severely for any failure in duty. At the end of the year, after being washed and cleansed by four girls, with sweet-scented water, he was reconducted to his house with great pomp and music.

In the principal temple of Teohuacan, four priests constantly resided, who were famous for the austerity of their lives. Their dress was the same with that of the common people; their diet was limited to a loaf of maize of about two ounces in weight, and a cup of *atolli*, or gruel, made of the same grain. Every night two of them kept watch, employing their time in singing hymns to their gods, in offering incense, which they did

* The fast which was held in honour of the sun was called *Netonatiuhzahualo*, or *Netonatiuhzahualitzli*. Dr. Hernandez says, it was held every two hundred, or three hundred days. We suspect that it was kept on the day I *Olin*, which occurred every two hundred and sixty days.

four

four times during the night, and in ſhedding their blood upon the ſtones of the temple. Their faſting was continual during the four years which they perſevered in that life, except upon days of feſtival, one of which happened every month, when they were at liberty to eat as much as they pleaſed; but in preparation for every feſtival, they practiſed the uſual auſtere rules, boring their ears with the ſpines of the aloe, and paſſing little pieces of cane through the holes to the number of ſixty, all of which differed in thickneſs in the manner above mentioned. At the end of four years, other four prieſts were introduced to lead the ſame kind of life; and if before the completion of that term any one of them happened to die, another was ſubſtituted in his place, that the number might never be incomplete. Theſe prieſts were ſo high in reſpect and eſteem as to be held in veneration even by the kings of Mexico: but woe unto him who violated his chaſtity; for, if after a ſtrict examination the crime was proved, he was killed by baſtinados, his body was burned, and his aſhes ſcattered to the winds.

Upon occaſion of any public calamity, the Mexican high-prieſt always obſerved a moſt extraordinary faſt. For this purpoſe he retired to a wood, where he conſtructed a hut for himſelf, covered with branches, which were always freſh and green; as whenever the firſt became dry, new ones were ſpread in their place. Shut up in this hut he paſſed nine or ten months in conſtant prayer and frequent effuſions of blood, deprived of all communication with men, and without any other food than raw maize and water. This faſt was not indiſpenſable, nor did all the high-prieſts obſerve it; nor did thoſe who attempted it ever do it more than once in their lives; and certainly it is not probable, that thoſe who ſurvived ſo rigorous and long an abſtinence, were ever able to repeat it."

Concerning the Rites obſerved by the Mexicans *upon the Birth of their Children.—From the ſame Work.*

"AS ſoon as a child was born, the midwife, after cutting the navel-ſtring, and burying the ſecundine, bathed it, ſaying theſe words; *Receive the water; for the goddeſs* * Chalchiuhcueje *is thy mother. May this bath cleanſe the ſpots which thou beareſt from the womb of thy mother, purify thy heart, and give thee a good and perfect life.* Then addreſſing her prayer to that goddeſs, ſhe demanded in ſimilar words the ſame favour from her; and taking up the water again with her right hand, ſhe blew upon it, and wet the mouth, head, and breaſt of the child with it, and after bathing the whole of its body, ſhe ſaid: *May the inviſible God deſcend upon this water, and cleanſe thee of every ſin and impurity, and free thee from evil fortune:* and then turning to the child, ſhe ſpoke to it thus: *Lovely child, the gods* † Ometeuctli *and* Omecihuatl *have created thee in the higheſt place of heaven, in order to ſend*

* Goddeſs of water, and companion to *Tlaloc*, mentioned in page 123 ante.

† The former was a god and the latter a goddeſs, who they pretended dwelt in a magnificent city in heaven, abounding with delights, and there watched over the world, and gave to mortals their wiſhes: the firſt to men, the latter to women.

thee

thee into the world; but know that the life on which thou art entering is ſad, painful, and full of uneaſineſs and miſeries: nor wilt thou be able to eat thy bread without labour: May God aſſiſt thee in the many adverſities which await thee. This ceremony was concluded with congratulations to the parents and relations of the child. If it was the ſon of the king, or of any great lord, the chief of his ſubjects came to congratulate the father, and to wiſh the higheſt proſperity to his child *.

When the firſt bathing was done, the diviners were conſulted concerning the fortune of the child, for which purpoſe they were informed of the day and hour of its birth. They conſidered the nature of the ſign of that day, and the ruling ſign of that period of thirteen days to which it belonged, and if it was born at midnight, two ſigns concurred, that is, the ſign of the day which was juſt concluding, and that of the day which was juſt beginning. After having made their obſervations, they pronounced the good or bad fortune of the child. If it was bad, and if the fifth day after its birth-day, on which the ſecond bathing was uſually performed, was one of the *dies infauſti*, the ceremony was poſtponed until a more favourable occaſion. To the ſecond bathing, which was a more ſolemn rite, all the relations and friends, and ſome young boys were invited; and if the parents were in good circumſtances, they gave great entertainments, and made preſents of apparel to all the gueſts. If the father of the child was a military perſon, he prepared for this ceremony a little bow, four arrows, and a little habit, reſembling in make that which the child, when grown up, would wear. If he was a countryman, or an artiſt, he prepared ſome inſtruments belonging to his art, proportioned in ſize to the infancy of the child. If the child was a girl, they furniſhed a little habit, ſuitable to her ſex, a ſmall ſpindle, and ſome other little inſtruments for weaving. They lighted a great number of torches, and the midwife taking up the child, carried it through all the yard of the houſe, and placed it upon a heap of the leaves of ſword-graſs, cloſe by a baſon of water, which was prepared in the middle of the yard, and then undreſſing it, ſaid: *My child, the gods* Omemeteuctli *and* Omecihuatl, *lords of heaven, have ſent thee to this diſmal and calamitous world. Receive this water which is to give thee life.* And after wetting its mouth, head, and breaſt, with forms ſimilar to thoſe of the firſt bathing, ſhe bathed its whole body, and rubbing every one of its limbs, ſaid, *Where art thou ill Fortune? In what limb art thou hid? Go far from this child.* Having ſpoke this, ſhe raiſed up the child to offer it to the gods,

* In Guatemala, and other ſurrounding provinces, the births of male children were celebrated with much ſolemnity and ſuperſtition. As ſoon as the ſon was born a turkey was ſacrificed. The bathing was performed in ſome fountain, or river, where they made oblations of copal, and ſacrifices of parrots. The navel-ſtring was cut upon an ear of maize, and with a new knife, which was immediately after caſt into the river. They ſowed the ſeeds of that ear, and attended to its growth with the utmoſt care, as if it had been a ſacred thing. What was reaped from this ſeed was divided into three parts; one of which was given to the diviner; of another part they made pap for the child, and the reſt was preſerved until the ſame child ſhould be old enough to be able to ſow it.

praying them to adorn it with every virtue. The first prayer was offered to the two gods before named, the second to the goddess of water, the third to all the gods together, and the fourth to the sun and the earth. *You sun*, she said, *father of all things that live upon the earth, our mother, receive this child, and protect him as your own son; and since he is born for war* (if his father belonged to the army), *may he die in it, defending the honour of the gods; so may he enjoy in heaven the delights which are prepared for all those who sacrifice their lives in so good a cause.* She then put in his little hands the instruments of that art which he was to exercise, with a prayer addressed to the protecting god of the same. The instruments of the military art were buried in some fields, where, in future, it was imagined the boy would fight in battle, and the female instruments were buried in the house itself, under the stone for grinding maize. On this same occasion, if we are to credit Boturini, they observed the ceremony of passing the boy four times through the fire.

Before they put the instruments of any art into the hands of the child, the midwife requested the young boys who had been invited, to give him a name, which was generally such a name as had been suggested to them by the father. The midwife then clothed him, and laid him in the *tozolli*, or cradle, praying Joalticitl, the goddess of cradles, to warm him and guard him in her bosom, and Joalteuctli, god of the night, to make him sleep.

The name which was given to boys, was generally taken from the sign of the day on which they were born (a rule particularly practised among the Mixtecas), as *Nahuixochitl*, or IV Flower, *Macuilcoatl*, or V Serpent, and *Omecalli*, or II House. At other times the name was taken from circumstances attending the birth; as for instance, one of the four chiefs who governed the republic of Tlascala, at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards, received the name of *Citlalpopoca*, smoking star; because he was born at the time of a comet's appearance in the heavens. The child born on the day of the renewal of the fire, had the name of *Molpilli*, if it was a male; if a female she was called *Xiuhnenetl*, alluding in both names to circumstances attending the festival. Men had in general the names of animals; women those of flowers; in giving which, it is probable, they paid regard both to the dream of the parents, and the counsel of diviners. For the most part they gave but one name to boys; afterwards it was usual for them to acquire a surname from their actions, as Montezuma I. on account of his bravery, was given the surnames of *Ilhuacamina* and *Tlacaeli*.

When the religious ceremony of bathing was over, an entertainment was given, the quality and honours of which corresponded with the rank of the giver. At such seasons of rejoicing, a little excess in drinking was permitted, as the disorderliness of drunken persons extended not beyond private houses. The torches were kept burning till they were totally consumed, and particular care was taken to keep up the fire all the four days, which intervened between the first and second ceremony of bathing, as they were persuaded that an omission of such a nature would ruin the fortune of the child.

These rejoicings were repeated when they weaned the child, which they commonly did at three years of age *."

Concerning their Nuptial Rites.

"With respect to the marriages of the Mexicans, although in them, as well as in all their customs, superstition had a great share, nothing, however, attended them which was repugnant to decency or honour. Any marriage between persons related in the first degree of consanguinity or alliance, was strictly forbid, not only by the laws of Mexico, but also by the laws of Michuacan, unless it was between cousins †. The parents were the persons who settled all marriages, and none were ever executed without their consent. When a son arrived at an age capable of bearing the charges of that state, which in men was from the age of twenty to twenty-two years, and in women from sixteen to eighteen, a suitable and proper wife was singled out for him; but before the union was concluded on, the diviners were consulted, who, after having considered the birthday of the youth, and of the young girl intended for his bride, decided on the happiness or unhappiness of the match. If from the combination of signs attending their births, they pronounced the alliance unpropitious, that young maid was abandoned, and another sought. If, on the contrary, they predicted happiness to the couple, the young girl was demanded of her parents by certain women amongst them called *Cihuatlanque*, or solicitors, who were the most elderly and respectable amongst the kindred of the youth. These women went the first time at midnight to the house of the damsel, carried a present to her parents, and demanded her of them in a humble and respectful style. The first demand was, according to the custom of that nation, infallibly refused, however advantageous and eligible the marriage might appear to the parents, who gave some plausible reasons for their refusal. After a few days were past, those women returned to repeat their demand, using prayers and arguments also, in order to obtain their request, giving an account of the rank and fortune of the youth, and of what he would make the dowry of his wife, and also gaining

* In Guatemala it was usual to make rejoicings as soon the child began to walk, and for seven years they continued to celebrate the anniversary of its birth.

† In the ivth book, tit. 2. of the third provincial council of Mexico, it is supposed that the Gentiles of that new world married with their sisters; but it ought to be understood, that the zeal of those fathers was not confined in its exertions to the nations of the Mexican empire, amongst whom such marriages were not suffered, but extended to the barbarous Chechemecas, the Panuchiese, and to other nations, which were extremely uncivilized in their customs. There is not a doubt, that the council alluded to those barbarians, who were then (in 1585), in the progress of their conversion to Christianity, and not to the Mexicans and the nations under subjection to them, who many years before the council were already converted. Besides, in the interval of four years, between the conquest of the Spaniards and the promulgation of the gospel, many abusive practices had been introduced among those nations never before tolerated under their kings, as the religious missionaries employed in their conversion attest.

information of that which she could bring to the match on her part. The parents replied to this second requeſt, that it was neceſſary to conſult their relations and connections, and to find out the inclinations of their daughter, before they could come to any reſolution. Theſe female ſolicitors returned no more; as the parents themſelves conveyed, by means of other women of their kindred, a deciſive anſwer to the party.

A favourable anſwer being at laſt obtained, and a day appointed for the nuptials, the parents, after exhorting their daughter to fidelity and obedience to her huſband, and to ſuch a conduct in life as would do honour to her family, conducted her with a numerous company and muſic, to the houſe of her father-in-law; if noble, ſhe was carried in a litter. The bridegroom, and the father and mother-in-law, received her at the gate of the houſe, with four torches borne by four women. At meeting, the bride and bridegroom reciprocally offered incenſe to each other; then the bridegroom taking the bride by the hand, led her into the hall, or chamber which was prepared for the nuptials. They both ſate down upoa a new and curiouſly wrought mat, which was ſpread in the middle of the chamber, and cloſe to the fire which was kept lighted. Then a prieſt tied a point of the *huepilli*, or gown of the bride, with the *tilmatli*, or mantle of the bridegroom, and in this ceremony the matrimonial contract chiefly conſiſted. The wife now made ſome turns round the fire, and then returning to her mat, ſhe, along with her huſband, offered copal to their gods, and exchanged preſents with each other. The repaſt followed next. The married pair eat upon the mat, giving mouthfuls to each other alternately and to the gueſts in their places. When thoſe who had been invited were become exhilarated with wine, which was freely drank on ſuch occaſions, they went out to dance in the yard of the houſe, while the married pair remained in the chamber, from which, during four days, they never ſtirred, except to obey the calls of nature, or to go to the oratory at midnight to burn incenſe to the idols, and to make oblations of eatables. They paſſed theſe four days in prayer and faſting, dreſſed in new habits, and adorned with certain enſigns of the gods of their devotion, without proceeding to any act of leſs decency, fearing that otherwiſe the puniſhment of Heaven would fall upon them. Their beds on theſe nights were two mats of ruſhes, covered with ſmall ſheets, with certain feathers, and a gem of *Chalchihuitl* in the middle of them. At the four corners of the bed green canes and ſpines of the aloe were laid, with which they were to draw blood from their tongues and their ears in honour of their gods. The prieſts were the perſons who adjuſted the bed to ſanctify the marriage; but we know nothing of the myſtery of the canes, the feathers, and the gem. Until the fourth night the marriage was not conſummated; they believed it would have proved unlucky, if they had anticipated the period of conſummation. The morning after they bathed themſelves and put on new dreſſes, and thoſe who had been invited, adorned their heads with white, and their hands and feet with red feathers. The ceremony was concluded by making

making presents of dresses to the guests, which were proportioned to the circumstances of the married pair; and on that same day they carried to the temple the mats, sheets, canes, and the eatables which had been presented to the idols.

The forms which we have described, in the marriages of the Mexicans, were not so universal through the empire, but that some provinces observed other peculiarities. In Ichcatlan, whoever was desirous of marrying presented himself to the priests, by whom he was conducted to the temple, where they cut off a part of his hair before the idol which was worshipped there, and then pointing him out to the people, they began to exclaim, saying, *this man wishes to take a wife.* Then they made him descend, and take the first free woman he met, as the one whom Heaven destined to him. Any woman who did not like to have him for a husband, avoided coming near to the temple at that time, that she might not subject herself to the necessity of marrying him: this marriage was only singular therefore in the mode of seeking for a wife.

Among the Otomies, it was lawful to use any free woman before they married her. When any person was about to take a wife, if on the first night he found any thing about his wife which was disagreeable to him, he was permitted to divorce her the next day; but if he shewed himself all that day content with having her, he could not afterwards abandon her. The contract being thus ratified, the pair retired to do penance for past offences twenty or thirty days, during which period they abstained from most of the pleasures of the senses, drew blood from themselves, and frequently bathed.

Among the Miztecas, besides the ceremony of tying the married pair together by the end of their garments, they cut off a part of their hair, and the husband carried his wife for a little time upon his back.

They permitted polygamy in the Mexican empire. The kings and lords had numerous wives; but it is probable, that they observed all the ceremonies with their principal wives only, and that with the rest the essential rite of tying their garments together was sufficient.

The Spanish theologists and canonists, who went to Mexico immediately after the conquest, being unacquainted with the customs of those people, raised doubts about their marriages; but when they had learnt the language, and properly examined that and other points of importance, they acknowledged such marriages to be just and lawful. Pope Paul III. and the provincial council of Mexico, ordered, in conformity to the sacred canons, and the usage of the church, that all those who were willing to embrace Christianity, should keep no other wife but the one whom they had first married."

Concerning their Funeral Rites and Sepulchres.

"However superstitious the Mexicans were in other matters, in the rites which they observed at funerals they exceeded themselves. As soon as any person died, certain masters of funeral ceremonies were called, who were generally men advanced in years. They cut a number of pieces of paper, with which they dressed the dead body, and took a

glaſs of water with which they ſprinkled the head, ſaying, that that was the water uſed in the time of their life. They then dreſſed it in a habit ſuitable to the rank, the wealth, and the circumſtances attending the death of the party. If the deceaſed had been a warrior, they clothed him in the habit of Huitzilopochtli; if a merchant, in that of Jacatuetli; if an artiſt, in that of the protecting god of his art or trade: one who had been drowned was dreſſed in the habit of Tlaloc; one who had been executed for adultery, in that of Tlazolteotl; and a drunkard in the habit of Tezcatzoncatl, god of wine. In ſhort, as Gomara has well obſerved, they wore more garments after they were dead than while they were living.

With the habit they gave the dead a jug of water, which was to ſerve on the journey to the other world, and alſo at ſucceſſive different times, different pieces of paper, mentioning the uſe of each. On conſigning the firſt piece to the dead, they ſaid: *By means of this you will paſs without danger between the two mountains which fight againſt each other.* With the ſecond they ſaid: *By means of this you will walk without obſtruction along the road which is defended by the great ſerpent.* With the third: *By this you will go ſecurely through the place, where there is the crocodile* Xochitonal. The fourth was a ſafe paſſport through the eight deſerts; the fifth through the eight hills; and the ſixth was given in order to paſs without hurt through the ſharp wind; for they pretended that it was neceſſary to paſs a place called *Itzehecajan*, where a wind blew ſo violently as to tear up rocks, and ſo ſharp that it cut like a knife; on which account they burned all the habits which the deceaſed had worn during life, their arms, and ſome houſehold goods, in order that the heat of this fire might defend them from the cold of that terrible wind.

One of the chief and moſt ridiculous ceremonies at funerals was the killing a *techichi*, a domeſtic quadruped, which we have already mentioned, reſembling a little dog, to accompany the deceaſed in their journey to the other world. They fixed a ſtring about its neck, believing that neceſſary to enable it to paſs the deep river of *Chiuhnahuapan*, or New Waters. They buried the techichi, or burned it along with the body of its maſter, according to the kind of death of which he died. While the maſters of the ceremonies were lighting up the fire in which the body was to be burned, the other prieſts kept ſinging in a melancholy ſtrain. After burning the body, they gathered the aſhes in an earthen pot, amongſt which, according to the circumſtances of the deceaſed, they put a gem of more or leſs value; which they ſaid would ſerve him in place of a heart in the other world. They buried this earthen pot in a deep ditch, and fourſcore days after made oblations of bread and wine over it.

Such were the funeral rites of the common people; but at the death of kings, and that of lords, or perſons of high rank, ſome peculiar forms were obſerved that are worthy to be mentioned. When the king fell ſick, ſays Gomara, they put a maſk on the idol of Huitzilopochtli, and alſo one on the idol of Tezcatlipoca, which they never took off until the king was either dead or recovered; but it is certain that the idol of Huitzilopochtli had always two

maſks, not one. As ſoon as a king of Mexico happened to die, his death was publiſhed in great form, and all the lords who reſided at court, and alſo thoſe who were but a little diſtant from it were informed of the event, in order that they might be preſent at the funeral. In the mean time they laid the royal corpſe upon beautiful curiouſly wrought mats, which was attended and watched by his domeſtics. Upon the fourth or fifth day after, when the lords were arrived, who brought with them rich dreſſes, beautiful feathers, and ſlaves to be preſented, to add to the pomp of the funeral, they clothed the corpſe in fifteen, or more, very fine habits of cotton of various colours, ornamented it with gold, ſilver, and gems, hung an emerald at the under lip, which was to ſerve in place of a heart, covered the face with a maſk, and over the habits were placed the enſigns of that god, in whoſe temple or area the aſhes were to be buried. They cut off ſome of the hair, which, together with ſome more which had been cut off in the infancy of the king, they preſerved in a little box, in order to perpetuate, as they ſaid, the memory of the deceaſed. Upon the box they laid an image of the deceaſed, made of wood, or of ſtone. Then they killed the ſlave who was his chaplain, who had had the care of his oratory, and all that belonged to the private worſhip of his gods, in order that he might ſerve him in the ſame office in the other world.

The funeral proceſſion came next, accompanied by all the relations of the deceaſed, the whole of the nobility, and the wives of the late king, who teſtified their ſorrow by tears and other demonſtrations of grief. The nobles carried a great ſtandard of paper, and the royal arms and enſigns. The prieſts continued ſinging, but without any muſical inſtrument. Upon their arrival at the lower area of the temple, the high-prieſt, together with their ſervants, came out to meet the royal corpſe, which, without delay, they placed upon the funeral pile, which was prepared there for that purpoſe of odoriferous reſinous woods, together with a large quantity of copal, and other aromatic ſubſtances. While the royal corpſe, and all its habits, the arms and enſigns were burning, they ſacrificed at the bottom of the ſtairs of the temple a great number of ſlaves of thoſe which belonged to the deceaſed, and alſo of thoſe which had been preſented by the lords. Along with the ſlaves, they likewiſe ſacrificed ſome of the irregularly formed men, whom the king had collected in his palaces for his entertainment, in order that they might give him the ſame pleaſure in the other world; and for the ſame reaſon they uſed alſo to ſacrifice ſome of his wives*. The number of the victims was proportioned to the grandeur of the

* Acoſta ſays (lib. v. cap. 8.) that at the funerals of lords, all the members of his family were ſacrificed. But this is groſly falſe, and in itſelf incredible; for had this been the caſe, the nobles of Mexico would have ſoon been exterminated. There is no record in the Hiſtory of Mexico, that at the death of the king of Mexico, any of his brothers were ſacrificed, as this author would intimate. How is it poſſible they could practiſe ſuch cruelty when the new king was uſually elected from among the brothers of the deceaſed?

funeral, and amounted sometimes, as several historians affirm, to two hundred. Among the other sacrifices the techichi was not omitted; they were firmly persuaded, that without such a guide it would be impossible to get through some dangerous ways which led to the other world.

The day following the ashes were gathered, and the teeth which remained entire; they sought carefully for the emerald which had been hung to the under lip, and the whole were put into the box with the hair, and they deposited the box in the place destined for his sepulchre. The four following days they made oblations of eatables over the sepulchre; on the fifth, they sacrificed some slaves, and also some others on the twentieth, fortieth, sixtieth, and eightieth day after. From that time forward, they sacrificed no more human victims; but every year they celebrated the day of the funeral with sacrifices of rabbits, butterflies, quails, and other birds, and with oblations of bread, wine, copal flowers, and certain little reeds filled with aromatic substances, which they called *acajetl*. This anniversary was held for four years.

The bodies of the dead were in general burned; they buried the bodies entire of those only who had been drowned, or had died of dropsy, and some other diseases; but what was the reason of these exceptions we know not.

There was no fixed place for burials. Many ordered their ashes to be buried near to some temple or altar, some in the fields, and others in those sacred places of the mountains where sacrifices used to be made. The ashes of the kings and lords, were, for the most part, deposited in the towers of the temples *, especially in those of the greater temple. Close to Teotihuacan, where there were many temples, there were also innumerable sepulchres. The tombs of those whose bodies had been buried entire, agreeable to the testimony of the anonymous conqueror who saw them, were deep ditches, formed with stone and lime, within which they placed the bodies in a sitting posture upon *icpalli*, or low seats, together with the instruments of their art or profession. If it was the sepulchre of any military person, they laid a shield and sword by him; if of a woman, a spindle, a weaver's shuttle, and a *xicalli*, which was a certain naturally formed vessel, of which we shall say more hereafter. In the tombs of the rich they put gold and jewels, but all were provided with eatables for the long journey which they had to make. The Spanish conquerors, knowing of the gold which was buried with the Mexican lords in their tombs, dug up several, and found considerable quantities of that precious metal. Cortes says in his letters, that at one entry which he made into the capital, when it was besieged by his army, his soldiers found fifteen hundred *Castellanos* †, that is, two hun-

* Solis, in his History of the Conquest of Mexico, affirms, that the ashes of the kings were deposited in Chapoltepec; but this is false, and contradicts the report of the conqueror Cortes, whose panegyric he wrote, of Bernal Dias, and other eye-witnesses of the contrary.

† The Spanish goldsmiths divide the pound weight of gold into two *Marchi*, or into sixteen ounces, or a hundred *Castellanos*; consequently, an ounce contains 6¼ *Castellanos*.

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dred and forty ounces of gold, in one ſepulchre, which was in the tower of a temple. The anonymous conqueror ſays alſo, that he was preſent at the digging up of another ſepulchre, from which they took about three thouſand Caſtellanos.

The caves of the mountains were the ſepulchres of the ancient Chechemecas; but, as they grew more civilized, they adopted in this and other rites, the cuſtoms of the Acolhuan nation, which were nearly the ſame with thoſe of the Mexicans.

The Miztecas retained in part the ancient uſage of the Chechemecas, but in ſome things they were ſingular in their cuſtoms. When any of their lords fell ſick, they offered prayers, vows, and ſacrifices for the recovery of his health. If it was reſtored, they made great rejoicings. If he died, they continued to ſpeak of him as if he was ſtill alive, and conducted one of his ſlaves to the corpſe, dreſſed him in the habits of his maſter, put a maſk upon his face, and for one whole day, paid him all the honours which they had uſed to render to the deceaſed. At midnight, four prieſts carried the corpſe to be buried in a wood, or in ſome cavern, particularly in that one where they believed the gate of paradiſe was, and at their return they ſacrificed the ſlave, and laid him, with all the ornaments of his tranſitory dignity, in a ditch; but without covering him with earth.

Every year they held a feſtival in honour of their laſt lord, on which they celebrated his birth, not his death, for of it they never ſpoke.

The Zapotecas, their neighbours, embalmed the body of the principal lord of their nation. Even from the time of the firſt Chechemecan kings aromatic preparations were in uſe among thoſe nations to preſerve dead bodies from ſpeedy corruption; but we do not know that theſe were very frequent.

As the preſent Government of Egypt *is chiefly in the hands of the* Mamlouks, *we have extracted the following particular account of that body, from Monſ.* Volney's *Travels in* Egypt *and* Syria.

Military Conſtitution of the Mamlouks.

THE Mamlouks, on obtaining the government of Egypt, adopted meaſures which ſeem to ſecure to them the poſſeſſion of the country. The moſt efficacious is the precaution they have taken to degrade the military corps of the Azabs and Janiſſaries: theſe two bodies, which were formerly the terror of the Pacha, are now as inſignificant as himſelf. Of this the corrupt and wretched government of the Turks has alone been the cauſe; for, previous to the inſurrection of Ibrahim Kiaya, the number of Turkiſh troops, which ſhould conſiſt of forty thouſand men, infantry and cavalry, had been reduced to leſs than half that number, by the avarice of their officers, who diverted the pay to their own uſe. After Ibrahim, Ali Bey completely deſtroyed their conſequence. He firſt diſplaced all the officers who gave him umbrage; left unfilled the places that became vacant; deprived the commanders of all influence; and ſo degraded all the Turkiſh troops, that at this day the Janiſſaries, the Azabs, and the five

other corps, are only a rabble of artizans and vagabonds, who guard the gates of thoſe who pay them, and tremble in the preſence of the Mamlouks, as much as the populace of Cairo. The whole military force of Egypt really conſiſts in the Mamlouks. Some hundreds of theſe are diſperſed throughout the country, and in the villages, to maintain the authority of their corps, collect the tributes, and improve every opportunity of extortion; but the main body continually remains at Cairo. From the computation of well-informed perſons, it appears, their number cannot exceed eight thouſand five hundred men, reckoning Beys and Cachefs, common freedmen, and Mamlouks, who are ſtill ſlaves. In this number there are a multitude of youth under twenty and twenty-two years of age.

The moſt powerful houſe is that of Ibrahim Bey, who has about ſix hundred Mamlouks. Next to him is Mourad, who has not above four hundred, but who, by his audacity and prodigality, forms a counterpoiſe to the inſatiable avarice of his rival: the reſt of the Beys, to the number of eighteen or twenty, have each of them from fifty to two hundred. Beſides theſe, there is a great number of Mamlouks who may be called *individual*, who being ſprung from houſes which are extinct, attach themſelves ſometimes to one, and ſometimes to another, as they find it their intereſt, and are always ready to enter into the ſervice of the beſt bidder. We muſt reckon likewiſe ſome Serradjes, a ſort of domeſtics on horſeback, who carry the orders of the Beys; but the whole together does not exceed ten thouſand horſe. No mention is here made of infantry, which is neither known nor eſteemed in Turkey, eſpecially in the Aſiatic provinces. The prejudices of the ancient Perſians, and of the Tartars, ſtill prevail in thoſe countries, where war, conſiſting only in flight and purſuit, the horſeman, who is beſt qualified for both theſe, is reputed the only ſoldier; and as, among barbarians, the warrior is alone the man of diſtinction; to walk on foot is held to be degrading, and is, for that reaſon, reſerved for the common people. The Mamlouks, therefore, permit the inhabitants of Egypt to be carried only by mules or aſſes*, reſerving to themſelves the excluſive privilege of riding on horſeback; and of this they make ſufficient uſe; for whether they are in town or the country, or if they only make a viſit to the next door, they are never ſeen but on horſeback. Their dreſs, as well as the ſupport of their dignity, obliges them to this. This dreſs, which does not differ from that of every other perſon in eaſy circumſtances in Turkey, deſerves to be deſcribed.

Dreſs of the Mamlouks.

Firſt, they have a wide ſhirt of thin cotton, of a yellowiſh colour, over which they wear a ſort of gown of Indian linen, or the light ſtuffs

* The Franks of all nations are ſubjected to the ſame humiliating reſtrictions, but, by proper management, and liberal preſents, this may be got over by ſtrangers of conſequence, who come only to viſit the country. *Lord Algernon Percy*, now *Lord Louvaine*, and the *Earl of Charlemont*, obtained permiſſion to ride on horſeback in 1776.——See Colonel Capper's excellent little work, p. 31. T.

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of Damaſcus and Aleppo. This robe, called *antari*, deſcends from the neck to the ankles, and folds over the fore-part of the body, towards the hips, where it is faſtened by two ſtrings. Over this firſt covering is a ſecond, of the ſame form and width, the ample ſleeves of which deſcend likewiſe to the finger ends. This is called a *coftan*, and is uſually made of ſilk ſtuff, richer than the former. Both theſe are faſtened at the waiſt by a long belt, which divides the whole dreſs into two bundles. Above them is a third, which is called *djouba*, which is of cloth without lining, and is made nearly in the ſame manner, only the ſleeves are cut at the elbow. In winter, nay frequently even in ſummer, this djouba is lined with fur, and is converted into a peliſſe. Laſtly, over theſe three wrappers, they put on an outer garment, called the *beniche*. This is the cloak or robe of ceremony, and completely covers the whole body, even the ends of the fingers, which it would be deemed highly indecent to ſuffer to appear before the great. The whole habit, when the beniche is on, has the appearance of a long ſack, from out of which is thruſt a bare neck, and a bald head, covered with a turban. The turban of the Mamlouks, called a *Kaouk*, is of a cylindrical ſhape, yellow, and turned up on the outſide with a roll of muſlin artificially folded. On their feet, they wear a ſock of yellow leather, which reaches up to the heels, and ſlippers without quarters, always liable to be left on the road. But the moſt ſingular part of this dreſs is a ſort of pantaloon, or trowſers, ſo long as to reach up to the chin, and ſo wide, that each of the legs is large enough to contain the whole body, and made of that kind of Venetian cloth which the French call *faille*, which, although as pliant as the *d'Elbœuf* cloth, is thicker than the *burre* of Rouen; and that they may walk more at their eaſe, they faſten, with a running ſaſh, all the looſe parts of the dreſs I have been deſcribing. Thus ſwaddled, we may imagine the Mamlouks are not very active walkers; and thoſe who are not acquainted by experience with the prejudices of different countries, will find it ſcarcely poſſible to believe, what however is the fact, that they look on this dreſs as exceedingly commodious. In vain may we object that it hinders them from walking, and encumbers them, unneceſſarily, on horſeback, and that in battle a horſeman, once diſmounted, is a loſt man. They reply, *It is the cuſtom*, and every objection is anſwered.

Horſe accoutrements of the Mamlouks.

Let us now examine, whether their horſe accoutrements are more rational. Since the Europeans have had the good ſenſe to examine the principles of every art, they have found that the horſe, in order to move freely under his rider, ſhould be as little harneſſed as the ſolidity neceſſary would permit. This improvement, which has taken place among us in the eighteenth century, is ſtill very far from being adopted by the Mamlouks, who have ſcarcely arrived at the knowledge of the ninth. Continually the ſlaves of cuſtom, the horſe's ſaddle among them is a clumſy frame, loaded with wood, leather, and iron, on which a truſſequin riſes behind, eight inches in height

height above the hips of the horſeman. A pummel before projects four or five inches, ſo as to endanger his breaſt, ſhould he ſtoop. Under the ſaddle, inſtead of a ſtuffed frame, they ſpread three thick woollen coverings, and the whole is faſtened by a ſurcingle, which, inſtead of a buckle, is tied with leather thongs, in very complicated knots, and liable to ſlip. They uſe no crupper, but have a large martingale, which throws them on the ſhoulders of the horſe. Each ſtirrup is a plate of copper longer and wider than the foot, with circular edges, an inch high in the middle, and gradually declining toward each end; the edges are ſharp, and are uſed, inſtead of ſpurs, to make long wounds in the horſe's ſides. The common weight of a pair of theſe ſtirrups is between nine and ten pounds, and frequently exceeds twelve or thirteen. The ſaddle and ſaddle-cloths do not weigh leſs than five-and-twenty; thus the horſe's furniture weighs above ſix-and-thirty pounds, which is ſo much the more ridiculous, as the Egyptian horſes are very ſmall.

The bridle is equally ill contrived; it is a kind of ſnaffle, but without a joint, and with a curb, which, being only an iron ring, binds the jaw ſo as to lacerate the ſkin, ſo that the bars are injured, and the horſe abſolutely has no mouth. This neceſſarily reſults from the practice of the Mamlouks, who, inſtead of managing the mouth, like us, deſtroy it by violent and ſudden checks, which they employ particularly in a manœuvre peculiar to them. This conſiſts in putting the horſe on a full gallop, and ſuddenly ſtopping him, when at his higheſt ſpeed. Checked thus by the bit, the horſe bends in his hind legs, ſtiffens the fore, and ſlides along like a horſe of wood. How much this manœuvre muſt injure the legs and mouth may eaſily be conceived; but the Mamlouks think it graceful, and it is adapted to their mode of fighting. Notwithſtanding however their ſhort ſtirrups, and the perpetual motion of their bodies, it cannot be denied that they are firm and vigorous horſemen, and that they have a warlike appearance, which pleaſes the eye even of a ſtranger; it muſt alſo be allowed, they have ſhewn more judgment in the choice of their arms.

Arms of the Mamlouks.

Their principal weapon is an Engliſh carbine about thirty inches long, and of ſo large a bore as to diſcharge ten or twelve balls at a time, which, even without ſkill, cannot fail of great execution. They beſides carry at their belt two large piſtols, which are faſtened to ſome part of their garments by a ſilk ſtring. At the bow of the ſaddle ſometimes hangs a heavy mace, to knock down their enemy, and on the left thigh is ſuſpended, by a ſhoulder-belt, a crooked ſabre, of a kind little known in Europe; the length of the blade, in a right line, from the hilt to the point, is not more than twenty-four inches, but meaſured in the curve is at leaſt thirty. This form, which appears whimſical to us, has not been adopted without motives; experience teaches us, that the effect of a ſtrait blade is limited to the place and moment of its fall, as it acts merely from preſſure: a crooked blade, on the contrary, preſenting its edge in retiring,

retiring, ſlides by the effort of the arm, and continues its action longer. The barbarians, who generally apply themſelves moſt to the deſtructive arts, have not ſuffered this obſervation to eſcape them; and hence the uſe of ſcymetars, ſo general and ſo ancient in the Eaſtern world. The Mamlouks commonly procure theirs from Conſtantinople, and from Europe; but the Beys rival each other in Perſian blades, and in ſabres of the ancient ſteel of Damaſcus *, for which they frequently pay as high as forty or fifty pounds ſterling. The qualities they eſteem in them are lightneſs, the equality and ring of the temper, the waving of the iron, and, above all, the keenneſs of the edge, which it muſt be allowed is exquiſite; but theſe blades have the defect of being as brittle as glaſs.

Education and Exerciſes of the Mamlouks.

The art of uſing theſe arms conſtitutes the education of the Mamlouks, and the whole occupation of their lives. Every day, early in the morning, the greater part of them reſort to a plain, without Cairo, and there, riding full ſpeed, exerciſe themſelves in drawing out their carbine expeditiouſly from the bandaleer, diſcharging it with good aim, and then throwing it under their thigh, to ſeize a piſtol, which they fire and throw over their ſhoulder; immediately firing a ſecond, and throwing it in the ſame manner, truſting to the ſtring by which they are faſtened, without loſing time to return them to their place. The Beys who are preſent encourage them; and whoever breaks the earthen veſſel which ſerves by way of butt, receives great commendations and money, as a recompenſe. They practiſe alſo the management of the ſabre, and eſpecially the *coup de revers* which cuts upwards, and is the moſt difficult to parry. Their blades are ſo keen, and they handle them ſo well, that many of them can cut a clew of wet cotton, like a piece of butter. They likewiſe ſhoot with bows and arrows, though they no longer uſe them in battle; but their favourite exerciſe is throwing the *djerid:* this word, which properly means a reed, is generally uſed to ſignify any ſtaff thrown by the hand, after the manner of the Roman pilum. Inſtead of a ſtaff, the Mamlouks make uſe of branches of the palm-tree, freſh ſtripped. Theſe branches, which have the form of the ſtalk of an artichoke, are four feet long, and weigh five or ſix pounds. Armed with theſe, the cavaliers enter the liſts, and, riding full ſpeed, throw them at each other from a conſiderable diſtance. The aſſailant, as ſoon as he has thrown, turns his horſe, and his antagoniſt purſues, and throws his in his turn. The horſes, accuſtomed to this exerciſe, ſecond their maſters ſo well, that they ſeem alſo to ſhare in the pleaſure. But this pleaſure is attended with danger; for ſome can dart this weapon with ſo much force, as frequently to wound, and ſometimes mortally. Ill-fated was the man who could not eſcape the djerid of Ali Bey! Theſe ſports, which to us ſeem barbarous, are intimately connected with the poli-

* I ſay ancient, for ſteel is now no longer made there.

tical

tical ſtate of nations. Not three centuries ago they exiſted among ourſelves, and their being laid aſide is leſs owing to the accident of Henry the Second, or to a ſpirit of philoſophy, than to the ſtate of internal peace which has rendered them uſeleſs. Among the Turks and Mamlouks, on the contrary, they are retained, becauſe the anarchy in which they live continues to render whatever relates to the art of war abſolutely neceſſary. Let us now conſider whether their progreſs in this art be proportionate to their practice.

Military ſkill of the Mamlouks.

In Europe, when we hear of troops, and of war, we immediately figure to ourſelves a number of men diſtributed into companies, battalions, and ſquadrons; with uniforms well fitted, and of different colours, ranks and lines formed, combinations of particular manœuvres, or general evolutions; and, in a word, a complete ſyſtem of operations founded on eſtabliſhed principles. Theſe ideas are juſt, relative to ourſelves, but, when applied to the countries of which we are treating, are erroneous indeed. The Mamlouks know nothing of our military arts; they have neither uniforms, nor order, nor diſcipline, nor even ſubordination. Their troops are a mob, their march a riot, their battles duels, and their war a ſcene of robbery and plunder, which ordinarily begins even in the very city of Cairo; and, at the moment when there is the leaſt reaſon to expect it. A cabal gathers together, the Beys mount on horſeback, the alarm ſpreads, and their adverſaries appear: they charge each other in the ſtreet, ſabre in hand; a few murders decide the quarrel, and the weakeſt or moſt timid is exiled. The people are mere cyphers in theſe affrays. Of what importance is it to them that their tyrants cut each others throats? But it muſt not be imagined that they ſtand by indifferent ſpectators, that would be too dangerous in the midſt of bullets and ſcymetars; every one makes his eſcape from the ſcene of action till tranquillity is reſtored. Sometimes the populace pillage the houſes of the exiled, which the conquerors never attempt to prevent. And it will not be improper here to obſerve, that the phraſes employed in the European Gazettes, ſuch as "*The Beys* "*have raiſed recruits, the Beys have* "*excited the people to revolt, the Beys* "*have favoured one party,*" are ill calculated to furniſh accurate ideas. In the differences of the Beys, the people are never any thing more than merely paſſive inſtruments.

Sometimes the war is transferred to the country, but the art and conduct of the combatants is not more conſpicuous. The ſtrongeſt, or moſt daring party purſues the other. If they are equal in courage, they wait for each other, or appoint a rendezvous, where, without regarding the advantages of ſituation, the reſpective troops aſſemble in platoons, the boldeſt marching at their head. They advance towards their enemies, mutual defiances paſs, the attack begins, and every one chooſes his man: they fire, if they can, and preſently fall on with the ſabre; it is then the manageableneſs of the horſe and dexterity of the cavalier are diſplayed. If the former falls, the deſtruction of the latter is inevitable. In defeats, the valets, who

who are always preſent, remount their maſters; and if there are no witneſſes near, frequently knock them on the head to obtain the ſequins they never fail to carry. The battle is often decided by the death of two or three of the combatants. Of late years, eſpecially, the Mamlouks ſeem convinced, that as their patrons are the perſons principally intereſted, they ought to encounter the greateſt dangers, and therefore preſently leave them the enjoyment of that honour. If they gain the advantage, ſo much the better for all concerned; if they are overcome, they capitulate with the conqueror, who frequently makes his conditions before hand. There is nothing to be gained but by remaining quiet; they are ſure of finding a maſter who pays, and they return to Cairo to live at his expence until ſome new revolution takes place.

Diſcipline of the Mamlouks.

The intereſted and inconſtant character of this militia, is a neceſſary conſequence of its origin and conſtitution. The young peaſant, ſold in Mingrelia or Georgia, no ſooner arrives in Egypt, than his ideas undergo a total alteration. A new and extraordinary ſcene opens before him, where every thing conduces to awaken his audacity and ambition; though now a ſlave, he ſeems deſtined to become a maſter, and already aſſumes the ſpirit of his future condition. He calculates how far he is neceſſary to his patron, and obliges him to purchaſe his ſervices and his zeal; theſe he meaſures by the ſalary he receives, or that which he expects; and as in ſuch ſtates money is the only motive, the chief attention of the maſter is to ſatisfy the avidity of his ſervants, in order to ſecure their attachment. Hence that prodigality of the Beys, ſo ruinous to Egypt, which they pillage; that want of ſubordination in the Mamlouks, ſo fatal to the chiefs whom they deſpoil; and thoſe intrigues, which never ceaſe to agitate the whole nation. No ſooner is a ſlave enfranchiſed than he aſpires to the principal employments; and, who is to oppoſe his pretenſions? In thoſe who command, he diſcovers no ſuperiority of talents which can impreſs him with reſpect; in them he only ſees ſoldiers like himſelf, arrived at power by *the decrees of fate*; and if it pleaſe fate to favour him, he will attain it alſo, nor will he be leſs able in the art of governing, which conſiſts only in taking money, and giving blows with the ſabre.

From this ſyſtem alſo has ariſen an unbridled luxury, which, indulging the gratification of every imaginary want, has opened an unlimited field to the rapacity of the great. This luxury is ſo exceſſive, that there is not a Mamlouk, whoſe maintenance coſts leſs than twenty-five hundred livres (a hundred and four pounds) annually, and many of them coſt double that ſum. At every return of the Ramadan, they muſt have a new ſuit, French and Venetian cloths, and Damaſcus and India ſtuffs. They muſt often likewiſe be provided with new horſes and harneſs. They muſt have piſtols and ſabres from Damaſcus, gilt ſtirrups, and ſaddles and bridles plated with ſilver. The chiefs, to diſtinguiſh them from the vulgar, muſt have trinkets, precious ſtones, Arabian horſes of two or three hundred pounds value, ſhawls of Caſhmire,

Caſhmire, worth from five-and-twenty to fifty pounds each, and a variety of peliſſes, the cheapeſt of which coſts above twenty pounds *. The women have rejected the ancient cuſtom of wearing ſequins on the head and breaſt, as not ſufficiently ſplendid and coſtly, and in their ſtead have ſubſtituted diamonds, emeralds, rubies, and the fineſt pearls; and to their fondneſs of ſhawls and furs, have added a paſſion for Lyons ſtuffs and laces. When ſuch luxuries are become the neceſſaries of thoſe whoſe authority is without controul, and who neither reſpect the rights of property, nor the life of their inferiors, it is eaſy to conceive what muſt be the condition of their ſubjects who are obliged to furniſh them with whatever their caprice may require.

Manners of the Mamlouks.

The manners of the Mamlouks are ſuch, that though I ſhall ſtrictly adhere to truth, I am almoſt afraid I ſhall be ſuſpected of prejudice and exaggeration. Born for the moſt part in the rites of the Greek church, and circumciſed the moment they are bought, they are conſidered by the Turks themſelves as renegadoes, void of faith and of religion. Strangers to each other, they are not bound by thoſe natural ties which unite the reſt of mankind. Without parents, without children, the paſt has done nothing for them, and they do nothing for the future. Ignorant and ſuperſtitious from education, they become ferocious from the murders they commit, perfidious from frequent cabals, ſeditious from tumults, and baſe, deceitful, and corrupted by every ſpecies of debauchery. They are, above all, addicted to that abominable wickedneſs which was at all times the vice of the Greeks and of the Tartars, and is the firſt leſſon they receive from their maſters. It is difficult to account for this taſte, when we conſider that they all have women, unleſs we ſuppoſe they ſeek in one ſex, that poignancy of refuſal which they do not permit the other. It is however very certain, that there is not a ſingle Mamlouk but is polluted by this depravity; and the contagion is ſpread among the inhabitants of Cairo, and even the Chriſtians of Syria who reſide in that city.

Government of the Mamlouks.

Such are the men who at preſent govern and decide the fate of Egypt: a few lucky ſtrokes of the ſabre, a greater portion of cunning, or audacity, have conferred on them this pre-eminence; but it is not to be imagined that in changing fortune theſe upſtarts change their character; they have ſtill the meanneſs of ſlaves, though advanced to the rank of monarchs. Sovereignty with them is not the difficult art of directing to one common object the various paſſions of a numerous ſociety, but only the means of poſſeſſing more women, more toys, horſes, and ſlaves, and ſatisfying all their caprices. The whole adminiſtration, internal and external,

* The European merchants, who have adopted this luxury, do not think they have a decent wardrobe, unleſs its value exceeds twelve or fifteen thouſand livres (five or ſix hundred pounds.)

is conducted on this principle. It consists in managing the court of Constantinople, so as to elude the tribute or the menaces of the sultan; and in purchasing a number of slaves, multiplying partisans, countermining plots, and destroying their secret enemies by the dagger, or by poison. Ever tortured by the anxiety of suspicion, the chiefs live like the ancient tyrants of Syracuse. Morad and Ibrahim sleep continually in the midst of carbines and sabres, nor have they any idea of police or public order *. Their only employment is to procure money; and the method considered as the most simple, is to seize it wherever it is to be found, to wrest it by violence from its possessor, and to impose arbitrary contributions every moment on the villages and on the custom-house, which, in its turn, levies them again upon commerce.

A particular Account of the Government of the Druzes, *a People of* Syria.—*From the same Work.*

THE Druzes, as well as the Maronites, may be divided into two classes, the common people, and the people of eminence and property, distinguished by the title of Shaiks and Emirs, or descendants of princes. The greater part are cultivators, either as farmers or proprietors; every man lives on his inheritance, improving his mulberry-trees and vineyards; in some districts they grow tobacco, cotton, and some grain, but the quantity of these is inconsiderable. It appears that, at first, all the lands were, as formerly in Europe, in the hands of a small number of families. But, to render them productive, the great proprietors were forced to sell part of them, and let leases, which subdivision is become the chief source of the power of the state, by multiplying the number of persons interested in the public weal: there still exists, however, some traces of the original inequality, which even at this day produces pernicious effects. The great property possessed by some families, gives them too much influence in all the measures of the nation; and their private interests have too great weight in every public transaction. Their history, for some years back, affords sufficient proofs of this; since all the civil or foreign wars in which they have been engaged have originated in the ambition and personal views of some of the principal families, such as the Lesbeks, the Djambelats, the Ismaels of Solyma, &c. The Shaiks of these houses, who alone possess one tenth part of the country, procured creatures by their money, and, at last, involved all the Druzes in their dissensions. It must be owned, however, that, possibly, to this conflict between

* When I was at Cairo, some Mamlouks carried off the wife of a Jew, who was passing the Nile with her husband. The Jew having complained to Morad, that Bey replied in his rough tone of voice: *Well, let the young folks amuse themselves!* In the evening, the Mamlouks acquainted the Jew that they would restore him his wife if he would pay them one hundred piasters *for their trouble*; and to this he was obliged to submit. This instance is the more in point, since in this country women are held more sacred than life itself.

contending parties the whole nation owes the good fortune of never having been enſlaved by its chief.

This chief, called *Hakem*, or governor, alſo Emir, or Prince, is a ſort of a king, or general, who unites in his own perſon the civil and military powers. His dignity is ſometimes tranſmitted from father to ſon, ſometimes from one brother to another, and the ſucceſſion is determined rather by force than any certain laws. Females can in no caſe pretend to this inheritance. They are already excluded from ſucceſſion in civil affairs, and, conſequently, can ſtill leſs expect it in political: in general, the Aſiatic governments are too turbulent, and their adminiſtration renders military talents too neceſſary to admit of the ſovereignty of women. Among the Druzes, the male line of any family being extinguiſhed, the government devolves to him who is in poſſeſſion of the greateſt number of ſuffrages and reſources. But the firſt ſtep is to obtain the approbation of the Turks, of whom he becomes the vaſſal and tributory. It even happens, that, not unfrequently to aſſert their ſupremacy, they name the *Hakem*, contrary to the wiſhes of the nation, as in the caſe of Iſmael Haſbeya, raiſed to that dignity by Djezzar; but this conſtraint laſts no longer than it is maintained by that violence which gave it birth. The office of the governor is to watch over the good order of the ſtate, and to prevent the Emirs, Shaiks, and villages, from making war on each other; in caſe of diſobedience, he may employ force. He is alſo at the head of the civil power, and names the Cadis, only, always reſerving to himſelf the power of life and death. He collects the tribute, from which he annually pays to the Pacha a ſtated ſum. This tribute varies, in proportion as the nation renders itſelf more or leſs formidable: at the beginning of this century, it amounted to one hundred and ſixty purſes, (eight thouſand three hundred and thirty pounds), but Melhem forced the Turks to reduce it to ſixty. In 1784, Emir Youſef paid eighty and promiſed ninety. This tribute, which is called *Miri*, is impoſed on the mulberry-trees, vineyards, cotton, and grain. All ſown land pays in proportion to its extent; every foot of mulberries is taxed at three Medins, or three Sols, nine Deniers, (not quite twopence). A hundred feet of vineyard, pays a Piaſter, or forty Medins, and freſh meaſurements are often made, to preſerve a juſt proportion. The Shaiks and Emirs have no exemption in this reſpect, and it may be truly ſaid, they contribute to the public ſtock in proportion to their fortune. The collection is made almoſt without expence. Each man pays his contingent at Dair-el-Kamer, if he pleaſes, or to the collectors of the prince, who make a circuit round the country, after the crop of ſilks. The ſurplus of this tribute is for the prince, ſo that it is his intereſt to reduce the demands of the Turks, as it would be likewiſe to augment the impoſt; but this meaſure requires the ſanction of the Shaiks, who have the privilege of oppoſing it. Their conſent is neceſſary, likewiſe, for peace and war. In theſe caſes, the Emir muſt convoke general aſſemblies, and lay before them the ſtate of his affairs. There, every Shaik,

Shaik, and every Peasant, who has any reputation for courage or understanding, is entitled to give his suffrage, so that this government may be considered as a well-proportioned mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Every thing depends on circumstances: if the governor be a man of ability, he is absolute; if weak, a cypher. This proceeds from the want of fixed laws; a want common to all Asia, and the radical cause of all the disorders in the governments of the Asiatic nations.

Neither the chief, nor the individual Emirs, maintain troops; they have only persons attached to the domestic service of their houses, and a few black slaves. When the nation makes war, every man, whether Shaik or Peasant, able to bear arms, is called upon to march. He takes with him a little bag of flour, a musket, some bullets, a small quantity of powder, made in his village, and repairs to the rendezvous appointed by the governor. If it be a civil war, as sometimes happens, the servants, the farmers, and their friends, take up arms for their patron, or the chief of their family, and repair to his standard. In such cases, the parties irritated, frequently seem on the point of proceeding to the last extremities; but they seldom have recourse to acts of violence, or attempt the death of each other; mediators always interpose, and the quarrel is appeased the more readily as each patron is obliged to provide his followers with provisions and ammunition. This system, which produces happy effects in civil troubles, is attended with great inconvenience in foreign wars, as sufficiently appeared in that of 1784. Djezzar, who knew that the whole army lived at the expence of the Emir Yousef, aimed at nothing but delay, and the Druzes, who were not displeased at being fed for doing nothing, prolonged the operations; but the Emir, wearied of paying, concluded a treaty, the terms of which were not a little rigorous for him, and eventually for the whole nation, since nothing is more certain than that the interests of a prince and his subjects are always inseparable.

The ceremonies to which I have been a witness on these occasions, bear a striking resemblance to the customs of ancient times. When the Emir and the Shaiks had determined on war, at Dair-el-Kamar, criers in the evening ascended the summits of the mountain; and there began to cry with a loud voice: *To war, to war; take your guns, take your pistols: noble Shaiks, mount your horses; arm yourselves with the lance and sabre; rendezvous to-morrow at Dair-el-Kamar. Zeal of God! zeal of combats!* This summons heard from the neighbouring villages, was repeated there, and, as the whole country is nothing but a chain of lofty mountains and deep vallies, the proclamation passed in a few hours to the frontiers. These voices, from the stillness of the night, the long resounding echoes, and the nature of the subject, had something awful and terrible in their effect. Three days after, fifteen thousand armed men rendezvoused at Dair-el-Kamar, and operations might have been immediately commenced.

We may easily imagine that troops of this kind no way resemble our European soldiers; they have neither uniforms, nor discipline, nor order. They are a crowd of peasants with short coats, naked legs,

and muſkets in their hands; differing from the Turks and Mamlouks, in that they are all foot; the Shaiks and Emirs alone having horſes, which are of little uſe from the rugged nature of the country. War there can only be a war of poſts. The Druzes never riſk themſelves in the plain, and with reaſon, for they would be unable to ſtand the ſhock of cavalry, having no bayonets to their muſkets. Their whole art conſiſts in climbing rocks, creeping among the buſhes and blocks of ſtone, from whence their fire is the more dangerous; as they are covered, fire at their eaſe, and by hunting, and military ſports, have acquired the habit of hitting a mark with great dexterity. They are accuſtomed to ſudden inroads, attacks by night, ambuſcades, and all thoſe *coups de main*, which require to fall ſuddenly on, and come to cloſe fight with the enemy. Ardent in improving their ſucceſs, eaſily diſpirited, and prompt to reſume their courage; daring even to temerity, and ſometimes ferocious, they poſſeſs above all, two qualities eſſential to the excellency of any troops; they ſtrictly obey their leaders, and are endowed with a temperance and vigour of health, at this day unknown to moſt civilized nations. In the campaign of 1784, they paſſed three months in the open air, without tents, or any other covering than a ſheep-ſkin; yet were there not more deaths or maladies than if they had remained in their houſes. Their proviſions conſiſted, as at other times, of ſmall loaves baked on the aſhes, or on a brick, raw onions, cheeſe, olives, fruits, and a little wine. The table of the chiefs was almoſt as frugal, and we may affirm, that they ſubſiſted a hundred days, on what the ſame number of Engliſhmen or Frenchmen would not have lived ten. They have no knowledge of the ſcience of fortification, the management of artillery, or encampments, nor, in a word, any thing which conſtitutes the art of war. But, had they among them a few perſons verſed in military ſcience, they would readily acquire its principles, and become a formidable ſoldiery. This would be the more eaſily effected, as their mulberry plantations and vineyards do not occupy them all the year, and they could afford much time for military exerciſes *.

By the laſt eſtimates, it appears the number of men able to bear arms was forty thouſand, which ſuppoſes a total population of a hundred and twenty thouſand: no addition is to be made to this calculation, ſince there are no Druzes in the cities or on the coaſt. As the whole country contains only one hundred and ten ſquare leagues, there reſults for every league one thouſand and ninety perſons; which is equal to the population of our richeſt provinces. To render this more remarkable, it muſt be obſerved that the ſoil is not fertile, that a great many eminences remain uncultivated, that they do not grow corn enough to ſupport themſelves three months in the year, that they have no manufactures, and that all their exportations are confined

* In this leiſure time, when the crop of ſilk is over in Lebanon, a great many peaſants, like our inhabitants of the Limouſin, leave the mountains to get in the harveſts in the plains.

to silks and cottons, the balance of which exceeds very little the importation of corn from the Hauran, the oils of Palestine, and the rice and coffee they procure from Bairout.—Whence arises then such a number of inhabitants, within so small a space? I can discover no other cause, than that ray of liberty which glimmers in this country. Unlike the Turks, every man lives in a perfect security of his life and property. The peasant is not richer than in other countries; but he is free, "he fears not," as I have often heard them say, "that the A-"ga, the Kaimmakam, or the Pa-"cha, should send their Djendis *, "to pillage his house, carry off his "family, or give him the bastina-"do." Such oppressions are unknown among these mountains. Security, therefore, has been the original cause of population, from that inherent desire which all men have to multiply themselves wherever they find an easy subsistence. The frugality of the nation, which is content with little, has been a secondary, and not less powerful reason; and a third, is the emigration of a number of Christian families, who daily desert the Turkish provinces to settle in Mount Lebanon, where they are received with open arms by the Maronites, from similarity of religion, and by the Druzes from principles of toleration, and a conviction how much it is the interest of every country to multiply the number of its cultivators, consumers, and allies. They all live quietly together; but I cannot help adding, that the Christians frequently display an indiscreet and meddling zeal, too well calculated to disturb this tranquillity.

The comparison, which the Druzes often have an opportunity of making, between their situation and that of other subjects of the Turkish government, has given them an advantageous opinion of their superiority, which, by a natural effect, has an influence on their personal character. Exempt from the violence and insults of despotism, they consider themselves as more perfect than their neighbours, because they have the good fortune not to be equally debased. Hence they acquire a character more elevated, energetic, and active; in short, a genuine republican spirit. They are considered throughout the Levant as restless, enterprising, hardy, and brave even to temerity. Only three hundred of them have been seen to enter Damascus in open day, and spread around them terror and carnage. It is remarkable, that though their form of government is nearly similar, the Marohites do not possess these qualities to the same degree. Enquiring the reason, one day, in a company where this observation was made, in consequence of some recent events, an old Maronite, after a moment's silence, taking his pipe from his mouth, and curling his beard round his fingers, made answer, "Perhaps "the Druzes would be more afraid "of death, did they believe in a "future state." Nor are they great preachers of that morality which consists in pardoning injuries. No people are more nice than they with respect to the point of honour: any offence of that kind, or open

* Soldiers.

inſult, is inſtantly puniſhed by blows of the kandjur or the muſket; while among the inhabitants of the towns, it only excites injurious retorts. This delicacy has occaſioned in their manners and diſcourſe, a reſerve, or, if you will, a politeneſs, which one is aſtoniſhed to diſcover among peaſants. It is carried even to diſſimulation and falſehood, eſpecially among the chiefs, whoſe greater intereſts demand greater attentions. Circumſpection is neceſſary to all, from the formidable conſequences of that retaliation of which I have ſpoken. Theſe cuſtoms may appear barbarous to us; but they have the merit of ſupplying the deficiency of regular juſtice, which is neceſſarily tedious and uncertain in theſe diſorderly and almoſt anarchical governments.

The Druzes have another point of honour: that of hoſpitality. Whoever preſents himſelf at their door in the quality of a ſuppliant or paſſenger, is ſure of being entertained with lodging and food, in the moſt generous and unaffected manner, I have often ſeen the loweſt peaſants give the laſt morſel of bread they had in their houſes to the hungry traveller; and when I obſerved to them that they wanted prudence, their anſwer was: "God is liberal "and great, and all men are bre-"thren." There are, therefore, no inns in this country, any more than in the reſt of Turkey. When they have once contracted with their gueſt, the ſacred engagement of *bread* and *ſalt*, no ſubſequent event can make them violate it: various inſtances of this are related, which do honour to their character. A few years ago, an Aga of the Janiſſaries, having been engaged in a rebellion, fled from Damaſcus, and retired among the Druzes. The Pacha was informed of this, and demanded him of the Emir, threatening to make war on him in caſe of refuſal. The Emir demanded him of the Shaik Talhouk, who had received him; but the indignant Shaik replied, "When have you "known the Druzes deliver up "their gueſts? Tell the Emir, "that, as long as Talhouk ſhall "preſerve his beard, not a hair of "the head of his ſuppliant ſhall "fall!" The Emir threatened him with force; Talhouk armed his family. The Emir, dreading a revolt, adopted a method practiſed as juridical in that country. He declared to the Shaik, that he would cut down fifty mulberry-trees a day, until he ſhould give up the Aga. He proceeded as far as a thouſand, and Talhouk ſtill remained inflexible. At length, the other Shaiks, enraged, took up the quarrel, and the commotion was about to become general, when the Aga, reproaching himſelf with being the cauſe of ſo much miſchief, made his eſcape, without the knowledge even of Talhouk *.

The Druzes have alſo the prejudices

* I have found in an Arabic manuſcript, another anecdote, which, though foreign to my preſent ſubject, I think too excellent to be omitted.

"In the time of the Califs," ſays the author, "when Abdalah, the *ſhedder* "*of blood*, had murdered every deſcendant of Ommiah within his reach, one of "that family, named Ibrahim, the ſon of Soliman, ſon of Abd-el-Malek, had the "good fortune to eſcape, and reach Koufa, which he entered in diſguiſe. Know-"ing no perſon in whom he could confide, he ſat down under the portico of a "large

judices of the Bedouins reſpecting birth; like them, they pay great reſpect to the antiquity of families; but this produces no eſſential inconveniences. The nobility of the Emirs and Shaiks does not exempt them from paying tribute, in proportion to their revenues. It confers on them no prerogatives, either in the attainment of landed property, or public employments. In this country, no more than in all Turkey, are they acquainted with game-laws, or glebes, or ſeigniorial, or eccleſiaſtical tithes, franc fiefs or alienation fines; every thing is held, as I have ſaid, in freehold: every man, after paying his miri and his rent, is maſter of his property. In ſhort, by a particular privilege, the Druzes and Maronites pay no fine for their ſucceſſion; nor does the Emir, like the Sultan, arrogate to himſelf original and univerſal property: there exiſts, nevertheleſs, in the law of inheritance, an imperfection which produces diſagreeable effects. Fathers have, as in the Roman law, the power of preferring ſuch of their children as they think proper; hence it has happened, in ſeveral families of the Shaiks, that the whole property has centered in the ſame perſon, who has perverted it to the purpoſe of intriguing and caballing, while his relations remain, as they well expreſs it, *princes of olives and cheeſe*; that is to ſay, poor as peaſants.

In conſequence of their prejudices, the Druzes do not chooſe to make alliances out of their own families. They invariably prefer their relation, though poor, to a rich ſtranger; and poor peaſants have been known to refuſe their daughters to merchants of Saide and Bairout, who poſſeſſed from twelve to fifteen thouſand piaſters. They obſerve alſo, to a certain degree, the cuſtom of the Hebrews, which directed that

" large houſe. Soon after the maſter arriving, followed by ſeveral ſervants, " alighted from his horſe, entered, and, ſeeing the ſtranger, aſked him who he " was. I am an unfortunate man, replies Ibrahim, and requeſt from thee an " aſylum. God protect thee, ſaid the rich man; enter, and remain in peace. " Ibrahim lived ſeveral months in this houſe, without being queſtioned by his " hoſt. But, aſtoniſhed to ſee him every day go out on horſeback, and return, at " the ſame hour, he ventured one day to enquire the reaſon—I have been in- " formed, replied the rich man, that a perſon named Ibrahim, the ſon of Soli- " man, is concealed in this town; he has ſlain my father, and I am ſearching " for him to retaliate.—Then I knew, ſaid Ibrahim, that God had purpoſely " conducted me to that place; I adored his decree, and, reſigning myſelf to " death, I anſwered,—God has determined to avenge thee, offended man; thy " victim is at thy feet. The rich man, aſtoniſhed, replied,—O! ſtranger! I ſee " thy miſfortunes have made thee weary of life; thou ſeekeſt to loſe it, but my " hand cannot commit ſuch a crime.—I do not deceive thee, ſaid Ibrahim; thy " father was ſuch a one; we met each other in ſuch a place, and the affair hap- " pened in ſuch and ſuch a manner." A violent trembling then ſeized the rich man; his teeth chattered as if from intenſe cold; his eyes alternately ſparkled with fury, and overflowed with tears. In this agitation, he remained a long time; at length, turning to Ibrahim—To-morrow, ſaid he, deſtiny ſhall join thee to my father, and God will have retaliated. But as for me, how can I violate the aſylum of my houſe? Wretched ſtranger, fly from my preſence! There, take theſe hundred ſequins: begone quickly, and let me never behold thee more!

a brother ſhould eſpouſe his brother's widow; but this is not peculiar to them, for they retain that as well as ſeveral other cuſtoms of that ancient people, in common with other inhabitants of Syria, and all the Arab tribes.

In ſhort, the proper and diſtinctive character of the Druzes is, as I have ſaid, a ſort of republican ſpirit, which gives them more energy than any other ſubjects of the Turkiſh government, and an indifference for religion, which forms a ſtriking contraſt with the zeal of the Mahometans and Chriſtians. In other reſpects, their private life, their cuſtoms and prejudices, are the ſame with other Orientals. They may marry ſeveral wives, and repudiate them when they chuſe; but, except by the Emir and a few men of eminence, that is rarely practiſed. Occupied with their rural labours, they experience neither artificial wants, nor thoſe inordinate paſſions, which are produced by the idleneſs of the inhabitants of cities and towns. The veil, worn by their women, is of itſelf a preſervative againſt thoſe deſires which are the occaſion of ſo many evils in ſociety. No man knows the face of any other woman than his wife, his mother, his ſiſter, and ſiſters-in-law. Every man lives in the boſom of his own family, and goes little abroad. The women, thoſe even of the Shaiks, make the bread, roaſt the coffee, waſh the linen, cook the victuals, and perform all domeſtic offices. The men cultivate their lands and vineyards, and dig canals for watering them. In the evening they ſometimes aſſemble in the court, the area, or houſe of the chief of the village or family. There, ſeated in a circle, with legs croſſed, pipes in their mouths, and poniards at their belts, they diſcourſe of their various labours, the ſcarcity or plenty of their harveſts, peace or war, the conduct of the Emir, or the amount of the taxes; they relate paſt tranſactions, diſcuſs preſent intereſts, and form conjectures on the future. Their children, tired with play, come frequently to liſten; and a ſtranger is ſurpriſed to hear them, at ten or twelve years old, recounting, with a ſerious air, why Djezzar declared war againſt the Emir Youſef, how many purſes it coſt that prince, what augmentation there will be of the miri, how many muſkets there were in the camp, and who had the beſt mare. This is their only education. They are neither taught to read the Pſalms, as among the Maronites, nor the Koran, like the Mahometans; hardly do the Shaiks know how to write a letter. But if their mind be deſtitute of uſeful or agreeable information, at leaſt, it is not pre-occupied by falſe and hurtful ideas; and, without doubt, ſuch natural ignorance is well worth all our artificial folly. This advantage reſults from it, that their underſtandings being nearly on a level, the inequality of conditions is leſs perceptible. For, in fact, we do not perceive among the Druzes that great diſtance which, in moſt other ſocieties, degrades the inferior, without contributing to the advantage of the great. All, whether Shaiks or peaſants, treat each other with that rational familiarity, which is equally remote from rudeneſs and ſervility. The grand Emir himſelf is not a different man from the reſt: he is a good country gentleman, who does not diſdain admitting to his table the meaneſt farmer. In a word,

word, their manners are those of ancient times, and that rustic life, which marks the origin of every nation; and prove the people among whom they are still found are, as yet, only in the infancy of the social state.

Remarkable Speech of Logan, *a* Mingo *Chief, to Lord* Dunmore, *when Governor of* Virginia.—*Extracted from Mr.* Jefferson's *Observations on* Buffon's *Remarks on the* Indians *of* North America.

In order to the better understanding of the following Speech, Mr. Jefferson *introduces it by first stating the following Circumstances which gave Rise to it.*

"IN the spring of the year 1774, a robbery and murder were committed on an inhabitant of the frontiers of that state, by two Indians of the Shawanee tribe. The neighbouring whites, according to their custom, undertook to punish this outrage in a summary way. Col. Cresap, a man infamous for the many murders he had committed on those much-injured people, collected a party, and proceeded down the Kanhaway in quest of vengeance. Unfortunately a canoe of women and children, with one man only, was seen coming from the opposite shore, unarmed, and unsuspecting a hostile attack from the whites. Cresap and his party concealed themselves on the bank of the river, and the moment the canoe reached the shore, singled out their objects, and, at one fire, killed every person in it.—This happened to be the family of Logan, who had long been distinguished as a friend of the whites. This unworthy return provoked his vengeance. He accordingly signalized himself in the war which ensued. In the autumn of the same year, a decisive battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, between the collected forces of the Shawanees, Mingoes, and Delawares, and a detachment of the Virginia militia. The Indians were defeated, and sued for peace. Logan, however, disdained to be seen among the suppliants. But, lest the sincerity of a treaty should be distrusted, from which so distinguished a chief absented himself, he sent by a messenger the following speech, to be delivered to Lord Dunmore:"

'I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he cloathed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man, Col. Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not sparing even my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance.—For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life.—Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one.'

The Story of Angelica.—*From a philosophical, historical, and moral Essay on* Old Maids, *by a Friend to the Sisterhood.*

"ANGELICA was the only child of a worthy gentleman, who having left his wife, and dying himself during the infancy of his daughter, left her, with an estate of about a thousand a year, to the care of his most intimate friend, a man of great integrity and benevolence, with a moderate fortune and a numerous family. Angelica grew up in the most affectionate intimacy with all the children of her excellent guardian; but her favourite friend was his eldest daughter, whom we will call Faustina. She was born in the same year with Angelica, and possessed the same intelligent sweetness of temper, with the additional advantages of a beautiful countenance and a majestic person. Angelica had never any claim to either of these perfections: her stature was rather below the common size, and her features, though softened by modesty, and animated by a lively understanding, were neither regular nor handsome; but, from the tenor of her life, it may be questioned, if any female ever possessed a more beautiful soul. At the age of twenty-three she continued to reside in the house of her guardian, when a young man of a pleasing person and most engaging manners, to whom we will give the name of Eumenes, became a very assiduous visitor at that house. He was a man of the fairest character, but of a narrow fortune; and many good people, who supposed him enamoured of Angelica's estate, began to censure the guardian of that lady for encouraging the preliminary steps to so unequal a match; they even foretold, as Eumenes was particularly attentive to Angelica, and often alone with her, that the young gentleman would soon settle himself in life, by eloping with the heiress. Her guardian, who governed all his household by gentleness and affection, had too much confidence in his ward to apprehend such an event: but he began to think, that a serious and mutual passion was taking root in the bosom of each party; an opinion in which he was confirmed, by observing, that while his daughter was engaged in a distant visit of some weeks, Eumenes continued to frequent the house with his usual assiduity, and seemed to court the society of Angelica. The old gentleman was, however, mistaken in one part of his conjecture; for Eumenes only sought the company of Angelica as the sensible and pleasing friend of his absent favourite: but as he had not yet confessed his love, the gentle Angelica, like her guardian, misinterpreted his assiduity, and conceived for him the tenderest affection; which, with her usual frankness, she determined to impart to her dear Faustina, as soon as she returned. From this resolution she was accidentally diverted by a joyous confusion, which discovered itself both in the features and behaviour of Faustina, who, on the very day of her return, eagerly put a letter into the hand of Angelica, and requested her to read it in her chamber, while she flew to converse in private with her father on its important contents. The letter was from Eumenes. It contained a passionate declaration of his attachment to Faustina, and a very romantic plan to facilitate their speedy marriage. What the feelings of Angelica

lica muſt have been in the peruſal of this letter, I ſhall leave the lively female imagination to ſuppoſe, and only ſay, that, having ſubdued all traces of her own painful emotion before Fauſtina had finiſhed her conference with her father, ſhe entered their apartment. She found her friend in tears, and the benevolent old gentleman endeavouring to make his agitated daughter ſmile again, by treating the propoſal as a jeſt, and declaring that he would conſent to the union of two tender romantic lovers, as ſoon as they could marry without a proſpect of ſtarving; which, he ſaid, from the expectations of Eumenes, they might poſſibly accompliſh in the courſe of twenty years. The generous Angelica inſtantly became the patroneſs of Eumenes and Fauſtina; ſhe interceded for their being immediately allowed to form the happineſs of each other, and, to obviate every parental objection to the match, ſhe inſiſted on ſettling half her fortune upon them, with a propoſal of becoming a part of their family.

The guardian of Angelica treated her romantic idea with a mixture of admiration and ridicule: Eumenes and Fauſtina regarded it with the moſt ſerious gratitude, but at the ſame time rejected the too generous offer, with a reſolution ſo noble and ſincere, that it increaſed the ardent deſire which Angelica felt, to make her own eaſy fortune the ſole inſtrument of their general happineſs: but all her liberal efforts for this purpoſe were as liberally oppoſed, and all ſhe could obtain was a promiſe from her guardian, to allow the lovers to cheriſh their affection for each other, and to marry as ſoon as Eumenes, who had juſt taken orders, ſhould obtain preferment ſufficient to ſupport a wife. This, however, was an event which the worthy father of Fauſtina had not the happineſs of ſeeing: he died in the following year; and Angelica, who had no longer any controller to apprehend in the management of her fortune, renewed her former generous propoſal to her friends. They perſevered in their magnanimous refuſal of her bounty, though ſome family circumſtances made them peculiarly anxious to ſettle together as ſoon as poſſible, on any ſlender proviſion. An event, however, ſoon happened, which enabled them to marry without any treſpaſs on the rules of œconomical diſcretion. Eumenes was unexpectedly preſented to one of the moſt valuable livings in the kingdom, by a nobleman, who profeſſed to give it him in conſequence of a juvenile and almoſt forgotten friendſhip with his deceaſed father. This ſurpriſing ſtroke of good fortune made the lovers and their ſympathetic friend completely happy. The wedding was ſoon adjuſted. Angelica ſettled herſelf in a pleaſant villa, within a few miles of the wealthy rector; who was ſurrounded in a few years with a very promiſing family: ſhe ſhared, and contributed not a little to, the happineſs of her friends, being frequently at their houſe; and when ſhe returned to her own, being conſtantly accompanied by one or two of the little ones. She had a peculiar delight, and was ſingularly ſkilful in the cultivation of young minds. She rejected ſeveral offers of marriage, and her general anſwer was, that ſhe would never change her ſtate, becauſe ſhe already enjoyed the higheſt pleaſure that human life

can

can beſtow, in the ſhare which her friends allowed her to take in the education of their lovely children. Eumenes and Fauſtina vied with each other in doing juſtice to the virtues and talents of this admirable woman, and, through many years of the moſt familiar and friendly intercourſe with her, they continued to regard her with increaſing eſteem; yet ſhe had ſome ſecret merits, to which they were utter ſtrangers, till death had robbed them for ever of her engaging ſociety.

About four years ago the excellent Angelica contracted an epidemical fever, and departed to a better world, at the age of forty-ſeven. She left the bulk of her fortune to be divided equally among the children of Fauſtina; and there was found, in a little cabinet which contained her will, the following extraordinary letter to that lady:

"My very dear friend,

"Having enjoyed your entire confidence from our infancy, I think myſelf bound to apologiſe to you, for having returned it, during ſeveral years, with diſguiſe and deluſion. Be not ſtartled at this ſurpriſing intelligence—but why do I ſay ſtartled? the moments for ſuch terror will be paſt, and you will be able to feel only a melancholy tenderneſs towards your beloved Angelica, when you read this paper, as it is not to reach you till ſhe is no more: perhaps it may never reach you; yet I hope it will. I pray to Heaven that you may ſurvive me, and in that comfortable expectation I ſhall here pour forth to you my whole heart.

You may remember, that when we were firſt enlivened by the acquaintance of Eumenes, I was frequently rallied on his attention to me: as that attention was ſufficient to miſlead the vanity of any girl, I need not bluſh in confeſſing to you its effect upon me—I forgot, in your abſence, the ſuperiority of your attractions, and, credulouſly ſuppoſing that the affection of Eumenes was ſettled on myſelf, I haſtily gave him my heart. As I never deſigned, however, that this fooliſh heart ſhould hide any of its foibles from my Fauſtina, I was preparing to tell you the true ſtate of it, when you imparted to me the ſurpriſing important letter, which declared the wiſer choice of Eumenes. Yes, my dear, I ſay ſincerely, the wiſer choice, and ſhall prove it ſo. Remember that I am now ſpeaking as from the grave, and you will not ſuſpect me of flattery.—But to return to that heart-ſearching letter. I will confeſs to you, that I wept bitterly for ſome minutes, as ſoon as I had firſt peruſed it. I felt as fooliſh as a child, who, having built for the firſt time a caſtle of cards, ſees it ſuddenly overthrown. But my heart ſoon corrected the errors of my vain imagination: I began to commune with my own ſoul; I ſaid to myſelf, why am I thus mortified? what is my wiſh? is it not to ſee and to make Eumenes happy? and is not this ſtill in my power? not, indeed, as a wife, ſince he has judiciouſly choſen a lovely girl, much more likely to ſucceed in that character; but ſtill as the friend of two excellent creatures, formed for each other, and equally dear to me. It was thus I reaſoned with myſelf. My benevolence and my pride were highly flattered in this ſelf-debate; and it gave me ſpirit to act towards you both

both in the manner you well remember. It hurt me much to find, that my darling propoſal for your ſpeedy union was thwarted ſo long, ſhall I ſay, by your nobleneſs or nature, or by your falſe delicacy? I believe I called it at the time by the latter name, being thoroughly perſuaded, that in your condition I would have accepted from you the offer which I made. At length, however, the time arrived, in which I was enabled to accompliſh, in a manner unknown to you, the darling object of my ambition.

Allow me, my deareſt friends, to boaſt in this paper, that I have been the inviſible architect of the happineſs which we have now enjoyed together for many years. It was the unſeen hand of your Angelica, that made you the happy wife of Eumenes, by placing him in that preferment to which his virtues have given him ſo juſt a title. How I was fortunately enabled to make, and to conceal, ſo deſirable a purchaſe, you will perfectly comprehend, from the collection of papers which I ſhall leave in the cabinet with my will and this letter. As long as the diſcovery could wound your honeſt pride, by a load of imaginary obligation, I determined never to make it; but, ſo ſtrange is human pride! we are never hurt by the idea of obligation to the dead; and remember, as I ſaid once before, that I am now ſpeaking from the grave. By this conduct I am humouring, at one and the ſame time, both your pride and my own; for I will here avow, that I am very ambitious of increaſing, after my death, that pure and perfect regard which ye have both ſhewn, through the courſe of many ſocial years, to your living Angelica.—But, while I am thus ſoliciting an increaſe of your affection, let me guard that very affection from one painful exceſs. I know you both ſo well, that I am almoſt ſure you will exclaim together, on firſt reading theſe papers, Good God, what a generous creature, to make ſuch a ſacrifice of herſelf for our ſakes! But, affectionate as theſe expreſſions may be, they will be far from juſt. Be aſſured, my dear friends—and I now ſpeak the language of ſober reaſon—I have made *no ſacrifice*; ſo far from it, I am convinced, from a long and ſerious ſurvey of human life, that the moſt ſelfiſh and worldly being could not have purſued any ſyſtem more conducive to their own private intereſt and advantage than mine has been. You will agree with me in this truth, when I impart to you ſome of my own philoſophical remarks. I will begin with one of the moſt important, and it will ſurpriſe you; it is this—I am thoroughly convinced, that I ſhould not have been happy, had I been, what I once ardently hoped to be, the wife of Eumenes. Hear my reaſon, and ſubſcribe to its truth. Amiable as he is, he is a little haſty in his temper; and this circumſtance would have been ſufficient to make us unhappy; for, even ſuppoſing I had been able to treat it with the indulgent good ſenſe of his gentle Fauſtina, yet all the good-humour that I could have put, on ſuch occaſions, into my homely viſage, would have had but a ſlow effect in ſuppreſſing thoſe frequent ſparks of irritation, which are extinguiſhed in a moment by one of her lovely ſmiles. Take it, my dear, as one of my maxims, that every man of haſty ſpirit ought to have a very handſome wife; for, although

although ſenſe and good temper in the lady may be the eſſential remedies for this maſculine foible; yet, believe me, their operation is quickened tenfold by the heart-piercing light of a beautiful countenance. I was led to this remark by a very painful ſcene, which once paſſed between Eumenes and me: he was angry with me for taking the part of his ſon Charles, in a little diſpute between them; and, though I argued the point with him very calmly, he ſaid ſharply, after the boy had quitted the room, that I ſhewed, indeed, much fondneſs to the child, but no true friendſhip to the father. The expreſſion ſtung me ſo deeply, that I no longer retained a perfect command over my own temper; and, to convince him of the truth and the extent of that friendſhip, which he arraigned ſo unjuſtly, I ſhould certainly have betrayed the darling ſecret of my life, which I had reſolved to keep inviolate to the end of my days, had not the ſudden appearance of my dear Fauſtina ſuggeſted to me all the affectionate reaſons for my ſecrecy, and thus reſtored me to myſelf. Her ſmiles now ſhewed their very great ſuperiority over my arguments; for, almoſt without the aid of words, but with a ſweetneſs of manner peculiar to herſelf, ſhe reconciled, in a few minutes, the too haſty father, not only to poor Charles, but to the more childiſh Angelica. This, I believe, was the only time that I was in danger of betraying a ſecret, which I had, I think, judiciouſly impoſed upon myſelf; for my diſguiſe on this point, as it equally conſulted our mutual pride and delicacy (whether true or falſe delicacy no matter) has, I conceive, been very favourable to our general happineſs; to my own I am ſure it has. In all thoſe moments of ſpleen or depreſſion, to which, I believe, every mortal is in ſome degree ſubject, nothing has relieved me ſo much as the animating recollection, that I have been the unknown architect of my friends felicity. There is ſomething angelic in the idea, ſupremely flattering to the honeſt pride of a feeling heart. Yet, pleaſed as I have ever been with the review of my own conduct, which the world might deride as romantic, I would by no means recommend it to another female in my ſituation; not from an idea that ſhe might not be as diſintereſted as myſelf, but leſt in her friend ſhe ſhould not find a Fauſtina; for it has not been my own virtue, but the virtues of my lovely inimitable friend, which have given the full ſucceſs to my project. Had my Fauſtina and Eumenes lived, like many other married folks, in ſcenes of frequent bickering or debate, I ſhould, I doubt not, like many other good ſpinſters, who are witneſſes of ſuch connubial altercation, have entertained the vain idea that I could have managed the temper of the lordly creature much better, and, of courſe, ſhould have been very reſtleſs that I was not his wife: but, to do full juſtice to the uncommon merits of my incomparable Fauſtina, I here moſt ſolemnly declare to her, I never, ſince her marriage, beheld or thought of her and Eumenes, without a full perſuaſion that Heaven had made them for each other.—But it is high time to finiſh this ſingular confeſſion, in which, perhaps, I have indulged myſelf too long. I will only add my prayers, that Heaven may continue health and human happineſs to

to my two friends, beyond the period assigned to my mortal existence; and that, whenever I may cease to enjoy their friendship on earth, they will tenderly forget all the foibles, and mutually cherish the memory, of

their affectionate

ANGELICA."

This generous Old Maid displayed also in her will, which she composed herself, many touching marks of her affectionate spirit.—The house in which she resided, she left as a little legacy to Faustina, and requested her friends to remove into it upon her decease, that Faustina might not be exposed to a more painful removal, if she should happen to survive her husband. As she knew that a compliance with this request would lead her friends into some depressive sensations, she contrived to furnish them with an engaging though melancholy occupation, by requesting them to build a kind of monument to herself, under the form of a little temple to Friendship, on a favourite spot in the garden.

Nothing, perhaps, can equal the uncommon generosity of Angelica, but the tender and unaffected sorrow with which her loss has been lamented. The most trivial of her requests has been religiously observed, and the whole family of Eumenes seem to think no pleasure equal to that of doing justice to her merit, and proclaiming their unexampled obligations to their departed friend."

Two Letters from Sarah *Duchess of* Marlborough, *copied literally from the original MS. and directed as follows:—"for Doctor* Clarke *att "his hous near* St James' Church."

Saterday

I GIVE you my thanks for the favour of your leter to me, and am glad I ded not hear of the poor Bishop of Bangors illness tell the danger is over, I have never seen Ld sun: fence I came out of Town, but I expect him here to day at dinner, I wish I may have any thing to say from him that is worth troubling either of you with, but you will be gon before my leter can come to you, and therefore I will write to the Bishop,

the surgeons assure me that they see no danger in the Duke of Marlborough's shoulder however they will not yet consent that hee shall goe to Woodstock, I suspect that caution may proceed from their knowing that one of them must bee always with us when we are at such a distance from London, and therefore they will defer our going as long as they can to attend their other business, I do and have told them that I will buy them at their own rates, and I have known but very few ministers or faverits that were not to bee bought, which must be done in this case, for when they shall come and tell me that his shoulder may be dressed by any body, I can't sleep fifty mile from London, if one of the best surgeons does not lye in the hous, by this account I am apt to think at your return upon the 22d of August you will find us here, but where ever I shall happen to bee you are sure of being always wellcome to your most faithfull

humble servant and friend

S. Marlborough.

my humble servis

to Mrs Clarke

having

having this opertunity of writing to you by the Surgeon which will come to you before you leave London, I have a mind to tell you that my Lord Sunderland was here as I expected, I had a great deal of discourse with him upon the B. of Bangor and your affaires, tis impossible for me to write all the particulars, but hee professes all the value and esteem imaginable for you both, he assures me that the B. of Bangor is to be B. of Bath and Wells when it falls, but he only fix's him there because it is the most probable to bee vacant first, but if any other should fall before that, except some of the very great ones hee will bee for the B. of Bangors having it, what he continues to think of for you is a very good thing which Doctor Younger has at S[t] Paul's, which is consistent with what you have, and when I spoake of what you wished for your brother hee expressed as much pleasure in doing that for him, as you could have in it yourself, and said hee knew him and ownd that he was a very good man and had a grete deal of merrit, hee added that he design to get a thousand pound in the winter of the King for the B. of Bangor to help him tell somthing happend that was better than what he has, hee appeared to me to bee very desirous of serving you both in any thing that should happen to bee in his power, and I do really believe that hee thinks himself that men of your abillitys, would be of so much use to him, that he sincerely wish's that you would help him to ease som things which makes it more difficult to compass what I desire then perhaps you will beleive, tho I hope you will never doubt of my being with all the truth imaginable your most faithful friend and humble servant

S: Marlborough.

Sunday the 26 of July
windsor lodge

I hope you will give the B. of Bangor an account of the substance of this leter.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1787.

By T. WARTON, *Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

I.

IN rough magnificence array'd,
When ancient Chivalry diſplay'd
The pomp of her heroic games;
And creſted chiefs, and tiſſued dames,
Aſſembled, at the clarion's call,
In ſome proud caſtle's high-arch'd hall,
To grace romantic glory's genial rites:
Aſſociate of the gorgeous feſtival,
The Minſtrel ſtruck his kindred ſtring,
And told of many a ſteel-clad king,
Who to the turney train'd his hardy knights;
Or bore the radiant redcroſs ſhield
Mid the bold peers of Salem's field;
Who travers'd pagan climes to quell
The wiſard foe's terrific ſpell;
In rude affrays untaught to fear
The Saracen's gigantic ſpear—
The liſtening champions felt the fabling rhime
With fairy trappings fraught, and ſhook their plumes ſublime.

II.

Such were the themes of regal praiſe
Dear to the Bard of elder days;
The ſongs, to ſavage virtue dear,
That won of yore the public ear!
Ere Polity, ſedate and ſage,
Had quench'd the fires of feudal rage,
Had ſtemm'd the torrent of eternal ſtrife,
And charm'd to reſt an unrelenting age.—
No more, in formidable ſtate,
The Caſtle ſhuts its thundering gate;
New colours ſuit the ſcenes of ſoften'd life;

No

No more, beſtriding barbed ſteeds,
Adventurous Valour idly bleeds:
And now the Bard in alter'd tones,
A theme of worthier triumph owns;
By ſocial imagery beguil'd,
He moulds his harp to manners mild;
Nor longer weaves the wreath of war alone,
Nor hails the hoſtile forms that grac'd the Gothic Throne.

III.

And now he tunes his plauſive lay
To Kings, who plant the civic bay;
Who chooſe the patriot ſovereign's part,
Diffuſing commerce, peace, and art;
Who ſpread the virtuous pattern wide,
And triumph in a nation's pride:
Who ſeek coy Science in her cloiſter'd nook,
Where Thames, yet rural, rolls an artleſs tide;
Who love to view the vale divine,
Where revel Nature and the Nine,
And cluſtering towers the tufted grove o'erlook;
To Kings, who rule a filial land,
Who claim a People's vows and pray'rs,
Should Treaſon arm the weakeſt hand!
To Theſe, his heart-felt praiſe he bears,
And with new rapture haſtes to greet
This feſtal morn, that longs to meet,
With luckieſt auſpices, the laughing ſpring;
And opes her glad career, with bleſſings on her wing!

ODE *on his* MAJESTY'*s Birth-Day, June* 4, 1787.

By T. WARTON, *Eſq. Poet-Laureat.*

I.

THE nobleſt Bards of Albion's choir
Have ſtruck of old this feſtal lyre.
Ere Science, ſtruggling oft in vain,
Had dar'd to break her Gothic chain,
Victorious Edward gave the vernal bough
Of Britain's bay to bloom on Chaucer's brow:
Fir'd with the gift, he chang'd to ſounds ſublime
His Norman minſtrelſy's diſcordant chime;
In tones majeſtic hence he told
The banquet of Cambuſcan bold;
And oft he ſung (howe'er the rhyme
Has moulder'd to the touch of time)

His

His martial maſter's knightly board,
And Arthur's ancient rites reſtor'd;
The prince in fable ſteel that ſternly frown'd,
And Gallia's captive king, and Creſſy's wreath renown'd.

II.

Won from the ſhepherd's ſimple meed,
The whiſpers wild of Mulla's reed,
Sage Spenſer wak'd his lofty lay
To grace Eliza's golden ſway:
O'er the proud theme new luſtre to diffuſe,
He choſe the gorgeous allegoric Muſe,
And call'd to life old Uther's elfin tale,
And rov'd thro' many a necromantic vale,
Pourtraying chiefs that knew to tame
The goblin's ire, the dragon's flame,
To pierce the dark enchanted hall,
Where Virtue ſate in lonely thrall.
From fabling Fancy's inmoſt ſtore
A rich romantic robe he bore;
A veil with viſionary trappings hung,
And o'er his virgin-queen the fairy texture flung.

III.

At length the matchleſs Dryden came,
To light the Muſes' clearer flame;
To lofty numbers grace to lend,
And ſtrength with melody to blend;
To triumph in the bold career of ſong,
And roll th' unwearied energy along.
Does the mean incenſe of promiſcuous praiſe,
Does ſervile fear, diſgrace his regal bays?
I ſpurn his panegyric ſtrings,
His partial homage, tun'd to kings!
Be mine, to catch his manlier chord,
That paints th' impaſſion'd Perſian lord,
By glory fir'd, to pity ſu'd,
Rouz'd to revenge, by love ſubdu'd;
And ſtill, with tranſport new, the ſtrains to trace
That chant the Theban pair, and Tancred's deadly vaſe.

IV.

Had theſe bleſt Bards been call'd, to pay
The vows of this auſpicious day,
Each had confeſs'd a fairer throne,
A mightier ſovereign, than his own!
Chaucer had bade his hero-monarch yield
The fame of Agincourt's triumphal field

To peaceful prowefs, and the conqueft's calm,
That braid the fceptre with the patriot's palm:
His chaplets of fantaftic bloom,
His colourings, warm from Fiction's loom,
Spenfer had caft in fcorn away,
And deck'd with truth alone the lay;
All real here—the Bard had feen
The glories of his pictur'd Queen!
The tuneful Dryden had not flatter'd here,
His lyre had blamelefs been, his tribute all fincere!

ODE *to a* LADY *going abroad.—From vol. 3d of* THE LOUNGER.

I.

FAR, far from me my Delia goes,
And all my pray'rs, my tears, are vain;
Nor fhall I know one hour's repofe,
Till Delia blefs thefe eyes again.

Companion of the wretched, come,
Fair Hope! and dwell with me a while;
Thy heavenly prefence gilds the gloom,
While happier fcenes in profpect fmile.

Oh! who can tell what Time may do?
How all my forrows yet may end?
Can fhe reject a love fo true?
Can Delia e'er forfake her friend?

Unkind and rude the thorn is feen,
No fign of future fweetnefs fhows;
But time calls forth its lovely green,
And fpreads the bluflhes of the rofe.

Then come, fair Hope, and whifper peace,
And keep the happy fcenes in view,
When all thefe cares and fears fhall ceafe,
And Delia blefs a love fo true.

II.

Hope, fweet deceiver, ftill believ'd,
In mercy fent to foothe our care:
Oh! tell me, am I now deceiv'd,
And wilt thou leave me to defpair?

Then hear, ye Powers, my earneft pray'r,
This pang unutterable fave;
Let me not live to know defpair,
But give me quiet in the grave!

Why ſhould I live to hate the light,
Be with myſelf at conſtant ſtrife,
And drag about, in nature's ſpite,
An uſeleſs, joyleſs, load of life?

But far from her all ills remove,
Your favourite care let Delia be,
Long bleſt in friendſhip, bleſt in love,
And may ſhe never think on me.

III.

But if, to prove my love ſincere,
The fates a while this trial doom;
Then aid me, Hope, my woes to bear,
Nor leave me till my Delia come;

Till Delia come, no more to part,
And all theſe cares and fears remove,
Oh, come! relieve this widow'd heart,
Oh, quickly come! my pride, my love!

My Delia come! whoſe looks beguile,
Whoſe ſmile can charm my cares away;—
Oh! come with that enchanting ſmile,
And brighten up life's wintry day;

Oh, come! and make me full amends
For all my cares, my fears, my pain;
Delia, reſtore me to my friends,
Reſtore me to myſelf again.

On the late Improvements at Nuneham, *the Seat of the Earl of* HARCOURT.

By the late W. WHITEHEAD, *Eſq.*

DAME Nature, the Goddeſs, one very bright day,
In ſtrolling thro' Nuneham, met *Brown* in her way;
And bleſs me, ſhe ſaid, with an inſolent ſneer,
I wonder that fellow will dare to come here.
What more than I *did* has your impudence plann'd?
The lawn, wood, and water, are all of my hand;
In my very beſt manner, with Themis's ſcales,
I lifted the hills, and I ſcoop'd out the vales;
With Sylvan's own umbrage I grac'd ev'ry brow,
And pour'd the rich Thames thro' the meadows below.
I grant it, he cry'd; to your ſov'reign command
I bow, as I ought.—Gentle Lady, your hand:

The weather's inviting, ſo let us move on;
You know what you *did*, and now ſee what I've done.
I with gratitude own you have reaſon to plead
That to theſe happy ſcenes you were bounteous indeed:
My lovely materials were many and great!
(For ſometimes, you know, I'm oblig'd to create)
But ſay in return, my adorable dame,
To all you ſee here can you lay a juſt claim?
Were there no ſlighter parts, which you finiſh'd in haſte,
Or left, like a friend, to give ſcope to my taſte?
Who drew o'er the ſurface, did you, or did I,
The ſmooth-flowing outline, that ſteals from the eye *,
The ſoft undulations, both diſtant and near,
That heave from the lawns, and yet ſcarcely appear?
(So bends the ripe harveſt the breezes beneath,
As if earth was in ſlumber and gently took breath)
Who thinn'd, and who group'd, and who ſcatter'd thoſe trees,
Who bade the ſlopes fall with that delicate eaſe,
Who caſt them in ſhade, and who plac'd them in light,
Who bade them divide, and who bade them unite?
The ridges are melted, the boundaries gone:
Obſerve all theſe changes, and candidly own
I have cloath'd you when naked, and, when o'erdreſt,
I have ſtripp'd you again to your boddice and veſt;
Conceal'd ev'ry blemiſh, each beauty diſplay'd,
As Reynolds would picture ſome exquiſite maid,
Each ſpirited feature would happily place,
And ſhed o'er the whole inexpreſſible grace.

One queſtion remains. Up the green of yon ſteep
Who threw the bold walk with that elegant ſweep?
—There is little to ſee, till the ſummit we gain:—
Nay, never draw back, you may climb without pain,
And, I hope, will perceive how each object is caught,
And is loſt, in exactly the point where it ought.
That ground of your moulding is certainly fine,
But the ſwell of that knoll, and thoſe openings, are mine.
The proſpect, wherever beheld, muſt be good,
But has ten times its charms when you burſt from this wood,
A wood of my planting. The goddeſs cried, Hold!
'Tis grown very hot, and 'tis grown very cold.

* The two laſt words in this couplet have identical rather than correſponding ſounds, and therefore only appear to rhyme. This defect, however, may eaſily be removed by tranſpoſing the two verſes and reading them thus:

That ſweet flowing outline, that ſteals from the view,
Who drew o'er the ſurface, did I, or did you? M.

She

She fann'd, and she shudder'd, she cough'd, and she sneez'd,
Inclin'd to be angry, inclin'd to be pleas'd;
Half smil'd, and half pouted—then turn'd from the view,
And dropp'd him a curt'sie, and blushing withdrew.

Yet soon recollecting her thoughts, as she pass'd,
"I may have my revenge on this fellow at last:
"For a lucky conjecture comes into my head,
"That, whate'er he has done, and whate'er he has said,
"The world's little malice will balk his design:
"Each fault they'll call his, and each excellence mine *."

Verses on the Duchess of RUTLAND; *supposed to be written by Sir* H. LANGUISH.

AS poor Anacreon bleeding lies,
From the first glance of Stella's eyes,
Too weak to fly, too proud to yield,
Or leave an undisputed field;
He rallies, rests upon his arms,
And reconnoitres all her charms.
Vainly he fancies that by peeping,
Through all the beauties in her keeping,
He may in such a store collect
The healing balm of one defect;
One feeble part, one faulty spot,
That Nature's forming hand forgot,
Or left, in mercy, a defence
Against her wide omnipotence,
Which spares philosopher nor sage,
Nor tender youth, nor cautious age.
He view'd her *stature*, tow'ring high;—
The liquid lustre of her *eye*;—
The various wonders of her *mouth*,
Diffusing sweetness, like the South;
Where everlasting raptures grow,
Where violets breathe and roses glow;
Where pearls in splendid order meet,
And tune the lapse of accents sweet;
As pebbles shed their silver beam,
Brighten, and harmonize the stream.

* Altho' the personification of NATURE has been common to several Poets, when they meant to compliment an artist that rivalled her, yet the idea of making her behave herself like that most unnatural of all created Beings, A MODERN FINE LADY, must be allowed to be a thought both very bold and truly original; and the Poet has, I think, executed it with much genuine humour. M.

He view'd her whole array of charms,
The waving plumes, and poliſh'd arms;
He look'd through every rank and file,
Through every grace, and every ſmile;
But ſaw no ſingle ſpot neglected;—
The *front* ſecure, the *rear* protected,
The *centre* form'd with double care,
For the *ſupreme command* was there:
There hid, myſterious from the day,
The conſecrated banners lay:
No advantageous paſs was loſt,
No beauty ſleeping on its poſt;
But all was order, all was force:
A look was victory of courſe.
On objects from the fight precluded
He by analogy concluded;
By faith in what had been reveal'd,
He judg'd of all that lay conceal'd;
That heav'n, to which our fancies ſtray
Through fleecy cloud, and milky way:—
But he could ſpeculate, or ſpy
Nothing, to change his deſtiny.
At length an incident aroſe,
That flatter'd him with leſſer woes.
The bold intruſion of a fly
Had clos'd the luſtre of one eye,
And gave him hopes that, thus bereft
Of half her ſplendour, what was left
He could reſiſt, or could evade,
Or could retire behind the ſhade.
But whilſt he triumphs in theſe fancies,
A new auxiliary advances.
The *ſnowy arm*'s ſublime diſplay
Was rais'd to chaſe that cloud away.
Which ſeem'd the lightning to abate,
And yet awhile ſuſpend his fate.
But, ah! how frail is hope! how vain!
The vanquiſh'd luſtre came again,
And living ivory ſupply'd
That ſplendour which her eye deny'd.
So Alpine ſnowy cliffs ariſe,
Pervade the clouds, and touch the ſkies;
Scatter around the ſilver ray,
And give new brightneſs to the day.
Thus diſappointed in his dream
Of imperfection in her frame,
He meditates yet to explore
One deſperate expedient more.

"Where

" Where ſhall I go a fault to find?—
" Have I no refuge in her mind?
" Can't I one healing *error* trace,
" To cure the miſchiefs of her face?
" One tax, one countervailing duty,
" To balance her account of beauty?
" One ſaving foible, balmy fault,
" One impropriety of thought,
" To lend its medicinal aid,
" And cure the wounds her eyes have made?
" Preſumptuous hope!—I view'd once more
" The blaze that dazzled me before,
" And ſaw! thoſe very eyes impart
" A ſoul, that ſharpen'd every dart;
" With every rich endowment fraught,
" The tender care, the generous thought,
" The ſenſe of each exalted duty,
" That mingled worth with every beauty:
" And a prevailing wiſh impreſs'd
" To make *all* happy, and *one* bleſs'd.
" Her ſoul through every feature ſpoke—
" There was a virtue in each look:
" The whole was gentleneſs and love—
" Her arrows feather'd from the dove;
" And every glance that charm'd the ſight
" Was as benevolent as bright.
" Finding no poſſible retreat,
" I yield contented to my fate—
" I unreluctant drag the chain,
" And in the *paſſion* loſe the *pain*—
" For her ſweet bondage is ſo light,
" And all her fetters are ſo bright,
" That, vain and vanquiſh'd, I muſt own
" I cannot wiſh to lay them down,
" Nor idly ſtruggle to be free,
" Nor change my lot for liberty."

The Three VERNONS *.

By the Hon. HORACE WALPOLE.

HENRIETTA's † ſerious charms
Awe the breaſt her beauty warms:
See ſhe bluſhes! Love preſumes;
See ſhe frowns! he drops his plumes.

* Daughters of Richard Vernon, Eſq.
† Now Counteſs of Warwick.

Dancing lighter o'er the ocean
Was not *Cytherea*'s motion;
Speaking, Art repines to see
The triumph of simplicity.

Lips that smile a thousand meanings,
Humid with Hyblean gleanings;
Eyes that glitter into wit,
Wanton mirth with fancy smit;
Arch *naïveté* that wanders
In each dimpling cheek's meanders;
Shedding roses, shifting graces,
In a face that 's twenty faces,
Sweet assemblage, all combine
In pretty playful CAROLINE.

Sober as the matron's air,
Humble as the cloister'd fair,
Patient till new Springs disclose
The bud of promis'd beauty's rose,
Waving flattery's perfum'd breath,
Ensures it young ELIZABETH.
Lovely Three; whose future reign,
Shall sing some younger, sweeter swain;
For me, suffice in *Ampthill* groves,
Cradle of Graces and of Loves,
I first announc'd, in artless page,
The glories of a rising age;
And promis'd, where my *Anna* shone,
Three *Offorys* as bright as one.

PROLOGUE *to the Tragedy of* JULIA.

Written by EDMOND MALONE, *Esq.*

Spoken by Mr. KEMBLE.

FROM Thespis' days to this enlighten'd hour,
The stage has shewn the dire abuse of power;
What mighty mischief from ambition springs!
The fate of heroes, and the fall of kings.
But these high themes, howe'er adorn'd by art,
Have seldom gain'd the passes of the heart:
Calm we behold the pompous mimic woe,
Unmov'd by sorrows we can never know.
Far other feelings in the soul arise,
When private griefs arrest our ears and eyes;
When the false friend, and blameless suffering wife,
Reflect the image of domestic life:

And

And ſtill more wide the ſympathy, more keen,
When to each breaſt reſponſive is the ſcene;
And the fine cords that every heart entwine,
Dilated, vibrate with the glowing line.——
Such is the theme that now demands your ear,
And claims the ſilent plaudit of a tear;
One tyrant paſſion all mankind muſt prove;
The balm or poiſon of our lives—is Love.
Love's ſovereign ſway extends o'er every clime,
Nor owns a limit or of ſpace or time.
For love, the generous fair-one hath ſuſtain'd
More poignant ills than ever poet feign'd.
For love, the maid partakes her lover's tomb,
Or pines long life out, in ſad ſoothleſs gloom.
Ne'er ſhall oblivion ſhroud the Grecian wife *,
Who gave her own, to ſave a huſband's life.
With her contending, ſee our Edward's bride,
Imbibing poiſon from his mangled ſide.
Nor leſs, though proud of intellectual ſway,
Does haughty man the tyrant power obey:
From youth to age by love's wild tempeſt toſt,
For love, even mighty kingdoms has he loſt.
Vain—wealth, and fame, and fortune's foſtering care †,
If no fond breaſt the ſplendid bleſſings ſhare;
And, each day's buſtling pageantry once paſt,
There, only there, his bliſs is found at laſt.
For woes fictitious oft your tears have flow'd;
Your cheek for wrongs imaginary glow'd:
To-night our Poet means not to aſſail
Your throbbing boſoms with a fancy'd tale.
Scarce ſixty ſuns their annual courſe have roll'd,
Since all was real that our ſcenes unfold.
To touch your breaſts with no unpleaſing pain,
The Muſe's magic bids it live again:
Bids mingled characters, as once in life,
Reſume their functions, and renew their ſtrife;
While pride, revenge, and jealouſy's wild rage,
Rouſe all the genius of th' impaſſion'd ſtage.

* —*Spectant ſubeuntem fata mariti,*
Alceſtem. Juv.

† "Thou art a ſlave, whom fortune's tender arm
"With favour never claſp'd."
Timon of Athens.

EPILOGUE.

EPILOGUE.

Written by JOHN COURTENAY, *Esq.*

And spoken by Mrs. SIDDONS.

THOUGH tender sighs breathe in the tragic page,
What lover now complains—but on the stage?
No suitor now attempts his rival's life,
But lets him take that cordial balm—a wife;
And yet, to prove his pure and constant flame,
Still loves his mistress in the wedded dame;
Still courts his friend, and still devoutly bows
At the fair shrine where first he breath'd his vows.
For love, she knows some gratitude is due,
Searches her heart, and finds there's room for two;
And often sees, her coy reluctance o'er,
Good cause to prize her *caro sposo* more.
Thus modish wives, with sentimental spirit,
May go astray, to prove their husbands' merit,
Or ope the door, in this commodious age,
Without death's aid, t' escape the wedlock's cage.
Abjuring rules, that soon will seem romance,
Love's gayer system we import from France;
Rescind politely our old English *duty*,
And take off all restraints from wine and beauty;
While lighter manners chear our native gloom,
As Spanish wool refines the British loom.
Had fashion's law of old such influence shed,
The raptur'd Claudio ne'er had timeless bled:
His bliss with joy Mentevole had seen,
And Julia's favourite Ciciſbé had been.
The assiduous lover, and the husband bland,
Like Brentford kings, had still walk'd hand in hand:
Together still had shone at Park and play,
Quaffing the fragrance of the same bouquet.
Our varlet Poet, with licentious speech,
Thus far our injur'd sex has dar'd *impeach*.
The Female character thus rudely slurr'd,
'Tis fit, at last, that I should have a word.
First then, without rejoinder or dispute,
This *virtuous* circle might each *charge* refute.
That 'tis a *nuptial age*, I sure may say,
With their own wives when husbands run away.—
But truce with jest. Howe'er the wits may rail,
The cause of truth and virtue must prevail.

Of

Of former times whatever may be told,
We're juſt as good as e'er they were of old.
Connubial love here long has fix'd his throne,
And bliſs is ours to foreign climes unknown.
If *now and then* a tripping fair is found,
On Scandal's wings the buzzing tale flies round;
While blameleſs *thouſands*, in ſequeſter'd life,
Adorn each ſtate, of parent, friend, and wife;
From private cares ne'er wiſh abroad to roam,
And bleſs, each day, the ſunſhine of their home;
Unnotic'd keep their noiſeleſs happy courſe,
Nor dream of ſecond wedlock or divorce.
I ſee the verdict's ours; you ſmile applauſe;
So, with your leave, again I'll plead your cauſe:
New triumphs nightly o'er this railer gain,
And to the laſt our female rights maintain.

Addreſs to the Deil.—From Poems chiefly in the Scottiſh Dialect.
By ROBERT BURNS.

O Prince! O Chief of many throned Pow'rs,
That led th' embattl'd Seraphim to war— MILTON.

O Thou! whatever title ſuit thee,
Auld Hornie, Satan, Nick, or Clootie,
Wha in yon cavern grim an' ſootie,
Clos'd under hatches,
Spairges about the brunſtane cootie [a],
To ſcaud poor wretches

Hear me, auld *Hangie*, for a wee,
An' let poor damned bodies be;
I'm ſure ſma' pleaſure it can gie,
Ev'n to a *deil*,
To ſkelp an' ſcaud poor dogs like me,
An' hear us ſqueel!

Great is thy pow'r, an' great thy fame;
Far kend an' noted is thy name;
An' tho' yon lowin heugh's thy hame,
Thou travels far;
An' faith! thou's neither lag nor lame,
Nor blate [b] nor ſcaur [c].

Whyles, ranging like a roarin lion,
For prey, a' holes and corners tryin;

[a] Wooden kitchen diſh. [b] baſhful. [c] apt to be ſcared.

Whyles,

Whyles, on the ſtrong-wing'd Tempeſt flyin,
[a] Tirlin the kirks;
Whyles, in the human boſom pryin,
Unſeen thou lurks.

I've heard my reverend *Graunie* ſay,
In lanely glens ye like to ſtray;
Or where auld, ruin'd caſtles, gray,
Nod to the moon,
Ye fright the nightly wand'rer's way,
Wi' [b] eldritch croon [c].

When twilight did my *Graunie* ſummon,
To ſay her pray'rs, douce, honeſt woman!
Aft yont the dyke ſhe's heard you bummin,
Wi' [d] eerie drone;
Or, ruſtlin, thro' the [e] boortries comin,
Wi' heavy groan.

Ae dreary, windy, winter night,
The ſtars ſhot down wi' ſklentin light,
Wi' you, myſel, I gat a fright,
Ayont the lough;
Ye, like a raſh-buſs, ſtood in ſight,
Wi' waving ſugh.

The cudgel in my nieve did ſhake,
Each briſtl'd hair ſtood like a ſtake,
When wi' an eldritch, [f] ſtoor quaick, quaick,
Amang the ſprings,
Awa ye ſquatter'd like a drake,
On whiſtling wings.

Let [g] *warlocks* grim, an' wither'd *hags*,
Tell how wi' you on ragweed nags,
They ſkim the muirs an' dizzy crags,
Wi' wicked ſpeed;
And in kirk-yards renew their leagues,
Owre [h] howkit dead.

Thence, countra wives, wi' toil an' pain,
May plunge an' plunge the kirn in vain;
For, O! the yellow treaſure's taen
By witching ſkill;
An' [i] dawtit', [k] twal-pint *Hawkie*'s gaen
As [l] yell's the Bill [m].

[a] Uncovering. [b] frightful. [c] a hollow continued moan. [d] frighted. [e] the ſhrub elder. [f] ſtrong and hoarſe. [g] wizards. [h] digged. [i] careſſed. [k] twelve-pint. [l] barren, that gives no milk. [m] bull.

Thence,

Thence, myſtic knots mak great abuſe,
On young Guidmen, fond, keen, an' crouſe [a];
When the beſt wark-lume i' the houſe,
By [b] cantrip wit,
Is inſtant made no worth a louſe,
Juſt at the bit.

When thowes diſſolve the ſnawy hoord,
An' float the jinglin icy-boord,
Then, [c] *Water-kelpies* haunt the foord,
By your direction,
An' nighted Trav'llers are allur'd
To their deſtruction.

An' aft your moſs-traverſing *Spunkies*
Decoy the wight that late an' drunk is:
The bleezin, curſt, miſchievous monkies
Delude his eyes,
Till in ſome miry ſlough he ſunk is,
Ne'er mair to riſe.

When *Maſons* myſtic *word* an' *grip*,
In ſtorms an' tempeſts raiſe you up,
Some cock or cat your rage maun ſtop,
Or, ſtrange to tell!
The youngeſt Brother ye wad whip
Aff ſtraught to h-ll.

Lang ſyne, in *Eden*'s bonie yard,
When youthfu' lovers firſt were pair'd,
An' all the Soul of Love they ſhar'd,
The raptur'd hour,
Sweet on the fragrant, flow'ry ſwaird,
In ſhady bow'r:

Then you, ye auld, [d] ſnick-drawing dog!
Ye cam to Paradiſe incog.
An' play'd on man a curſed brogue [e],
(Black be your fa'!)
An' gied the infant warld a ſhog,
'Maiſt ruin'd a'.

D'ye mind that day, when in a bizz [f],
Wi' reekit duds [g], and reeſtit gizz [h],
Ye did preſent your ſmootie phiz,
'Mang better folk,
An' [i] ſklented on the *man of Uzz*
Your ſpitefu' joke?

[a] Chearful. [b] having a charm. [c] water-ſpirits. [d] trick-contriving. [e] trick. [f] buſtle. [g] rags. [h] withered periwig. [i] ran obliquely.

An' how ye gat him i' your thrall,
An' brak him out o' houſe an' hal',
While ſcabs an' botches did him gall,
Wi' bitter claw,
An' lows'd his ill-tongu'd, wicked Scawl,
Was warſt ava?

But a' your doings to rehearſe,
Your wily ſnares an' fechtin fierce,
Sin' that day *Michael* * did you pierce,
Down to this time,
Wad ding a' Lallan tongue, or Erſe,
In proſe or rhyme.

An' now, auld *Cloots*, I ken ye're thinkin,
A certain Bardie's rantin, drinkin,
Some luckleſs hour will ſend him linkin [a],
To your black pit;
But faith! he'll turn a corner jinkin [b],
An' cheat you yet.

But, fare you weel, auld *Nickie-ben!*
O wad ye tak a thought an' men'!
Ye [c] aiblins might—I dinna ken—
Still hae a *ſtake*—
I'm wae to think upo' yon den,
Ev'en for your ſake!

A Dedication to G**** H********, *Eſq.—From the ſame.*

EXPECT na, Sir, in this narration,
A [d] fleechin, [e] fleth'rin Dedication,
To rooſe you up, an' ca' you guid,
An' ſprung o' great an' noble bluid;
Becauſe ye're ſirnam'd like *His Grace*,
Perhaps related to the race:
Then when I'm tir'd—and ſae are *ye*,
Wi' monie a fulſome, ſinfu' lie,
Set up a face, how I ſtopt ſhort,
For fear your modeſty be hurt.
This may do—maun do, Sir, wi' them wha
Maun pleaſe the Great Folk for a wamefou [f];
For me! ſae laigh I need na bow,
For, LORD be thankit, *I can plough*;
And when I downa yoke a naig,
Then, LORD be thankit, *I can beg*;
Sae I ſhall ſay, an' that's nae flatt'rin,
It's juſt *ſic Poet* an' *ſic Patron*.

* Vide MILTON, Book VI.

[a] Tripping. [b] dodging. [c] perhaps. [d] ſupplicating. [e] flattering. [f] belly full.

The

The Poet, ſome guid Angel help him,
Or elſe, I fear, ſome ill ane ſkelp him!
He may do weel for a' he's done yet,
But only—he's no juſt begun yet.
The Patron, (Sir, ye maun forgie me,
I winna lie, come what will o' me)
On ev'ry hand it will allow'd be,
He's juſt—nae better than he ſhou'd be.
I readily and freely grant,
He downa ſee a poor man want;
What's no his ain, he winna tak it;
What ance he ſays, he winna break it;
Ought he can lend he'll no refus't,
Till aft his guidneſs is abus'd;
And raſcals whyles that do him wrang,
Ev'n *that*, he does na mind it lang:
As Maſter, Landlord, Huſband, Father,
He does na fail his part in either.
But then, nae thanks to him for a' that;
Nae *godly ſymptom* ye can ca' that;
It's naething but a milder feature
Of our poor, ſinfu', corrupt Nature:
Ye'll get the beſt o' moral works,
'Mang black Gentoos, and Pagan Turks,
Or hunters wild on *Ponotaxi*,
Wha never heard of Orth-d-xy.
That he's the poor man's friend in need,
The *Gentleman* in word and deed,
It's no thro' terror of D–mn–t—n;
It's juſt a carnal inclination.
Morality, thou deadly bane,
Thy tens o' thouſands thou haſt ſlain!
Vain is his hope, whaſe ſtay an' truſt is
In *moral* Mercy, Truth, an' Juſtice!
No—ſtretch a point to catch a plack;
Abuſe a Brother to his back;
Steal thro' the [a] *winnock* fra a wh-re,
But point the Rake that taks the *door*;
Be to the Poor like onie whunſtane,
And haud their noſes to the grunſtane;
Ply ev'ry art o' *legal* thieving:
No matter—ſtick to *ſound believing*.
Learn three-mile pray'rs, an' half-mile graces,
Wi' weel-ſpread looves an' lang, wry faces;
Grunt up a ſolemn, lengthen'd groan,
And damn a' Parties but your own;
I'll warrant then, ye're nae Deceiver,
A ſteady, ſturdy, ſtaunch Believer.

[a] Window.

O ye

O ye wha leave the ſprings o' *C-lv-n*,
For [a] *gumlie dubs* [b] of your ain delvin!
Ye ſons of Hereſy and Error,
Ye'll ſome day ſqueel in quaking terror!
When Vengeance draws the ſword in wrath,
And in the fire throws the ſheath;
When Ruin, with his ſweeping *beſom*,
Juſt frets till Heav'n commiſſion gies him;
While o'er the *Harp* pale Mis'ry moans,
And ſtrikes the ever-deep'ning tones,
Still louder ſhrieks, and heavier groans!

Your pardon, Sir, for this digreſſion,
I maiſt forgat my *Dedication*;
But when Divinity comes croſs me,
My readers ſtill are ſure to loſe me.

So, Sir, you ſee 'twas nae daft vapour,
But I maturely-thought it proper,
When a' my works I did review,
To dedicate them, Sir, to *You*:
Becauſe (ye need not tak it ill)
I thought them ſomething like yourſel.

Then patronize them wi' your favor,
And your Petitioner ſhall ever——
I had amaiſt ſaid, *ever pray*,
But that's a word I need na ſay:
For prayin I hae little ſkill o't;
I'm baith [c] dead-ſweer, an' wretched ill o't;
But I'ſe repeat each poor man's *pray'r*,
That kens or hears about you, Sir——

'May ne'er Misfortune's [d] gowling bark,
'Howl thro' the dwelling o' the *Clerk!*
'May ne'er his gen'rous honeſt heart,
'For that ſame gen'rous ſpirit ſmart!
'May K******'s far-honour'd name
'Lang beet his hymeneal flame,
'Till H*******'s, at leaſt a diz'n,
'Are frae their nuptial labors riſen:
'Five bonie Laſſes round their table,
'And ſev'n braw Fellows, ſtout an' able
'To ſerve their King an' Country weel,
'By word, or pen, or pointed ſteel!
'May Health and Peace, with mutual rays,
'Shine on the ev'ning o' his days;
'Till his wee, curlie *John*'s ier-oe,
'When ebbing life nae mair ſhall flow,
'The laſt, ſad, mournful rites beſtow!'

I will not wind a lang concluſion,
With complimentary effuſion:

[a] Muddy. [b] ſmall ponds. [c] very averſe. [d] howling.

But

But whilſt your wiſhes and endeavours
Are bleſt with Fortune's ſmiles and favours,
I am, dear Sir, with zeal moſt fervent,
Your much indebted, humble ſervant.
But if (which Pow'rs above prevent!)
That iron-hearted Carl, *Want*,
Attended, in his grim advances,
By ſad miſtakes, and black miſchances,
While hopes, and joys, and pleaſures fly him,
Make you as poor a dog as I am,
Your *humble ſervant* then no more;
For who would humbly ſerve the Poor?
But, by a poor man's hopes in Heav'n!
While recollection's pow'r is giv'n,
If, in the vale of humble life,
The victim ſad of Fortune's ſtrife,
I, thro' the tender-guſhing tear,
Should recogniſe my *Maſter dear*,
If friendleſs, low, we meet together,
Then, Sir, your hand—my *Friend* and *Brother!*

SONG.

From Poems on various Subjects, by ANN YEARSLEY.

WHAT ails my heart when thou art nigh?
Why heaves the tender riſing ſigh?
Ah, Delia, is it love?
My breath in ſhorten'd pauſes fly;
I tremble, languiſh, burn, and die;
Doſt thou thoſe tremors prove?

Does thy fond boſom beat for me?
Doſt thou my form in abſence ſee,
Still wiſhing to be near?
Does melting languor fill thy breaſt?
That ſomething, which was ne'er expreſs'd,
Ah! tell me—if you dare.

But tho' my ſoul, ſoft, fond, and kind,
Could in thy arms a refuge find,
Secur'd from ev'ry woe;
Yet, ſtrict to Honour's louder ſtrains,
A laſt adieu alone remains,
'Tis all the Fates beſtow.

Then blame me not, if doom'd to prove
The endleſs pangs of hopeleſs love,

And live by thee unbleſt:
My joyleſs hours fly faſt away;
Let them fly on, I chide their ſtay,
For ſure 'tis Heav'n to reſt.

ODE, *tranſlated from the* Perſian *of the Poet* HAFEZ.
By Sir WILLIAM JONES.

SWEET Maid, if thou would'ſt charm my ſight,
And bid theſe arms thy neck enfold,
That roſy cheek, that lily hand,
Would give thy poet more delight,
Than all Becara's vaunted gold,
Than all the gems of Samarcand.

Boy, let yon liquid ruby flow,
And bid thy penſive heart be glad.
Whate'er the frowning zealots ſay,
Tell them their Eden cannot ſhew
A ſtream ſo clear as Rœnabad,
A bower ſo ſweet as Moſellay.

Oh! when theſe fair perfidious maids,
Whoſe eyes our ſecret haunts infeſt,
Their dear deſtructive charms diſplay;
Each glance my tender breaſt invades,
And robs my wounded ſoul of reſt,
As Tartars ſeize their deſtin'd prey.

In vain with love our boſoms glow:
Can all our tears, can all our ſighs,
New luſtre to thoſe charms impart?
Can cheeks where living roſes blow,
Where Nature ſpreads her richeſt dyes,
Require the borrow'd gloſs of art?

Speak not of fate—ah!—change the theme,
And talk of odours, talk of wine,
Talk of the flowers that round us bloom:
'Tis all a cloud, 'tis all a dream!
To love and joy thy thoughts confine,
Nor hope to pierce the ſacred gloom.

Beauty has ſuch reſiſtleſs power,
That even the chaſte Egyptian dame
Sigh'd for the blooming Hebrew boy:
For her how fatal was the hour,
When to the banks of Nilus came
A youth ſo lovely and ſo coy!

But

But ah! ſweet maid, my counſel hear,
(Youth ſhould attend when thoſe adviſe
Whom long experience renders ſage)
While muſic charms the raviſh'd ear,
While ſparkling cups delight our eyes,
Be gay, and ſcorn the frowns of age.

What cruel anſwer have I heard!
And yet, by Heav'n, I love thee ſtill:
Can ought be cruel from thy lip?
Yet ſay, how fell that bitter word
From lips which ſtreams of ſweetneſs fill,
Which nought but drops of honey ſip?

Go boldly forth, my ſimple lay,
Whoſe accents flow with artleſs eaſe,
Like Orient pearls at random ſtrung:
Thy notes are ſweet, the damſels ſay;
But, oh! far ſweeter, if they pleaſe
The nymph for whom theſe notes are ſung.

SOFTLY; *an Ode from the ſame.*

By the late Captain THOMAS FORD.

DISGUIS'D, laſt night, I ruſh'd from home;
To ſeek the palace of my ſoul:
I reach'd by ſilent ſteps the dome,
And to her chamber *ſoftly* ſtole.

On a gay various couch reclin'd,
In ſweet repoſe I ſaw the maid;
My breaſt, like aſpins to the wind,
To love's alarum *ſoftly* play'd.

Two fingers, then, to half expanſe,
I trembling op'd—with fear oppreſs'd,
With theſe I pull'd her veil aſkance,
Then *ſoftly* drew her to my breaſt.

"Who art thou, wretch!" my angel cry'd;
Whiſp'ring, I ſaid—"Thy ſlave:—thy ſwain:
"But huſh, my love!—forbear to chide:
"Speak *ſoftly*, leſt ſome hear the ſtrain."

Trembling with love, with hope, and fear,
At length her ruby lips I preſs'd:
Sweet kiſſes oft—mellifluous—dear—
Softly I ſnatch'd—was *ſoftly* bleſs'd.

" O let me," now inflam'd I said,
" My idol clasp within these arms:"
" Remove the light"—deep-sigh'd the maid—
" Come *softly*, come—prevent alarms."

Now by her side with bliss I glow'd,—
Swift flew the night in amorous play:
At length the morning's herald crow'd;—
When *softly* thence I bent my way.

EPIGRAM *on this Question:*

" *Which is the more eligible for a Wife, a Widow or an Old Maid?*"

From the Essay on Old Maids.

YE, who to wed the sweetest wife would try,
Observe how men a sweet Cremona buy!
New violins they seek not from the trade,
But one, on which some good musician play'd;
Strings never try'd some harshness will produce;
The fiddle's harmony improves by use.

IMPROMPTU *on the preceding Epigram.*

ONE rule will Wives and Fiddles fit,
Is falsely said, I fear, by wit,
To sad experience blind:
For woman's an Æolian harp,
Whose every note, or flat or sharp,
Depends upon the wind.

A Reply to the Two Epigrammatists.

FIDDLES and harps no more compare
(Improper symbols!) to the fair,
However they attract!
Ye wits! for woman let me see,
If music will not yield to me,
Justly to grace
The female race,
An image more exact!

Woman, I say, or dame or lass,
Is an *Harmonica of glass*,

Celestial

Celeſtial and complete;
If new, or by ſome trials known,
It matters not
A ſingle jot;
When rightly touch'd, its every tone
Is raviſhingly ſweet.

Written at Nice, Auguſt 1743.

By the Right Hon. HENRY FOX, *late Lord* HOLLAND.

O! Where are all the winds? O! who will ſeize
And bear me gaſping to ſome northern breeze?
Or weſtward to yon Pyrenæans go,
Lay me where lies the yet unmelted ſnow.
O! my ſoul's panting wiſh in mid-day dreams!
O! native ſoil! O! verdure, woods, and ſtreams,
Where are ye? And thou! lovely Redlynch! where
Thy graſſy proſpects, and thy vernal air?
O! ſend thy ſpacious waters to my aid,
Lend me thy lofty elm's protecting ſhade;
Henceforth within thy limits let me live.
O! England! injur'd climate! I forgive
Thy ſpleen-inflicting miſts, thy gloomy days,
I'll think thy clouds but intercept ſuch rays
As now rage here, before whoſe hoſtile blaze
The waters ſhrink, withers herb, fruit, and grain,
And the blood throbs in the diſtemper'd vein.
So ſhall I pleas'd behold thy low'ring ſkies,
Contented ſee thy thickeſt fogs ariſe,
For e'en to thy November's arms, to ſhun
This painful heat, with tranſport would I run.

* *A* TENEMENT *to be let.*

OYEZ! This is, that all may learn,
Whom it may happen to concern,
To any lady, not a wife,
Upon a leaſe, to laſt for life,
By auction will be let this day,
And enter'd on ſome time in May,
A vacant heart; not ornamented
On plans by Cheſterfield invented,

* Theſe verſes, with many ſimilar advertiſements in proſe, were ſpoken at a private maſquerade, in the character of a Town-cryer.

A plain, old-fashion'd habitation,
Substantial without decoration,
Large, and with room for friends to spare;
Well-situate, and in good repair.
Also the furniture; as sighs,
Hopes, fears, oaths, pray'rs, and some few—lies;
Odes, sonnets, elegies, and songs,
With all that to th' above belongs.
Also,—what some might have been glad
Tho' in a sep'rate lot to have had,—
A good rich soil of hopeful nature,
Six measur'd acres (feet) of stature.
Likewise another lot—an heap
Of tatter'd modesty, quite cheap.
This with the rest would have been sold;
But that by several we were told,
If put up with the heart, the price
Of that it much might prejudice.
Note well; th' estate, if manag'd ably,
May be improv'd considerably.
Love is our money, to be paid
Whenever entry shall be made;
And therefore have we fix'd the day
For entering, in the month of May.
But if the buyer of the above
Can on the spot pay ready love,
Hereby the owner makes profession,
She instantly shall have possession,
The highest bidder be the buyer.
You may know further of THE CRYER.

* RONDEAU.

YOURS, Jenny, yours in every thought,
At length this fickle heart is caught:
This heart that broke kind Kitty's chain;
Tho' studious to prevent my pain,
What you deny, she gave unsought.
And, if to my embrace were brought
She, for whom Greece and Ilion fought,
Ev'n her for you would I disdain,
Yours, Jenny, yours!

* This is the only *legitimate* Rondeau, in the language. It was written at the request of a friend to exemplify the system of rhymes, the division of stanzas, and the laws of the return, according to the practice of Voiture, and the other French writers, who have most excelled in this laborious kind of trifling.

Then

Then meet my paſſion, as you ought;
Nor aim, in vain coquetry taught,
By coy caprice to fix your reign,
If I whole months muſt ſue, to gain
What can in every ſtreet be bought;
Yours, Jenny, yours!

A SIMILE.

YOU ſay, Sir, once a wit allow'd
A lady to be like a cloud;
Then take a Simile as ſoon
Between a Woman and the Moon;
For let mankind ſay what they will,
The ſex are heav'nly bodies ſtill.
Grant me (to mimic mortal life)
The Sun and Moon are man and wife,
Whate'er kind Sol affords to lend her,
Madam diſplays in midnight ſplendor;
For while to reſt he lays him down,
She's up and ſtar'd at thro' the town;
From him her beauties cloſe confining,
And only in his abſence ſhining.
Or elſe ſhe looks like ſullen tapers;
Or elſe is fairly in the vapours;
Or owns at once a wife's ambition,
And fully glares in oppoſition.—
Say, is not this a modiſh pair,
Where each for other feels no care.
Whole days in ſeparate coaches driving,
Whole nights to keep aſunder ſtriving;
Both in the dumps in gloomy weather,
And lying once a month together?
In one ſole point unlike the caſe is,
On her own head the horns ſhe places.

IMPROMPTU,

By Biſhop ATTERBURY, *on a Challenge to the Biſhop to dictate ſomething in praiſe of a Gooſe-Quill; from the Words,* "*Deſpiſe not the Worth of* "*thoſe Things that are ſmall.*"

"*The words of the wiſe man thus preach'd to us all,*
"*Deſpiſe not the worth of thoſe things that are ſmall.*"

THE quill of the *Gooſe* is a very ſlight thing,
Yet it feathers the arrow that flies from the ſtring;

Makes the bird it belongs to riſe high in its flight,
And the jack it has oil'd againſt dinner go right.
It brightens the floor, when turn'd to a broom,
And bruſhes down cobwebs at the top of the room;
Its plumage by age into figures is wrought,
Its ſoft as the hand, and as quick as the thought.
It warms in a muff, and cools in a ſcreen;
It is good to be felt, it is good to be ſeen.
When wantonly waving, it makes a fine ſhow
On the creſt of the warrior, or hat of the beau.
The quill of the gooſe (I ſhall never have done,
If thro' all its perfections and praiſes I run)
Makes the harpſichord vocal, which elſe would be mute,
And enlivens the ſound, the ſweet ſound of the flute;
Records what is written in verſe or in proſe,
By *Ramſay*, by *Cambray*, by *Boyle*, or *Deſpreaux*.
Therefore well did the wiſe man thus preach to us all—
"Deſpiſe not the worth of thoſe things that are ſmall."

IMPROMPTU.

By a Gentleman of the Temple, on the Sight of one of the Croydon *Belles in the Court at* Kingſton, *during the Aſſizes.*

WHILST petty offences and felonies ſmart,
Is there no juriſdiction for ſtealing the heart?
You, my fair one, may cry "Laws and Court I defy you;"
Concluding no *Peers* can be ſummon'd to try you.
But think not, fair *Sherey*, this plea will enſure you,
Since the Graces and Muſes will juſt make a jury.

SONG.

By Captain MORRIS.

THO' BACCHUS may boaſt of his care-killing bowl,
And Folly in thought-drowning revels delight;
Such worſhip, alas! hath no charms for the ſoul,
When ſofter devotions the ſenſes invite.

To the arrow of Fate, or the canker of Care,
His potions oblivious a balm may beſtow:
But, to Fancy that feeds on the charm of the fair,
The death of Reflection's the birth of all Woe.

What

What ſoul that's poſſeſs'd of a dream ſo divine,
With riot would bid the ſweet viſion begone?
For the tear that bedews Senſibility's ſhrine,
Is a drop of more worth than all BACCHUS's tun.

The tender exceſs that enamours the heart,
To few is imparted, to millions deny'd;
'Tis the brain of the victim that tempers the dart,
And Fools jeſt at that, for which Sages have dy'd:

Each change and exceſs hath through life been my doom,
And well can I ſpeak of its joy and its ſtriſe;
The bottle affords us a glimple through the gloom.
But Love's the true ſunſhine that gladdens our life.

Come then, roſy VENUS, and ſpread o'er my ſight
The magic illuſions that raviſh the ſoul!
Awake in my breaſt the ſoft dream of delight,
And drop from thy myrtle one leaf in my bowl.

Then deep will I drink of the nectar divine,
Nor e'er, jolly God, from thy banquet remove,
But each tube of my heart ever thirſt for the vine
That's mellow'd by Friendſhip, and ſweeten'd by Love.

Account of Books for 1787.

Mary *Queen of* Scots *vindicated. By* John Whitaker, B. D. *Author of the Hiſtory of* Manchester, *and Rector of* Ruan-Langhorne, Cornwall. *In three volumes*, 8vo.

TO vindicate the character of injured innocence, and by detecting the arts of ſucceſsful oppreſſion, to reſtore it to that fair fame, of which it ought never to have been deprived, has been always conſidered as one of the nobleſt privileges of the pen of hiſtory. This privilege the author of the work before us ſeems to have exerted in its full extent; and it is only to be lamented, that he has ſo often allowed the warmth of his zeal to hurry his ſtyle ſo much beyond the decent bounds of cool and deliberate inveſtigation. In a work of this nature, where, as he himſelf allows, the force of the whole muſt ariſe from an accumulation of parts, and where, of courſe, our whole conviction depends upon every link of the chain's being preſerved entire, it is unwiſe at leaſt to diſtract our attention by an intemperate warmth of expreſſion, and to be conſtantly appealing to our feelings, when we know he ought to be convincing our underſtandings. And this is the more to be lamented in the preſent inſtance, becauſe, added to a conſiderable degree of diligence in his reſearches, there is no doubt but our author poſſeſſes alſo a great ſhare of ſound and critical penetration. He has made many diſcoveries reſpecting the famous letters, ſonnets, and contracts, which had hitherto eſcaped the vigilance of thoſe who have gone before him in this enquiry; and he has at the ſame time, with a great deal of candour, given up many of thoſe points which the former advocates of the queen of Scots have inſiſted on, but which do not appear to him to be proved to his entire ſatisfaction.

To thoſe who have not hitherto paid much attention to this point of hiſtory, it may not be unintereſting to know, that it was not till the year 1754 that there was any thing like a doubt exiſting of the complete guilt of this amiable and unfortunate queen, with reſpect to almoſt every crime of which her enemies had accuſed her. All the arts, as well as all the authority of government, having been exerted, both before and after her death, to overwhelm her unprotected reputation, it is not to be wondered at that the public opinion reſpecting her became fixed, and that ſhe was ſpon abandoned even by the few advocates ſhe had to diſgrace and infamy.

It is much to the credit of the preſent age, that at the time above mentioned

mentioned a revolution began to take place in the hiſtory of the evidences by which her reputation had been deſtroyed, and her life cruelly ſacrificed. " Mr. Goodall, (as the " author informs us in his preface) " keeper of the advocate's library " at Edinburgh, ſtepped forward " with a courage, that ſeemed to " border upon raſhneſs, to prove " them mere forgeries, and to diſ- " abuſe the deceived public. He " was a man very converſant with " records: he was therefore in the " habit of referring aſſertions to " authorities. He was alſo actu- " ated by a ſpirit of party, as a " party had then been formed in " the nation concerning the point. " Something more vigorous than " the abſtracted love of truth is ge- " nerally requiſite to every arduous " undertaking. But whatever were " his motives, his enterprize was " honourable, and his execution " powerful. He entered into the ex- " amination of the papers with con- " ſiderable ſpirit. He went through " it with conſiderable addreſs. He " even proved the letters to be for- " geries in ſo clear a manner, that " one is aſtoniſhed it had never " been done before. *This* ſhows, " indeed, the little attention which " had been paid to the ſubject, in " care to ſubſtantiate, or in zeal " to deſtroy the fundamental credit " of the whole. And *that* forms one " of thoſe grand diſcoveries, which " muſt neceſſarily be very rare in " the hiſtory of any nation, and " therefore reflect a peculiar ho- " nour upon the individual who " makes them.—Yet ſuch was the " factious credulity then generally " prevailing in the iſland, that this " work, one of the moſt original " and convincing which ever were " publiſhed, made its way very " ſlowly among us. Even ſome of " our firſt-rate writers preſumed to " ſet themſelves againſt it. Dr. " Robertſon, a diſciple of the old " ſchool of ſlander, wrote a formal " diſſertation in oppoſition to it. " Even Mr. Hume, who in hiſtory " had learned to think more libe- " rally than the doctor, in ſome in- " cidental notes to his Hiſtory of " England, ſtill profeſſed and de- " fended his adherence to the an- " cient error. And the nation ſtood " ſuſpended between the authority " of great names, and the preju- " dices of the million, upon one ſide; " and a new name, new arguments " and demonſtration on the other. " Then Mr. Tytler aroſe. He ge- " nerally took the ſame ground " which Mr. Goodall had taken be- " fore him. He generally made uſe " of his weapons. He brightened " up ſome. He ſtrengthened others. " With both, and with his own, he " drove the enemy out of the field. " Dr. Robertſon quitted it directly. " Mr. Hume rallied, after a long " interval of eleven or twelve years. " He rallied with a ſeeming fero- " city of ſpirit, and with a real im- " becility of exertion. He, who " never replied to an adverſary be- " fore, now replied to Mr. Tytler, " in a note to a new edition of his " hiſtory. He laid himſelf out there " in reproaches againſt Mr. Tytler, " and in vindications of himſelf. " But he touched upon the cauſe of " Mary, in a ſingle point only: " and his efforts of proving in all " were ſlight in their aim, and fee- " ble in their operation. Mr. Tyt- " ler, however, very properly ad- " vanced upon him again in a poſt- " ſcript to a new edition of his own " work; and Mr. Hume retired

" finally with Dr. Robertſon. Mr. " Tytler deſervedly gained great " honour by the conteſt. His work " is candid, argumentative, acute, " and ingenious. Only his ſucceſs " ſeems to have injured his maſter's " reputation. The glory was in " no ſmall meaſure Mr. Goodall's " own; yet ſuch is the capriciouſ- " neſs of fame conferred by men, " that the laurels are ſtill ſhading " the brow of Mr. Tytler, while " the original proprietor is almoſt " forgotten. It is a juſtice due to " the memories of illuſtrious maſ- " ters, not to let their names be " loſt in the ſucceeding ſplendour " of their ſcholars, when a large " ſhare of that ſplendour is derived " from the maſters themſelves.

" In this ſtate of the controverſy " the nation continued for many " years. The new truths were gra- " dually gaining ground. None " oppoſed them: numbers embraced " them; and at laſt, in the natural " progreſs of conviction, Dr. Stuart " appeared about four years ago, " with a regular hiſtory of Mary's " reign, modelled upon the authori- " ty of records, and therefore vindi- " cating the character of the Queen. " He even challenged Dr. Robert- " ſon, as the preceding hiſtorian of " her reign, to leave the retreat which " he had kept ſo long, to come for- " ward from his covert at laſt, and " either juſtify or retract his ſlan- " ders againſt her. This was fair, " bold, and manly. It was in the " true ſpirit of hiſtorical gallantry, " advancing to the reſcue of an op- " preſſed Queen. But the doctor " was too prudent to accept the " challenge. He had gained his " firſt honours in hiſtorical compo- " ſition from that very hiſtory: " theſe indeed had withered on his " head; but he might loſe them " entirely, in attempting to freſhen " them. The nation was no longer " in that high ſtate of faction, in " which it ſtood when he publiſhed " firſt. And to retract what he " had ſaid, could not be expected " from that meaſure of generoſity " which ordinarily falls to the " ſhare of man.

" It was the peruſal of Dr. " Stuart's ſpirited and judicious " hiſtory, in the ſecond edition of " it, that put me upon examining " the evidences, on which the " whole is founded. I had for- " merly read the controverſy, juſt " as thouſands muſt neceſſarily have " read it, with a tranſient attention " to the cited records, and with a " full conviction on the ſide of " Mary. But I now reſolved to " go deeper. The reſult was, that " I quickly ſaw ſome particulars " concerning the letters, ſonnets, " and contracts, as I thought, " which had not yet been opened " with ſufficient clearneſs, which " had not yet been preſſed with " ſufficient vigour, or had been " totally overlooked hitherto. Theſe " would ſerve, I ſaw, to vindicate " more fully the character of a " Queen, to whom the nation owes " ſo much in reparation, for two " centuries of unremitted obloquy. " And theſe have been ſo ſucceſ- " ſively continued from point to " point ſince, that they have at " laſt, I find, embraced the whole " hiſtory and evidence of the " writings, within their ample " circle.

" Yet in juſtice to my own can- " dour, I ought to acknowledge, " that, in doing this, I have found " myſelf compelled at times to a- " void the ground which the pre-

" ceding champions for Mary have " generally occupied. From a " prudential regard for myself, I " have been careful not to take any " that was untenable. From a " more dignified respect for facts, " I have been upon my guard, " against that generosity of com- " passion, for a highly injured " woman, which is so apt to steal " over the spirits, and to impose " upon the judgment of an honest " man. And while I profess my- " self a warm friend to Mary, I " wish to be considered as a much " warmer one to the truth of his- " tory in writing, and to the ex- " ercise of integrity in life."

Animated by these sentiments, of the truth of which nothing but the vehement and unjustifiable warmth of his style could make his readers doubt for a moment, our author enters immediately into his subject, and investigates, in the first volume, all those very important facts, in the history of the letters, contracts, and sonnets, " which (as he says him- " self) carry their own power of " conviction with them, speak with " energy to every mind, and go " with an irresistible decisiveness " to the very heart and center of " the cause."

It is not in our power to give our readers a better idea of what these facts are, and of the consequences he has drawn from them, than by reporting, in the author's own words, a kind of summary abstract of the evidence, which he has given us by way of conclusion to this first volume. We shall be sorry to be convinced (but convinced we cannot fail to be) that so many characters, to which we have been used to look up with respect and admiration, upon a nearer inspection sink very low indeed in our esteem; and that many of those, whom we have been long accustomed to consider as able and upright statesmen, were, upon many occasions, much less than honest men. Such, however, is the hard condition upon which we must receive the truths now offered to us; and we must be content to accept them (as we often do many other good things, with certain causes of regret) accompanied with all the unpleasing reflections they cannot fail to excite in the mind of every reader.

" I began (says our author) " with the conduct of Elizabeth " and Murray, as acting in con- " federacy together. This was so " well known in some of its parts, " and stood forth to the eye so " prominent in all, that it arrested " my attention first, and was there- " fore the best calculated to fasten " first on my reader's. In the de- " tail of this conduct, regularly as " I have authenticated it, not " merely by reference to the prov- " ing passages, but by an actual " production of the passages them- " selves; we have seen Murray and " Elizabeth behaving in a most " dishonourable manner. Eliza- " beth particularly appears in a " light, that must shock her nu- " merous admirers greatly. Yet, " *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.* The " low adulations of her own age, " and the consenting flatteries of " succeeding times, have united to " throw a blaze of glory around " the head of this political saint, " to which she has as little claim " as many of the religious saints in " the calendar of Rome to their's. " I admire her abilities, but I de- " spise her principles. I admire " her sagacity of understanding,

" her

" her comprehenſiveneſs of policy, " and her vigour of reſolution. " But I deteſt her habits of ſwear- " ing, her habits of hypocriſy, her " rancorous jealouſy, and her mur- " derous malignity. Elizabeth in- " deed appears in her worſt light, " while ſhe is ſeen in her tranſac- " tions with Mary. On this worſt " part of her hiſtory have I been " obliged to dwell. Nor ſhould I " have done juſtice to an injured " Queen, if I had not ſtated this " part of the hiſtory, in its full " glare of enormity, before the " eye. The generality of man- " kind are undignified enough in " their own ſpirit to pay their re- " ſpect to underſtanding at the ex- " pence of morality; to ennoble " perſons who are only great from " their powers, their ſituations, and " their ſucceſs; and to ſink from " view the profligacy with which " theſe powers were exerted, theſe " ſituations were improved, and " this ſucceſs was inſured. But let " not ſuch as aſpire to lead the " opinions of the public, be con- " tent to practiſe the vice of the " vulgar. The intereſts of virtue " ſhould be the object of every " writer; and one ſingle grain of " virtue, it ſhould be for ever con- " ſidered, is worth more in the " eſtimate of reaſon and of God, " than all the maſs of intellect, " that is diffuſed through the uni- " verſe.

" But having, with the juſt ſe- " verity of truth, I truſt, laid open " the behaviour of Elizabeth and " Murray during the conferences " in England; I then proceeded to " ſhow the grounds and cauſes of " all this, in the wretched ſtate of " the forgeries themſelves. I have " ſhown the letters peculiarly, that " main ſubſtance of all the forge- " ries, to have been changed and " altered in a moſt wonderful man- " ner. Throgmorton, who had re- " ceived an account of the firſt " letters from the very formers of " them, could not poſſibly have re- " cognized them again in the laſt. " Like the ſhip of Athens, or the " ſtockings of Sir John Cutler, " they had ſcarcely one particle of " their original materials left be- " hind. Yet, like thoſe ſtockings " and that ſhip, they pretended to " be ſtill the ſame: and what was " infinitely more, they pretended " to be the undarned, the unre- " paired fame from the very be- " ginning.

" The letters of Throgmorton's " days I have ſhown to be merely " ideal at the time, though they " were realized afterwards. But " a new ſet was ſoon formed upon " a new principle. Even this was " ſuperſeded afterwards. A new " principle again took poſſeſſion of " the mind; and a new ſet again " appeared upon the ſtage. The " murder was the object of the " *firſt*: the adultery had no ſhare " in it. The adultery and the " murder became joint objects of " the *ſecond*. The murder was ſtill " principal, but the adultery ſhowed " itſelf of nearly equal magnitude " with it. And at laſt, in the *third*, " the adultery became principal, " and the murder was only hinted " at.

" Both the ſecond and the third " I have alſo ſhown to have under- " gone many alterations of another " nature. They appeared ſub- " ſcribed by Mary on the 4th of " December 1567. They appeared " not ſubſcribed on the 15th—29th " of the ſame month. They were

" ſuperſcribed

" ſuperſcribed to Bothwell origi-
" nally; yet they appeared not
" ſuperſcribed afterwards. They
" were all dated both in time and
" place, before and during their
" appearance at York, but not
" after it. The were alſo *ten* in
" number with the parliament of
" Scotland; *ſix* at York; *five* at
" Weſtminſter on the 8th of De-
" cember, *eight* afterwards, *ten* on
" the 7th December, and actually
" *eighteen* in the months of Decem-
" ber and January 1589, and on
" the 22d January 1571.

" Nor is this all. The evidence
" againſt Mary was merely the
" letters at firſt. For nearly fif-
" teen months from the aſſerted
" ſeizure of Mary's caſket, it had
" diſcloſed nothing but letters
" againſt her. But, being pro-
" perly put to the torture, it gave
" up twelve ſonnets, and two con-
" tracts of marriage, to impeach
" her reputation. And then theſe
" pretended to have been equally
" found with the letters, at firſt.

" But what is moſt aſtoniſh-
" ing, amid all theſe ſucceſſive
" ſcenes of aſtoniſhment, is the
" change of the language in the
" letters. They appeared as Scotch,
" before the council and the par-
" liament of Scotland, in Decem-
" ber 1567. Yet Murray aſſerted
" them to be in French, by a meſ-
" ſage to Elizabeth in June fol-
" lowing. But they ſtill appeared
" in Scotch to the commiſſioners
" at York, in the enſuing month
" of October. And after all, they
" re-appeared in French, to the
" very ſame commiſſioners, only a
" few weeks afterward at Weſt-
" minſter. What is even more
" ſurpriſing, they appeared ſome
" of them in French and ſome in
" Scotch; they publiſhed eight in
" French, they publiſhed eight
" alſo in Scotch, and both pre-
" tending equally to be Mary's
" writing.

" All theſe variations ſufficiently
" vindicate the conduct of Eliza-
" beth and of Murray, for the po-
" licy, tho' not for the probity of
" it; in the tricks and ſtratagems,
" in the frauds and evaſions, which
" we have ſeen this couple of po-
" litical jugglers exhibiting before.
" They both knew of the forgery.
" They both knew of thoſe ſtriking
" ſignatures of it. They both knew
" particularly of the changes and
" re-changes in the language of
" the letters. And their know-
" ledge will combine with their
" conduct, I fear, to ſpeak in a
" bolder language againſt them
" both, than any which I have
" uſed.

" But whatever is the fate of
" theſe, the innocence of Mary
" muſt now be admitted by all, I
" think. The witneſſes againſt her
" have been tried in the examina-
" tion of the letters, ſonnets, and
" contracts. One ſingle variation
" in their teſtimony, muſt have been
" fatal to the whole; but I have
" found many.

" Each of theſe, in my opinion,
" forms a ſtrong and lively ray of
" light to diſcloſe the forgery to
" every eye. The laſt of them, I
" think, forms a ray exceedingly
" lively and ſtrong. And all toge-
" ther they unite into ſuch a power-
" ful blaze, I apprehend, as lays
" open the whole forgery from end
" to end; as enables the moſt
" weak-eyed to ſee, and compels
" the moſt incredulous to be-
" lieve."

Having in the firſt volume thus gone

gone through the external evidence, the author proceeds in the second to the examination of the internal evidence in proof of the forgery of the *letters*, *contracts*, and *sonnets*, and gives us an exact copy of each, in the respective languages in which they were originally published. The letters alone, in Scotch, Latin, and French, with the different notes and criticisms upon them, take up the whole of the second volume. To attempt to follow our author through this minute and critical investigation, would lead us far beyond the bounds prescribed to us on these occasions, and we must therefore content ourselves with remarking in general, that these observations coinciding so well as they evidently do with so many of the circumstantial proofs adduced in the first volume, tend exceedingly to explain and develope the forgery, and to give an additional stability to what indeed seems able, if it were necessary, to support itself, without this new accession of strength. "It has been," says our author, "a tiresome employ to read, transcribe, and comment upon such "a mass of impertinence and dull-"ness:"—and it requires also, we must confess, not a small share of patience, and a considerable degree of zeal in the cause, to follow our author with any kind of exactness through the whole of "this "tiresome employment." This however, we believe, will in great measure be made up to the attentive reader, by the many new lights it throws on some of the most important circumstances of these times; and the manner in which the enquiry has been prosecuted, certainly reflects very great honour on Mr. Whitaker's industry and penetration.

In the beginning of the third volume, the *sonnets* are brought before us; and as the *letters* were the production of Lethington, so it appears almost equally certain that the *sonnets* owe their existence to the famous Buchanan. That they were originally written in French, there seems to be no doubt; and since they are evidently proved not to have been Mary's, and it does not appear that there was any one man among the usurpers qualified for poetical composition, and capable of undertaking it in the French language, the honour and the disgrace attending these sonnets, must equally belong to him alone. It may not be uninteresting to some of our readers to form their own judgment of these compositions, by an examination of a few of the first stanzas of the first sonnet, which we shall lay before them in French and in English, and which we have taken as they occurred to us, without any particular reason for the selection.

I.

"O Dieux, ayez de moy compassion,
"Et m'enseignez quelle preuve certaine
"Je puis donner, qui ne luy semble vaine,
"De mon amour et ferme affection.

"Las! n'est-il pas ja en possession
"Du corps, du cœur, qui ne refuse peine,
"Ny deshonneur en la vie incertaine,
"Offence de parens, ni pire affliction?

"Pour luy tous mes amis j'estime moins
"que rien,
"Et de mes ennemis je veux esperer bien.

"J'ay hazardé pour luy et nom et con-
"science;
"Je veux pour luy au monde renoncer,
"Je veux mourir pour le faire avancer:
"Que reste plus pour prouver ma constance?

II. "Entre

II.

" Entre ſes mains, et en ſon plein pouvoir,
" Je mets mon fils, mon honneur, et ma vie,
" Mon païs, mes ſubjets; mon ame aſſub-
" jettie
" Eſt toute a luy, et n'ay autre vouloir
" Pour mon objet, que ſans le decevoir
" Suivre je veux, malgré toute l'envie
" Qu'iſſir en peut. Car je n'ay autre envie,
" Que de ma foy luy faire appercevoir.
" Que pour tempeſte, où bonaſſe, qu'il
" face,
" Jamais ne veut changer demeure ou place.
" Bref, je feray de ma foy telle preuve,
" Qu'il cognoiſtra, ſans faute, ma conſtance;
" Non par mes pleurs, où feinte obeïſſance,
" Comme autres font, mais par diverſe
" eſpreuve, &c. &c. &c."

I.

" O Goddis, have of me compaſſion,
" And ſchaw quhat certane prufe
" I may give, quhilk ſall not ſeme to him
" vane,
" Of my lufe and fervent affection.
" Helas! is he not alreddy in poſſeſſioun
" Of my body, of hart, that refuſis na pane,
" Nor diſhonour in the lyfe uncertane,
" Offence of freindis, nor worſe afflictioun?
" For him I eſteme all my freindis leſs
" than nathing,
" And I will have gude hope of myne ene-
" mies.
" I have put in hafard for him baith fame
" and conſcience:
" I will for his ſaik renounce the warld,
" I will die to ſet him fordwart:
" Quhat remanis to gif prufe of my con-
" ſtancie?"

II.

" In his handis, and in his full power,
" I put my ſone, my honour, and my lyfe,
" My countrie, my ſubjectis, my ſaule, all
" ſubdewit
" To him, and hes nane uther will
" For my ſcope, quhilk without diſſait
" I will follow, in ſpite of all invy
" That may enſew; for I have na uther
" deſyre
" Bot to mak him perſaif my faithfulnes.
" For ſtorme of [or] fair wedder that may
" cum,
" Never will it change dwelling or place.
" Schortly, I ſall give of my treuth ſic
" prufe,
" That he ſall knaw my conſtancie without
" fictioun,
" Not be my weiping, or fenzeit obedience,
" As uther have done, bot be uther expe-
" rience, &c. &c. &c."

The contracts are next examined with the ſame care, and in the ſame manner as the letters and ſonnets have been deſcribed to be; and the author's obſervation reſulting from the whole is, " that as we " have ſeen the letters contradict- " ing each other, and the ſonnets " contradicting the letters, we now " ſee the letters contradicted alſo " by the contracts. The three " grand elements of the forgery " are thus in a perpetual ſtate of " hoſtility between themſelves, each " laying open the falſhood of the " other, and all uniting to prove " the forgery of all."

The diſcuſſion of a very important point; viz. the murder of lord Darnley, cloſes this intereſting work. Of this ſingular incident (as we are told) the public " has never had " any thing but a confuſed and in- " diſtinct idea." And our author undertakes to give it a clear one, " becauſe the undertaking will ter- " minate," he ſays, " in a ſtill " fuller, a ſtill ſtronger, and a ſtill " more pointed vindication of " Queen Mary."

Buchanan's confeſſions concerning the murder, publiſhed at the end of his Detection, &c. come firſt under conſideration, and ſeem indeed clearly to be all ſpurious. Among many other things, a palpable contradiction in the evidence of one William Powrie is too ſtriking to be paſſed over. On the 23d of June this man ſwears that he and Patrick Wilſon took " ane carriage of twa

" mails and ane tronk, and ye " uthir an ledderin mail, quilks " wer lyand in the ſaid nethir hall," (the lower room of Bothwell's lodgings at Holyrood houſe)' " quilks " the deponar and the ſaid Pat put " on and chargit upon *twa horſes* " *of my lordis, the ane being his ſown* " (own) *horſe*"—and yet on the 3d of July re-ſwears—" yat the " carage of the tronk and mail, " contenit in his former depoſi- " tioun, were carried by him and " Pat Wilſone," not upon two horſes of my lord's, and one of them his own, but " *upon one gray horſ* " *yat pertained to Herman, page to* " *my lord, at twa ſundry times.*"— " But Powrie confirmed his ac- " count of the 23d June by this " remembered incident, that on " their return back out of the yard " at Black Friars to the gate, *the* " *twa horſes* (which they had left " there, while they carried in the " powder) *war away*, and they " were obliged to go back to Holy- " rood houſe without them. And " he corroborated his account of " July 3d by another incident of " a contrary nature, and yet equally " remembered; which was, " *yat at* " *the* LAST *horſe cariage he bare up* " *ane toome* (empty) *pulder barrel* " *to the ſame place yai carriet the* " *pulder, and yat he wiſt not how* " *nor be quhome, the ſame came in* " *the erle Bothwel's ludging in the* " *Abby.*" Such groſs contradic- " tions are there in this one man's " depoſitions. But there are ſtill " more. In the former, when he " came to the gate of the Black " Friars, he and Wilſon were met " " by the erle Bothwell, accompa- " nit with Robert Ormeſtoun and " Paris, called French Paris, and " utheris twa quhilks had cloakes " about yair faces."—In the latter, " quhan the deponar and Pat Will- " ſon come to the Frier zet (gate) " with the laſt convoy, and laid " the ſame down, Robert Ormeſ- " toun came forth and ſaid, &c.— " And at the ſame time that the " deponar and Pat Wilſon laid " down the laſt cariage at the ſaid " Frier gait, the E. Bothwell " came unto yame utwith (without) " the Frier zet, accumpanyit with " *three* more quhilks had yare " cloaks and mulis upon yair feet. " And to notice only one more " contradiction, the firſt part of " the *firſt* depoſition aſſerted him " and Wilſon to have taken *twa* " *mails and ane tronk* in one load, " and " *an leidderin mail*" in " another; but in the ſucceeding " parts the *twa mails* are for- " gotten, *the ſaids twa charges* be- " being ſhrunk into the ſaid *maill* " *and tronk*; and yet though the " ſecond depoſition continues at " firſt to ſpeak of *the tronk and* " *maill*, it ſoon changes its tone, " and makes up for what it has " taken away, by adding *ane toome* " *pulder barrel* to the whole. With " ſuch a negligent induſtry have " theſe confeſſions been put to- " gether, that one man, ſpeaking " at the diſtance of only ten days; " ſpeaking of a general and a very " memorable fact, which happened " only four or five months before; " and ſpeaking of circumſtances, " which he muſt have remembered " as well as he remembered his own " preſence at the whole, violently " and repeatedly gives himſelf the " lye."

We could not avoid mentioning at full length theſe particulars, becauſe,

cauſe, with ſome others nearly as ſtrong, they entirely overthrow the falſe accounts hitherto given us of the murder. The next thing done is to proceed to the true account, and from the circumſtances of this affair, as ſtated to us by the biſhop of Roſs, and from the agreement between his teſtimony and that of Camden, a cotemporary author, employed under the patronage and intruſted with the papers of Cecil himſelf, we can have very little room to doubt of the murder's having been originally planned by Murray and Morton, whoſe ſecret views in this matter are thus diſcloſed to us by Camden:—"Theſe "two above all things thought it "beſt utterly to alienate the queen's "mind from the king, their love "being not yet well renewed; and "to draw Bothwell into their ſo-"ciety, who was lately reconciled "to Murray, and was in great "favour with the Queen, *putting "him in hope of divorce from his "wife and marriage with the Queen "as ſoon as ſhe was a widow.* To "the performance hereof, and to "defend him againſt all men, they "bound themſelves under their "hands and ſeals; ſuppoſing that "if the matter ſucceeded, they "could with one and the ſame "labour, *make away the king, "weaken the Queen's reputation a-"mong the nobility and commons, "tread down Bothwell, and draw "unto themſelves the whole manag-"ing of the ſtate.*"

And moſt completely indeed did they ſucceed in their attempts, though the reader will undoubtedly be amazed, on the review of this evidence, to find that ſuch teſtimonies have not long ſince ſettled the reputation of Mary upon a ſolid baſis, and rendered any farther attempts to vindicate her unneceſſary.—"But the Biſhop's defence," ſays our author, "was carefully ſup-"preſſed by the tyranny of the "maſculine queen. The writing "ſubſcribed by the peers of Scot-"land, was locked up in the regiſ-"ter of Mary, and among the "papers in the Cotton library. "And as Camden's hiſtory of "Elizabeth came not out till near "half a century had paſſed over the "tranſactions, and till the ſlanders "againſt Mary had made a deep "impreſſion upon the yielding "faith of the nation, ſo it lay long "ſequeſtered from the generality of "readers, by being confined to its "original Latin."

In this manner it is to be accounted for, in ſome degree, why the memory of this unfortunate queen has been ſo long ſtigmatiſed with the enormous crimes of which ſhe has hitherto been ſuppoſed guilty, and from which her preſent zealous advocate ſeems indeed moſt fully to have exculpated her. The *ſonnets*, *contracts*, and *letters* he has proved in a very ſatisfactory manner to have been the works of her enemies; and from the writings of her enemies themſelves he has detected their views in the forgery. The murder of Darnley, of which ſhe has been ſo long ſuppoſed an accomplice, is here plainly diſcovered to have been both planned and executed by her moſt inveterate foes, ſome of whom afterwards, in the moſt awful moments of their lives, acquitted her in the moſt ſolemn manner of having had any ſhare in it. And, to conclude this account in the author's own words—"Theſe "confeſſions, made (moſt of them) "ſo openly to the attending multi-

" tudes, reported (all of them) ſo " openly to us at and near the " moment, authenticated by ſuch " formal and dignified atteſtations, " and aſcending upwards through " ſuch a ſcale of witneſſes, to ſuch " a couple of leaders, carry a " wonderful weight with them. " They were made by men who " were all but one, actors in the " deed of murder. They were " made by men, who were attached " to Bothwell particularly. They " were made by men, who were all " but one, aſſociates in the villainy " with Murray, Morton, and Both- " well. They were made even by " Bothwell himſelf. And they " were even made by Morton him- " ſelf. They were made by all, " when they were awfully ſtanding " on the very ſhore and beach of " time, when they were awfully " throwing their eyes acroſs the " narrow ocean of death before " them, and when they were peni- " tentially preparing for their re- " ception in the regions of eternity " beyond. They thus form an " energy of evidence, even ſupe- " riour, I think, if poſſible to all " the conſtructive teſtimonies of " hiſtory before. They certainly " ſpeak to the underſtanding, in " conjunction with theſe, in a " voice of power, and with a tone " of thunder. And the innocence " of Mary, and the guilt of " Murray, Morton, and Bothwell, " now ſtand upon a baſis as firm as " the pillars of the earth, and now " appear to the eye as conſpicuous " as the arch of heaven."

Travels through Egypt *and* Syria, *in the years* 1783, 1784, *and* 1785; *by* M. C. F. Volney.

EVERY circumſtance, however minute, concerning Egypt and Syria, is unqueſtionably, from the memory of their ancient ſplendour and independence, an object of rational curioſity. We need not therefore heſitate to recommend a work which, like the preſent, abounds with ſuch a variety of new and intereſting matter relating to thoſe countries, in the ſtrongeſt manner to the attention of the reader. Beſides many ingenious and philoſophical obſervations on the climate and natural productions, and an intereſting account of the cuſtoms, manners, laws, genius, and character of the people; it contains a fund of valuable information about the ſtate of their revenues, the nature of their military eſtabliſhment, and the general ſyſtem of Turkiſh policy in the government of the provinces dependant on the Ottoman empire. It appears to be the principal object of the author to lay before his readers an accurate and faithful account of the *preſent natural* and *political* ſtate of theſe countries. With that view he has confined his reſearches chiefly to thoſe points; and refers his readers on the ſubject of antiquity, which he conſiders in a great meaſure as exhauſted, to Norden, Pocock, Niebuhr, Savary, and other travellers. There is indeed a full and minute account of the ruins of Palmyra and the temple of the ſun at Balbec, in that part of the work relating to Syria. But he has allotted no more than one ſhort chapter to the copious ſubject of the pyramids, and to the general deſcription of all the other

other remains of antiquity which abound in every part of Egypt.—In the plan and execution of the work, Monſ. Volney has differed from the generality of writers of travels. He has rejected the uſual form of an itinerary as too prolix, and has claſſed all his obſervations under ſeparate chapters, according to the nature of the ſubject. He has likewiſe ſtudiouſly avoided the impertinence of perſonal anecdotes, and profeſſes to have repreſſed with care every diſpoſition to exaggeration and embelliſhment. It appears that he was anticipated in his account of Egypt, by Monſ. Savary, from whom he differs in many eſſential points. The general aſpect of the country, which Monſ. Savary has deſcribed as ſo pictureſque and beautiful, will preſent in the account given by our author, a very different idea to the imagination of the reader: "If," ſays Monſ. Volney, "he figures to himſelf a flat plain, interſected by "canals, under water during three "months, marſhy and rank with "vegetation for three others, and "duſty and parched the remainder "of the year; if he imagines a "number of wretched mud-walled "and brick villages, naked and "ſunburnt peaſants, buffaloes, ca-"mels, ſycamore and date trees "thinly ſcattered, lakes, cultivated "fields, and vacant grounds of "conſiderable extent; and adds "beſides a ſun darting his rays "from an azure ſky, almoſt invariably free from clouds, and "winds conſtantly blowing, though "not always with the ſame force, he "will form a tolerably juſt idea of "the natural appearance of this "country. I cannot be reconciled," he continues, "to the peſtiferous "ſouthern blaſt, the north-eaſt "winds which conſtantly occaſion "head aches, nor thoſe ſwarms of "ſcorpions, gnats, and eſpecially "flies, which are ſo numerous, "that it is impoſſible to eat without running the riſk of ſwallowing them. Beſides, no country "preſents ſuch a ſameneſs of aſpect. A boundleſs naked plain, "an horizon every where flat and "uniform, date trees with ſlender "and bare trunks, or mud-walled "huts on the cauſeways, are all it "offers to the eye, which no where "beholds that richneſs of landſcape, that variety of objects, or "diverſity of ſcenery which true "taſte finds ſo delightful. The "face of nature there preſents nothing but fat herds, fertile fields, "a muddy river, a ſea of freſh "water, and villages which riſing "out of it reſemble iſlands. Should "the eye reach the horizon, we "are terrified at finding nothing "but ſavage deſarts. The contraſt of this melancholy ſcene ſo "near, has given to the cultivated "fields of Egypt all their charms." The ſecond and third chapters contain a long diſcuſſion of Monſ. Savary's opinion reſpecting the enlargement and the riſe of the Delta. Our author contends that the progreſs in the enlargement of the Delta could not have been ſo rapid as Monſ. Savary had imagined. In the courſe of his argument, in which he diſplays very acute reaſoning and conſiderable learning, he detects a falſe quotation from Strabo, with which Monſ. Savary had ſupported his ſyſtem; and likewiſe gives the true explanation of a paſſage in Homer, which the other had miſtaken. He then concludes by obſerving, "that it would ſtill "remain to be explained, why the

" ſhore, which is ſuppoſed to have " gained eleven leagues from the " time of Menelaus to Alexander, " ſhould not have gained more " than half a league during the " much longer period from the " time of Alexander to the preſent " day." The miſtake of Monſ. Savary as to the riſe of the Delta, was occaſioned by his not adverting to the circumſtance of the alterations that have been made in the *Nilometer*. It was not the *Nile*, Monſ. Volney aſſerts, but the *column* and *meaſures* that have varied.—We muſt now refer our readers to ſeveral extracts from this work, which he will find in different parts of this volume; to the hiſtory of Ali Bey, page 15 (Characters); to an account of the winds in Egypt, and their phænomena, page 56 (Natural Hiſtory); and to the account of the Mamlouks, page 137 (Miſcellaneous Eſſays).—We come now to the account of the inhabitants. Egypt affords the ſingular ſpectacle of four diſtinct races of men, completely ſeparated from each other by religious and political prejudices, and continuing to preſerve their original characters perfectly diſtinct and unblended, though living in the ſame climate, in the ſame country, and under the ſame government. This part of the work is particularly curious and intereſting. The firſt, and moſt generally diſperſed of the four races, is that of the Arabs; of theſe there are three *claſſes*; firſt, the poſterity of the ancient conquerors of the country who ſettled principally in the Delta, and are found in the preſent claſs of Fellaks, or huſbandmen and artizans: the ſecond is that of the Africans or Occidentals, who are deſcended from the Arabian conquerors of Mauritania, and arrived in Egypt at different times, and under different chiefs; like the former they exerciſe trades and agriculture, they are moſt numerous in the *Said*, where they have villages and even diſtinct ſovereigns of their own: the third *claſs* is that of the Bedouins, or inhabitants of the deſarts. Pacific in their camp, they are every where elſe in an habitual ſtate of war; the huſbandmen, whom they pillage, hate them; the travellers, whom they plunder, ſpeak ill of them; and the Turks, who dread them, endeavour to divide and corrupt them. It is calculated that the different tribes of them might form a body of 30,000 horſemen; but they are ſo diſperſed and diſunited, that they are only conſidered as robbers and vagabonds.—The ſecond race of inhabitants, are the Copts. They are diſperſed all over the country, though greater numbers are found in the Said. They are the deſcendants of the people who were conquered by the Arabs, that is, a mixture of Egyptians, Perſians, and above all Greeks, who under the Ptolemies and Conſtantines were ſo long in poſſeſſion of Egypt. They are all Chriſtians. Monſ. Volney conceives the Arabic word *Kobti* a Copt, to be an abbreviation of the Greek word Ai-gouptios. Under the name of *writers*, the Copts are at Cairo the intendants, ſecretaries, and collectors of government. Theſe *writers*, deſpiſed by the Turks, whom they ſerve, and hated by the peaſants, whom they oppreſs, form a kind of ſeparate claſs, the head of which is the *writer* of the principal Bey.—The third race are the Turks, who are maſters of the country, or at leaſt poſſeſs that title. They are not ſettled much

much among the villages. Individuals of that race are rarely met with, except at Cairo, where they exercise the arts, and occupy the religious and military employments. Formerly they were also advanced to posts under government, but within the last thirty years a tacit revolution has taken place, which, without taking from them the title, has deprived them of the reality of power. This revolution has been effected by the fourth and last race, the Mamlouks.—The individuals of this race, all born at the foot of Mount Caucasus, are distinguished from the other inhabitants by the flaxen colour of their hair, which is entirely different from that of the natives of Egypt. The reader will find a full account of this extraordinary race of men in this volume, page 137 (Miscellaneous Essays). During five hundred and fifty years that there have been Mamlouks in Egypt, not one has left subsisting issue; there does not exist one single family of them in the second generation; all their children perish in the first or second descent. Almost the same thing happens to the Turks; and it is observed, that they can only secure the continuance of their families, by marrying women who are natives, which the Mamlouks have always disdained. "Let the naturalist," exclaims Monf. Volney, "explain why men well formed, and "married to healthy women, are "unable to naturalize on the banks "of the Nile, a race born at the "foot of Mount Caucasus! and let "it be remembered at the same "time, that the plants of Europe "in that country are equally un-"able to continue their species!" The important question respecting the practicability of forming a junction between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, by means of a canal cut through the isthmus of Suez, which has been so frequently discussed, could not escape the notice of so sagacious a traveller as Monf. Volney. The utter impracticability of the scheme is clearly shewn by the following remark, formed on his actual observation of the nature and situation of the corresponding coasts, "which are of a low "and sandy soil, where the waters "form shoals and morasses, so that "vessels cannot approach within a "considerable distance. It will "therefore be found scarcely pos-"sible to dig a permanent canal "amid these shifting sands; not "to mention that the shore is des-"titute of harbours, which must "be entirely the work of art. The "country besides has not a drop "of fresh water; and to supply the "inhabitants, it must be brought "as far as from the Nile."—Monf. Volney supposes the number of inhabitants in Egypt to be 2,300,000.

We come now to the account of Syria, which takes up the remainder of the first and the whole of the second volume. It is by far the best and most accurate account of that country, which has appeared in any modern publication. [For the natural history of Syria we must refer to page 60 of this volume.] The reader will form a tolerably correct notion of the general appearance of this country and of the climate from the following extracts. "Syria "may be considered as a country "composed of three long strips of "land of different qualities: one "of them, extending along the Me-"diterranean, is a warm, humid "valley, the healthiness of which

"is doubtful, but which is extremely fertile; the other, which is the frontier to this, is a mountainous and rugged ſoil, enjoying a more ſalubrious temperature; the third, which lies beyond the mountains to the eaſt, combines the dryneſs of the latter with the warmth of the former. By a happy combination of the properties of climate and ſoil, this province unites in a ſmall compaſs the advantages and productions of different zones, inſomuch that nature ſeems to have deſigned it for one of the moſt agreeable habitations of this continent. Syria unites different climates under the ſame ſky; and collects within a narrow compaſs pleaſure and productions which nature has elſewhere diſperſed at great diſtances of times and places. With us, for inſtance, ſeaſons are ſeparated by months; there we may ſay they are only ſeparated by hours. If in Said or Tripoli we are incommoded by the heats of July, in ſix hours we are in the neighbouring mountains in the temperature of March; or, on the other hand, if chilled by the froſts of December, at Beſharrai, a day's journey brings us back to the coaſt, amid the flowers of May. —The Arabian poets have therefore ſaid that the *Sannin* bears Winter on his head, Spring on his ſhoulders, and Autumn on his boſom, while Summer lies ſleeping at his feet."—The limits of our preſent undertaking will not allow us to enter ſo fully into the hiſtory of the inhabitants of Syria, as the ſubject deſerves.—Monſ. Volney divides the different races of men into two grand diviſions; the ſedentary inhabitants or the cultivators, and the wandering or paſtoral tribes. The former he ſubdivides into three principal claſſes; firſt, the poſterity of the people conquered by the Arabs, that is, the Greeks of the lower empire; ſecondly, the poſterity of the Arabian conquerors; and thirdly, the preſent ruling people, the Ottoman Turks.—The paſtoral tribes he divides into three claſſes, the Turkomans, the Curds, and the Bedouin Arabs. It is remarkable that Syria has not refuſed, like Egypt, to adopt the foreign races, but that they are all equally naturalized to the country. Of theſe different races, the Druzes, deſcendants of the Arabian conquerors, will moſt excite the attention of the reader. Though completely inſulated by deſpotiſm, they have maintained amidſt the mountains of Lebanon (their country) a ſpecies of freedom and independance unknown to the inhabitants of the neighbouring plains. The conſciouſneſs of this ſuperiority in their condition, has given an energy to their character, which diſtinguiſhes them from the other people of Syria in an eminent degree. They are conſidered throughout the Levant as reſtleſs, enterpriſing, hardy, and brave even to temerity. Only three hundred of them have been ſeen to enter Damaſcus in open day, and ſpread around them terror and carnage. No perſons are more nice than they in the point of honour; any offence of that kind, or open inſult, is inſtantly puniſhed by blows of the kandjar or the muſquet, while among the inhabitants of the towns it only excites abuſive retorts. It is worthy obſervation that the Druzes and other inhabitants of Lebanon are the only ſubjects of the empire who poſſeſs a real property. They

They are for that reaſon ſo attached to their eſtates, that it is rare to hear of an alienation of lands among them. "Their peaſants fear not "that the Aga, the Kaimacham, or "the Pacha, ſhould ſend his Djen-"dis to pillage their houſes, carry "off their families, or give them "the baſtinado." Such oppreſſions are unknown in the mountains. It is this ſecurity which has been the original cauſe of the population of their country, and which has given to the mountains of Lebanon, by nature ſterile, all their fertility. The government of this ſingular people is a well-proportioned mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy.—The ſituation of the other ſubjects of the empire is truly deplorable. Monſ. Volney compares the empire to a *plantation* in one of our *Sugar Iſlands*, "where a multitude of ſlaves labour "to ſupply the luxury of one great "proprietor, under the inſpection "of a few ſervants, who take good "care of themſelves. There is no "difference, except that the domi-"nions of the Sultan being too vaſt "for a ſingle adminiſtration, he is "obliged to divide them into ſmal-"ler plantations and ſeparate go-"vernments, adminiſtered in the "ſame mode as the united empire. "Such are the provinces under the "Pachas. Theſe provinces, again, "being too extenſive, the Pachas "have had recourſe to further ſub-"diviſion, and hence that ſeries of "ſubalterns that ſtep by ſtep de-"ſcends to the loweſt employment. "In this gradation of authority, the "object in view being invariably "the ſame, the means employed "never change their nature. Thus "power, being abſolute and arbi-"trary in the monarch, is tranſmit-"ted abſolute and arbitrary to all "his ſubdelegates. It is certain, to "uſe the expreſſion of the Turks, "that *the ſabre of the Sultan de-"ſcends not on the duſt*, but this ſa-"bre he entruſts to the hand of his "Vizir, who delivers it to the Pacha, "from whom it paſſes to the Motſel-"lam, to the Aga, and even to the "loweſt Delibaſhe; ſo that it is, in "fact, within the reach of the vileſt "retainer to office, and its deſtruc-"tive edge deſcends even on the "meaneſt heads."—The total population of Syria Monſ. Volney eſtimates at 2,305,000 ſouls. The revenues he calculates at £. 1,281,250 ſterling; not including the profits of the ſub-farms, ſuch as the countries of the Druzes, the Maronites, the Anſarians, &c. &c. The military eſtabliſhment is by no means proportionable to what in Europe we ſhould expect from ſuch a revenue. All the troops of the Pachas united cannot amount to more than 5,700 men, both cavalry and infantry. The detail reſpecting the diviſion of Syria into Pachalics is particularly curious and intereſting; the limits of our preſent plan will not however allow us to enter into it.—We muſt now conclude with the author's opinion reſpecting the political ſtrength of theſe countries. —"Syria and Egypt, compared "with reſpect to the facility with "which they may be attacked or "defended, differ almoſt in every "point. Egypt is protected from a "foreign enemy on the land ſide "by her deſarts, and on that of the "ſea by her dangerous coaſt. Sy-"ria, on the contrary, is open on "the ſide of the continent by the "Diarbekar, and expoſed alſo on "that of the Mediterranean by a "coaſt every where acceſſible. It is

" eaſy to make a deſcent in Syria, " but very difficult to land in E- " gypt: Egypt once invaded is " conquered; Syria may reſiſt: " Egypt when conquered is ex- " tremely difficult to keep, and eaſ- " ly loſt; Syria is ſo eaſily de- " fended, it is impoſſible it ſhould " be loſt. Leſs ſkill is neceſſary to " conquer one than to preſerve the " other. The reaſon is, that E- " gypt being a country of plains, " the invader there makes a rapid " progreſs; every movement brings " on a battle, and every battle is " deciſive; Syria, on the contrary, " being a mountainous country, " war there muſt be a war of poſts, " and every loſs may be repair- " ed."

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